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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCL.

JANUARY, 1886.

THE SHILOH CAMPAIGN.

PART I.

I HAD always hesitated and persistently declined giving to the public an account of this period of the war. That duty, it seemed to me, devolved upon one not so directly and intimately connected as I was with the events to be there recorded. But, with a few exceptions, the statements—most of them intentionally erroneous—published of late on the subject to be treated here, tend to such an extent to distort the truth of history, and so many strictures have been passed upon me in that connection, that, putting aside all personal feeling, I deem it incumbent on me to prepare a concise but complete and correct narrative of the whole Shiloh Campaign, from the time of my arrival in General Albert Sidney Johnston's department, in February, 1862, up to and including the battle of Shiloh—April 6 and 7—and the retreat of the Confederate forces from Corinth. In a work entitled "Military Operations of General Beauregard," which was but lately offered to the public, are contained all the details of what was accomplished at that time; as also the causes which brought about the results there depicted. It was "written from notes and documents authenticated by me," and "is offered as a guide to the future historian" of the war between the States.* But books are not read by the many, and seldom reach the circulation attained by leading periodicals of this and other countries. Hence my determination to revive the matter in these pages.

Colonel Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, a member of the Military Committee of the lower house of the Confederate Congress, called on me at my head-quarters, in Centreville, on the 22d January, 1862; and, speaking in his own name, in that of his colleagues of the Committee, and also of the different representatives of the Mississippi Valley States, at that time in Richmond, told me, substantially, that Zollicoffer's defeat, which had just occurred at Spring Mill, in Eastern Kentucky, necessitated prompt and energetic measures on the part of the government, and that it was a very general desire, in which President Davis joined, that I should be sent at once to the Mississippi Valley, where much discouragement existed, and where, it was believed, my presence might restore confidence and lead to more active and safer operations in the near future. This overture, and the gratifying manner in which it was made, took me by surprise. My answer was at first uncertain. I could not deny my services to the cause, wherever I might be ordered; but the idea of cutting short my relations with an army I had so materially assisted in organizing and in leading to victory, made me hesitant and forbade a ready assent on my part. I asked for time to reflect. After reflection and on the assurance, otherwise made, that General Albert Sidney Johnston, in whose military department I was about to go, had under him, at different places, an aggregate of at least seventy thousand men of all arms, which would allow early concentration of his forces and consequent aggressive movements on our part, I finally yielded consent, and so informed Colonel Pryor.

The concluding passage of the order of the War Department directing the transfer referred to, bore date January 26th, and read as follows:

> "He (the President) therefore desires that you proceed at once to report to General A. S. Johnston, at Bowling Green, Kentucky, and thence proceed, as promptly as possible, to assume your new command at Columbus, which is threatened by a powerful force, and the successful defense of which is of vital importance."

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* By Colonel Alfred Roman, of Louisiana. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York. 1884.

I was only able to leave Manassas on the 2d of February. I had previously sent several suggestions to the War Department, through General (then Colonel) Jordan, my chief of staff, with a view to perfect the organization of the troops I was soon to command, for the efficiency of which, as I had been led to believe, much had yet to be done.

I had never met General A. S. Johnston prior to my arrival at Bowling Green. He welcomed me in his department with that simple, dignified and earnest manner so characteristic of him, and which, I well remember, made a profound impression upon me.

He informed me of the position and strength of the enemy, and did the same as to his own forces. General Buell's command was then at Bacon Creek, on the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, not farther than forty miles from Bowling Green, and consisted of fully seventy-five thousand men. General Grant was near Cairo, and had twenty thousand men with him, ready to move either against Fort Henry or Fort Donelson, as might best serve his purpose. General Pope commanded not less than thirty-thousand men, in the State of Missouri, and was, just then, seriously threatening General Polk's position. General Halleck, the commander-in-chief of the above enumerated Federal forces, was still at St. Louis, his department head-quarters, and had, at the time referred to, subject to his general orders, an aggregate of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men of all arms.

General Johnston, on the other hand, had but forty-five thousand effectives of all arms, in his large department. They were distributed as follows:—fourteen thousand, with General Johnston, at Bowling Green; some five thousand five hundred at Forts Henry and Donelson; about eight thousand at or near Clarksville; and fifteen thousand, under General Polk, in West Tennessee and West Kentucky. These were barely organized and very poorly armed. Such, in fact, was the case with most of Generals Clark's and Pillow's forces at Clarksville and Hopkinsville, to say nothing of the others. There were men, by tens of thousands, in Kentucky, in Tennessee, and in the adjoining States, ready at any day to enlist under the Southern banner, and who were actually burning with the desire to do so; but the government had no arms to give them. None had been procured, as yet, from Europe, and none could be manufactured at home—that is to say, in any number approaching sufficiency for the requirements of the hour.

General Johnston also told me that the works on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, upon which so much depended for the safety of these streams, were defective in more than one respect, and could not be relied on; that General (then Major) Gilmer, his chief engineer, had been sent to them with a view of improving their effectiveness, if possible, before it was too late.

I was deeply disturbed when thus made acquainted with the real condition of affairs in General Johnston's department. His surprise was equal to my disappointment when I assured him of the War Department's estimate of his strength. My first impulse was to return at once to Virginia, so powerless did I feel in the presence of the frightful odds existing against us. But General Johnston urged me to remain, and in a manner so earnest, that I acceded to his request and concluded not to leave him in the hard strait in which he was placed. My opinion has ever been that the War Department had not dealt justly toward General Johnston, and had sacrificed him to its own improvidence and neglectful state of unpreparedness.

On the 5th of February, I inspected, with General Johnston, all the works erected at and around Bowling Green. They were unquestionably strong; but besides having consumed too much time and labor, which could have been more wisely expended at other points—notably at Forts Henry and Donelson—it was evident to me that they could be turned, on the right, a few miles above, should a vigorous and well-directed attack be made upon them in that quarter. It appeared to me that it would have been sufficient, and far better, to limit the Bowling Green works to a *tête de pont*, north of the Barren River, and to one fort only, south of the same stream. I so stated to General Johnston, who made no direct reply, but said that, in case of an advance of the enemy, on his flanks, he would withdraw his forces from Bowling Green, as he had no army of relief to call to his assistance.

I gave General Johnston my views as to the best plan for holding Fort Henry, then seriously menaced by General Grant, and which was absolutely necessary to insure the command of the Tennessee River. I told him that, owing to the defective location of Forts Henry and Donelson, at about the middle—and at a re-entering angle—of our defensive line, weakened by the intersection of the two rivers on which the forts were built; owing also to the saliency of our flanks at Bowling Green and Columbus, which facilitated the turning of the first—Bowling Green—thus compelling it to fall by its own weight, and rendering the second—Columbus—clearly untenable, should Henry succumb, I thought it not only advisable, but of absolute necessity, to abandon Bowling Green without further delay, using it hereafter as a point of observation merely, and to concentrate at once all our available troops upon Henry and Donelson, and thus force General Grant to give us battle there, with every chance of success in our favor, and hardly any hope by him of obtaining assistance elsewhere. The adoption, I said, and above all the vigorous execution of such a plan, would not only restore to us the full control of the Tennessee, but insure likewise the possession of the Cumberland, and eventually secure a much better position to our troops as to the defense of Nashville.

My views were not adopted. General Johnston agreed to their correctness, in a strategic point of view, but feared that a failure to defeat General Grant, as proposed, would jeopardize the security of our positions at other points, and might possibly cause our forces to be crushed between Grant and Buell. His opinion was that, situated as we then were, we should endeavor to gain time, and thus be enabled to save the large stock of supplies and ammunition which the government, with its usual want of foresight, had gathered at Bowling Green, Clarksville and Nashville.

In differing with me on that occasion, as he did, General Johnston clearly lost sight of the following facts: that General Buell had no pontoon train at his disposal; that he could not have crossed the Cumberland between Nashville and Donelson; that we would have had ample time to withdraw our forces from the Tennessee and Cumberland, and take a position in rear of the new line formed at Duck River; that we could even have retreated as far as Nashville, before falling against General Buell, who would have had a much longer march to make; that, in war, success always depends on prompt and vigorous concentration of masses against fractions, and that we then held the interior lines.

Fort Henry fell. Its resistance did not last over a day. Impartial history will not hold General Tilghman responsible for the fall of a work which was known, from the first, to be untenable, and which was attacked by a strong land and naval force. "The railroad bridge, only about twelve miles south of Fort Henry, was now burned by the Federal gun-boats, and that line of communication between General Johnston and his forces at Columbus, Western Kentucky, was cut off, as had been apprehended, leaving, as the shortest route available, the line of railroad by Nashville, Decatur, Corinth and Jackson." *

The day following—February 7—I again urged the carrying out of the plan of concentration delineated above, which, in my opinion, was imperative at that juncture, and clearly practicable when we consider that the investment of Fort Donelson was only begun on the 13th of February, and the work surrendered on the morning of the 16th. Our troops, transferred by rail and by water, could have reached Donelson on the 10th, at the latest; whereas General Buell's forces, with rough roads of fully one hundred and twenty-five miles before them, could not, possibly, have operated a junction with General Grant before the 17th. On the morning of the 13th, General Grant was at the head of fifteen thousand men. He was only reinforced † on the evening of that day. We could have had, to oppose him, on the 10th—say even on the 12th—ten thousand men, out of the fourteen thousand with General Johnston, at Bowling Green; eight thousand men under General Floyd, at Russelville; three thousand more, at Clarksville; and these, with five thousand seven hundred more, already at Donelson, would have aggregated a force of nearly twenty-seven thousand men. That force, under General Johnston, or even under myself—for I would have willingly marched on with them to Donelson—would have assured us victory over General Grant's fifteen thousand men; and not only would Fort Donelson have thus been held—for some time to come, at any rate—but we would also have regained Fort Henry before the advent of General Buell. It must be borne in mind that there had been no conflict, worthy of the name, at Donelson, prior to the 15th, and that it was brought on by the advance of our own forces, the enemy having, at first, clearly given way to the impetuous attack made upon him. It is, therefore, but fair to conclude that, with the reinforcements we could have brought to bear against General Grant at that time, the fight would have unquestionably resulted in something more than a mere appearance of victory on the part of the Confederates.

But General Johnston adhered to his own views, as expressed in a memorandum drawn up by General Hardee and myself, on the

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 219.

† By 10,000 men.

7th of February, and given in full in "Military Operations of General Beauregard."* It was then determined, that Fort Henry having fallen, and Fort Donelson not being tenable, "*preparations* should at once be made for the removal" of the army of Bowling Green "to Nashville;" that "the troops at Clarksville would cross over to the south of the Cumberland, leaving behind them a force sufficient to protect the manufactories and other property" established there by the government; that "from Nashville, should any further retrograde movement become necessary," it would "be made to Stevenson, and thence according to circumstances."

"It was also determined that the possession of the Tennessee River by the enemy . . . separates the army at Bowling Green from the army at Columbus, Kentucky, which must henceforth act independently of each other until they again be brought together." That, should the line of communication of the army of Columbus be threatened by an overwhelming force, concentrating from various points on the Ohio, "the main body of that army would fall back to Humboldt, and thence, if necessary, to Grand Junction, so as to protect Memphis from either point, and still have a line of retreat to the latter point, or to Grenada, Mississippi, and, if necessary, to Jackson, Mississippi."

The evacuation of Bowling Green was only begun on the 11th of February. I left the next day; but, before doing so, again expressed my views on the condition of affairs around us, in a letter to General Johnston, dated Bowling Green, February 12th, 1862, wherein the following passages occur:

> "It also becomes evident that, by the possession of that river (Tennessee), the enemy can concentrate rapidly, by means of his innumerable transports, all his disposable forces on any point along its banks, either to attack Nashville, in rear, or cut off the communications of Columbus by the Mississippi River with Memphis, and by the railroads with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad."
>
> "Should the enemy determine on the former plan of operations, your army, threatened also in front and on the right flank by Buell's large army, will be in a very critical condition, and may be forced to take refuge on the south side of the Tennessee River. But should Halleck adopt the second plan referred to, the position at Columbus will then become no longer tenable for an army inferior in strength to that of the enemy, and must fall back to some central point, where it can guard the main railroads to Memphis, *i. e.*, from Louisville and from Charleston. Jackson, Tennessee, would probably be the best position

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* Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 220.

> for such an object, with strong detachments at Humboldt and Corinth, and with the necessary advance guards." . . . . .
>
> "Columbus must either be left to be defended to the last extremity by its proper garrison, assisted by Hollin's fleet of gunboats, and provided with provisions and ammunition for several months, or abandoned altogether, its armament and garrison being transferred, if practicable, to Fort Pillow, which, I am informed, is naturally and artificially a strong position, about fifty miles above Memphis.
>
> "Island No. 10, near New Madrid, could also be held by its garrison, assisted by Hollin's fleet, until the possession of New Madrid by the enemy would compel that position to be evacuated. I am clearly of the opinion that to attempt at present to hold so advanced a position as Columbus, with the movable army under General Polk, when its communications can be so readily cut off by a surprise force acting from the Tennessee River as a new base, would be to jeopardize, not only the safety of that army, but, necessarily, of the whole Mississippi Valley. Hence I desire, as far as practicable, specific instructions as to the future movements of the army of which I am about to assume command. If it be necessary for the safety of the country to make, with all my forces, a desperate stand at Columbus, I am ready to do so."

General Johnston's answer was given me verbally, at Edgefield, opposite Nashville, on the 14th of February. He said his views had undergone no change since our last conference at Bowling Green, except as to the abandonment of Columbus, and that he would abide by the decision of the War Department in that respect. "His line of retreat, he also said, when forced to withdraw from Nashville, would be along the Nashville, Stevenson and Chattanooga Railroad."

I left Nashville on the 15th, and, on my arrival at Corinth, the next day, found two telegrams awaiting me—one from General Johnston, the other from Colonel Mackall, his chief of staff. Both announced the fall of Fort Donelson. General Johnston's read as follows:

> "NASHVILLE, *February* 16, 1862.
>
> "At 2 A.M. to day, Fort Donelson surrendered. We lost all."

Colonel Mackall's dispatch began with the same words, but ended thus:

> "We lost all the army except half of Floyd's brigade, which crossed the river. The head of our column is about reaching Nashville."

I was much grieved at this news, but not taken by surprise. The fall of Donelson, without an effort in season to come to its succor, was almost inevitable. In a letter written by me to Colonel Roger A. Pryor, on the 14th of February, 1862, I said:

> "We must give up some minor points, and concentrate our forces to save the most important ones, or we will lose all of them in succession. The loss of Fort Donelson—(God grant it may not fall!)—would be followed by consequences too lamentable to be now alluded to."

It were scarcely possible to depict the feeling of consternation, anxiety and distrust that spread over the entire section of country comprised within the bounds of General Johnston's department at the announcement of these disastrous events. The people were panic-stricken. The army was all but demoralized. A clamor, as loud as it was unfair, arose from almost every neighboring city, town or hamlet, against the general commanding our forces in the West. Cries of his incompetency—of his disloyalty, even—were uttered by many. He withstood the storm with firmness and manliness, and was uncomplaining. But those who understood the depth and scope of his nature and had studied the course of action followed at Richmond toward our forces in the West, at that time and later on, were not long in discovering on whose shoulders to lay most of the blame that so weighted him down.

On the same day, February 16th, in answer to a dispatch of mine, asking if any direct orders had been issued to General Polk with regard to the troops at and around Columbus, Colonel Mackall, A.A.G., sent me this telegram:

> . . . "You must do as your judgment dictates. No orders for your troops have issued from here."

And General Johnston, in another telegram, dated February 18th, said:

> "You must now act as seems best to you. The separation of our armies is now complete."

I was then at Jackson, Tennessee, where Colonel Jordan, my chief of staff, had just arrived, after an inspection tour at Columbus. His report, coupled with that of Captain Harris, my chief engineer, about the exaggerated extension of the lines there, the defective location of the works, and the faulty organization of the troops, strengthened my own opinion as to the inability of Columbus to withstand a serious attack, and rendered more imperative still the necessity of its early evacuation. General Polk, who had considered the situation in a different light, and who believed in the defensive capacity of the place, was at first averse to the movement. He changed his mind, however, upon my showing him the saliency of Fort Columbus and the weak points of its construction, and cheerfully carried out my instructions, when, on the 19th of February, the War Department having given its consent to the evacuation, he was ordered "to prepare for it without delay."

The supplies and materials kept in reserve were to be forwarded by railroad to Grenada and Columbus; the remaining ones, to Union City, Humboldt, Madrid Bend, New Madrid, and Memphis. The heaviest guns were to be sent to Island No. 10, to the batteries already erected at Madrid Bend and to New Madrid. Guns of a lighter caliber, for the land defenses of the latter place, were also ordered there. Immediate steps were to be taken to prepare for the removal of the other guns to Madrid Bend and Fort Pillow. The greatest precautions were to be observed while carrying on this work, which was to be done at night only, if possible. Columbus was to be held until the batteries at Island No. 10 and at Madrid Bend were reported ready for the defense of the river.

The batteries at the head of Island No. 10 and at Madrid Bend were not intended for permanent occupation; but Fort Pillow was, and was being strengthened, as much as practicable, for that purpose. Captain Harris, who was already an efficient engineer at the time of which I write, and who made such a brilliant record afterward, at Charleston, at Savannah, as also at Drury's Bluff and Petersburg, had received most minute instructions from me, "as to the planning, laying out, and construction of these batteries, including the details of their parapets, embrasures, traverses, and magazines." * He had been ordered, besides, to repair to Fort Pillow, as soon as he could, with a view to reducing it to a garrison of about three thousand men, thus remedying, as far as possible, the error originally committed there, of preparing that work for a force of from nine to ten thousand men.†

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XVI, p. 236.

† "The grave defect in these river defenses, at Columbus and Fort Pillow, was in their extended lines, requiring a whole army to hold them, leaving no forces for operations in the field. This was one of the great mistakes in engineering on both sides during the war. A garrison of from three to five thousand men, in properly constructed forts, with an ample supply of ammunition and provisions, would have been sufficient for the defense of our principal rivers until reinforcements, in an emergency, could have been sent to their relief."—"Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XVI., p. 237.

The evacuation of Columbus was begun on the 25th of February. That it was a military necessity none will now deny, except perhaps some blind partisan who may take upon himself to criticise and condemn, without adequate knowledge upon the subject, and without assigning any reason or proof in support of his assertion. If it were a "mistake" to have evacuated Columbus at that time, the responsibility should rest as much upon General Johnston, who agreed to it, as upon myself, who suggested the movement, but only ordered it after being authorized to do so by the War Department. I was ready to defend Columbus "*to the last extremity*" if so ordered by the commanding general, and had so expressed myself in my letter to him, dated Bowling Green, February 12, 1862, already referred to in this article. I knew, however, it would be disastrous in the extreme to attempt such a defense, situated as we then were. General Johnston, who understood the crisis far better than those who presume to interpret him to-day, required no persuasion to adopt this course, and did so, not as a concession to me, but clearly because he was convinced of its advisability. "To defend Columbus" at that time, "with a reduced garrison, and withdraw Polk and his army for active movements," * was never even hinted at by General Johnston, in any of our conferences on the subject; and was, I may add, a physical impossibility, as no "*reduced garrison*" could have defended Columbus, when it is considered that "the works at that place were made for a garrison of at least thirteen thousand men, armed with one hundred and forty (mostly heavy) guns." † Evidently no army at all would have been left to General Polk for "*active movements*" in the field.

At that time (February 25) I had not yet formally assumed command of the military district assigned to me. My health was impaired, and had been, even before my leaving Bowling Green, on the 12th, and, in fact, prior to my departure from Centreville, Virginia. My endeavors, however, to become acquainted with every point included in my new command, had been incessant; and General Polk, though not actually relieved from his duties as commander of his district, had kindly allowed me not only to advise him, but also, in a great measure, to direct his own as well as the movements of the forces directly under him. General Johnston favored the course I was then pursuing, as can be seen by the following telegram, dated Murfreesboro, February 21st, from Colonel Mackall, A. A. G., speaking in General Johnson's name:

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* See Colonel W. P. Johnston's article, in "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, p. 618.

† "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 228.

> "If not well enough to assume command, I hope that you, now having had time to study the field, will advise General Polk of your judgment as to the proper disposition of his army, in accordance with the views you entertain in your Memorandum, unless you have changed your views. I can't order him, not knowing but what you have assumed command, and your orders conflict."

Meanwhile, General Johnston, threatened by General Buell's large army, had been compelled to withdraw from Nashville, his rear guard marching out of that city late on the evening of the 23d of February. His line of retreat, as already agreed upon, was toward Stevenson, North-eastern Alabama. He had with him, at that time, an aggregate of some seventeen thousand men.

It was at this most critical juncture of our affairs, that, taking advantage of the latitude given me by General Johnston's telegram of February 18th, and knowing how important it was that we should adopt prompt measures to improve the situation and instill new confidence in the people, I came to the conclusion to abandon at once the "passive-defensive," which had led us, so far, to disaster only, and to inaugurate instead the entirely opposite system of aggressive warfare, as the best chance—if not the only hope—of recovering some of our lost ground.

The prospect was far from encouraging. General Johnston was retreating toward North-eastern Alabama and Georgia. The distance between his sorely tried troops and those who were still under General Polk was daily increasing instead of diminishing. General Grant, on the other hand, emboldened by his recent successes at Henry and Donelson, could, almost unimpeded, move at once, either upon the rear of Columbus and thus strike it a deathblow; or he could ascend the Tennessee River as far as Hamburg or Eastport, seize the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, thereby completely separating the two Confederate armies, turning West Kentucky and West Tennessee; and, finally, taking Memphis, Fort Pillow, New Madrid, Island No. 10 and Columbus; which would have given him possession of the entire Mississippi Valley.

The only forces I could control at the time were about fifteen thousand men, under General Polk, stationed at the various Mississippi River defenses; some two thousand more, at or near Iuka, under General Chalmers; and three thousand already at Corinth, with Brigadier-General Ruggles; aggregating twenty thousand men of all arms, not thoroughly organized, and very poorly armed and equipped.

My plan was to operate with my movable forces, not on the defensive line adopted by General Johnston, as agreed upon at Bowling Green, on the 7th of February,* but on an entirely new line, starting from Island No. 10, and extending to Corinth, through Union City, Humboldt and Jackson—thus throwing my forces across the Louisville and Memphis, and the Memphis and Charleston railroads; covering Memphis, and covering the railroad center at Corinth, with as strong a force as possible at Iuka, and a smaller one at Tuscumbia, in order to secure my railroad communication with the East. Holding the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, as I then did, I could have thus concentrated rapidly, with a view, either to face the enemy, in an attempt on his part to threaten the Louisville and Memphis Railroad, or even, if circumstances favored me, to directly attack him, should he try to land along the bend of the Tennessee River, at any point between Coffee Landing and Eastport.

To carry out such a plan more troops were needed, and I was not ignorant of the difficulty to be met with in my effort to procure them. Time, also, was a very important factor to be considered, for it was apparent to me that, should the enemy be bold and push forward his advantages, we could not hope to be a successful barrier in his way.

I resolved to send messengers at once to the governors of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, with a circular addressed to each of them, in which I endeavored to explain the inevitable result to us of additional disasters to our arms, and asking each of them to forward to me, with the utmost celerity, from five thousand to ten thousand men, already armed and equipped, their services not to be taken advantage of for more than ninety days, which, I believed, would be sufficient to enable us, by timely and vigorous action, to "recover our losses, and insure the defense of the Mississippi River." † I also made an appeal to General Bragg, asking him for such troops as he could send from Mobile and Pensacola, assuring him, at the same time, of the additional assistance he would afford me were he able to accompany them. I called likewise on General Lovell, at New Orleans. To General Van Dorn, then in Arkansas with some twenty thousand men, I sent a most pressing message, inviting him to join me, *via* New Madrid or Columbus, with as large a portion of his forces as possible. In my letter to him I said :

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* See Memorandum already referred to, Vol. I., Chap. XV., p. 220, "Military Operations of General Beauregard."

† See Circular referred to, in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XVI., pp. 240, 241.

> "By the fall of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, the forces under General Polk (now to be under me) are entirely cut off from those under General A. S. Johnston, and must henceforth depend upon themselves alone for the defense of the Mississippi River and contiguous States: the fall of Columbus, and of Island No. 10, must necessarily be followed by the loss of the whole Mississippi River. The fate of Missouri necessarily depends on the successful defense of Columbus and of Island No. 10: hence, we must, if possible, combine our operations not only to defend those positions, but also to take the offensive as soon as practicable, to recover some lost ground." *

I also sent a messenger (Lieutenant, afterward Brigadier-General S. W. Ferguson) to General Johnston, in order to obtain his co-operation to my plan if he could give it. He was then at Murfreesboro, actively engaged with his retreat from Nashville, on the Stevenson and Chattanooga Railroad.

My messengers were all members of my personal and general staff. They left my head-quarters, at Jackson, Tennessee, on the 22d of February.

I advised the War Department of what I had done, and asked for whatever instructions it might deem expedient to give me. It neither sanctioned nor disapproved the course I had followed.

General Johnston readily acceded to my request, and took up a new line of march toward Decatur, through Shelbyville, Fayetteville and Huntsville. Left to his own discretion by the War Department, as to whether to comply with my demand or not, General Bragg concluded to give his assent, and furnished me with some ten thousand men of all arms. General Lovell did all he possibly could under the circumstances. The governors of the four States already mentioned, used every exertion in their power to respond to my urgent call upon them. I could get no immediate answer from General Van Dorn, whose whereabouts just then were not very definite. He showed, however, much willingness to assist me, when free to do so, but did not reach the scene of operations in time.

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* The whole letter is given in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XVI., p. 242.

Columbus was evacuated on the 2d of March. The enemy did not show the vigilance and boldness which it was reasonable to expect he would, and thus indirectly facilitated our work. After the evacuation, about seven thousand men of General Polk's forces were placed under General McCown, at New Madrid, some sixty miles below Columbus and not more than ten miles from Island No. 10. The main body of General Polk's command was collected at Humboldt, which was central to Memphis, Jackson, Grand Junction, Henderson, Corinth, and Fort Pillow. A rear guard of two regiments and about five hundred cavalry were stationed at Union City, in the direction of Lexington; the cavalry to be well in advance from Hickman to Paris. The movements of the enemy were watched by mounted parties, provided with pieces of light artillery, who had been ordered to patrol the west bank of the Tennessee, and inform me of anything unusual that might attract their attention.

Reports, in the main reliable, having soon reached me, that the enemy was preparing a great offensive demonstration from Cairo, Paducah and Fort Henry, while General Pope was on his march to New Madrid, it became plain to me that danger threatened us from the Tennessee River, which, if well founded, might completely separate General Johnston's army from the forces under General Polk, and thus place the former, as well as the latter, at the mercy of the overwhelming masses which would undoubtedly be thrown against them. It was at this precise moment that I fixed upon Corinth as the best point of concentration on our part, and as the natural Confederate base for any offensive operations of our forces. To say that any one—including General Johnston and myself—had thought of Corinth, and could have designated it as the strategic point of the Shiloh campaign, before the enemy had given evidence of any hostile movement from or near Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee River, is sheer folly, and scarcely needs contradiction to be so pronounced. But to say, furthermore, as has been the case, that General Johnston "*sent me,*" when we last parted, at Edgefield, opposite Nashville, on the 14th of February, or at any time before, or at any time after, "*with instructions to concentrate all available forces near Corinth—a movement* *previously begun"* *—is not only absolutely imaginary, but a most positive attempt to pervert the truth of history. General Johnston never made even the slightest allusion to Corinth, in any of our conferences about his future plans of operations or mine. I never received a word of instructions from him about concentrating there, or elsewhere. He only agreed to form a junction with me, after General Ferguson had seen him, in my name, with the request that he should change his line of retreat and shorten the distance between our two armies, instead of increasing it, as he was actually doing, when met by my messenger at Murfreesboro, on the 22d or 23d of February. It was wholly at my suggestion and urgent request that he marched his army to Corinth. In fact, he believed it to be "a hazardous experiment," situated as he then was, as he states himself, in his letter of March 18, to President Davis.

On the 2d of March I dispatched another messenger to him—Colonel (then Captain) Otey, of my staff, with the following letter:

> "DEAR GENERAL:—I send you herewith inclosed a slip showing the intended movements of the enemy, no doubt against the troops in Western Tennessee. I think you ought to hurry up your troops to Corinth by railroad, as soon as practicable, for there or thereabouts will soon be fought the great battle of this controversy."

General Johnston's answer, through Colonel Mackall, his adjutant, was dated from Fayetteville, March 5, 1862, and ran thus:

> "GENERAL:—Your letter of 2d instant has been received by General Johnston. He replies: The army advancing, had reached this place; on arriving at Decatur, he will decide on the promptest mode."

I had now fair reason to hope that all our forces, including General Johnston's small army, and the troops forthcoming from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, would soon be collected at the point selected by me, and that, should the Federal commander show too much boldness on the west bank of the Tennessee, we could successfully check his course, before allowing him to further develop his ulterior plans. Pittsburg Landing, it seemed to me from a critical study of the map and of the reported movements of the enemy, would be one of the points selected by him to effect a landing. General Ruggles, by my order, caused a regiment—the 18th Louisiana—to be sent there as a corps of observation. The attempted landing of a Federal force, supported by two gunboats, which was repulsed the next day by that regiment, proves that I was not mistaken.

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* See Colonel W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, p. 618.

On the 6th, General Bragg's forces began to arrive. They were pushed on to Corinth, as originally decided upon; and General Bragg was instructed by me to lose no time in organizing into brigades and divisions his own and all the troops then coming in from various points. I also directed him to inspect the position at Monterey, midway between Corinth and Pittsburg Landing, with a view to adopt it, instead of Corinth, as our chief point of concentration, should the enemy evince a serious intent to select Pittsburg—and not Eastport—for a permanent disembarkment. General Bragg was of opinion that Corinth offered greater facilities for transportation, and it therefore remained, as at first intended by me, "the grand central point for the rallying and concentration of all the Confederate forces." *

I deem it unnecessary, for the purposes of this paper, to dwell upon the difficulties I experienced at that time, through the want of field officers, for the complete organization of the troops that were being conveyed from the States already referred to, in response to my call upon them. The indifference and apparent unwillingness of the War Department, as evidenced in that connection, was a great source of perplexity to me, and one of the main causes of our inability to begin, as early as I would have otherwise wished, the aggressive movement which was being prepared against the enemy at Pittsburg Landing.

I officially assumed command, on the 5th of March, of the military district assigned to me. One of the first steps taken by me, in view of the evacuation of Columbus and of the concentration of our troops at or near Corinth, was to cause sufficient supplies of grain and provisions to be gathered at Union City, Humboldt, Jackson, and Henderson, in Western Tennessee, and at Corinth, Grand Junction, and Iuka, in Mississippi. My principal supplying depots were Columbus, Mississippi, and Grenada.

On the 13th of March, five Federal divisions, reinforced a few days later by five thousand men, under General C. F. Smith, ar-

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap XVII., p. 251.

rived at Savannah, twelve miles below Pittsburg Landing, on the opposite side of the Tennessee River. They aggregated some forty-three thousand men of all arms. General Sherman's division, without effecting a landing at Savannah, had been sent up the river, with a view, it was said, to destroy the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, at a short distance from Eastport. It was kept in check and deterred from even attempting to accomplish its purpose by two companies of infantry, acting as artillery, and belonging to General Chalmers' command—some 2,500 men—stationed near Iuka, five or six miles from the river. It attempted immediately afterward—but with no better success—to burn some railroad shops near Burnsville, eight miles west of Iuka, and finally "dropped down to Pittsburg Landing on the night of the 14th (March), having made a useless demonstration, but one which confirmed me in the opinion that Corinth would be the final objective point of the Federal movement."* About that time, a small bridge, twenty-four miles north of Corinth, near Bethel Station, was burned by a raiding party from General McClernand's division, which had been detached to destroy the Mobile and Ohio Railroad between Corinth and Jackson, but utterly failed to do so. There was hesitancy, then, on the part of the enemy. He was feeling his way, and with more than ordinary caution. General Grant had not yet assumed command, and, as he states,† was "virtually in arrest, on board a steamer," near Fort Henry. He only arrived, and officially relieved General Smith, on or about the 17th of March.

On the other hand, General Pope had appeared before New Madrid, on the 3d of March. He had with him some twenty-five thousand men. He really and seriously began his attack on the 12th, and reduced the works, after no great effort on his part, on the night of the 14th. He was thus, consciously or not, co-operating with the movements of the Federals on the Tennessee River. General McCown saved his men, however, and had them transferred to the other side of the river. Most of them were sent to support the batteries at Island No. 10. General McCown was subsequently relieved from his duties, and General Mackall, General

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XVIII., p. 256.

† See General Grant's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, p. 594.

Johnston's able chief of staff, took command in his place. On the 16th, Commodore Foote's fleet of gunboats and mortar boats began the regular bombardment of Island No. 10. More endurance was exhibited there than at New Madrid. In fact, the garrison behaved creditably to itself and its commanders. But the easy fall of New Madrid, led, almost inevitably, to the fall of Island No. 10.

When, in my opinion, the enemy had sufficiently shown what his purpose was, I hurried the concentration of all the forces I could dispose of in Western Tennessee and Northern Mississippi. By the middle of March I had successfully collected and gathered, within short and easy marching from Corinth, about twenty-three thousand men of all arms, exclusive of the forces originally under General Polk—some fourteen thousand men—which raised my aggregate to forty-four thousand men, more or less, of all arms. The greatest number of them were very indifferently armed and equipped. Some even—the cavalry especially—had no arms at all. They were mostly raw troops, unhabituated to camp life, undisciplined, and hardly drilled. But they were composed of the best element in the South, and had answered the call of their respective governors, and my own, with the determination of doing their whole duty toward the cause they had espoused.

General Johnston had been advised of all the dispositions I had taken for the troops thus being sent to me. He had invariably approved of all I had done; though, in his opinion, as appears by the following telegram—not generally known, and which I here append—Corinth was too near the Tennessee River to be considered the best point of concentration for our forces. The telegram read thus:

"DECATUR, *March* 15, 1862.

"TO GENERAL G. T. BEAUREGARD:

"Have you had the south bank of the Hatchee examined, near Bolivar? I recommend it to your attention. It has, besides the other advantages, that of being further from the enemy's line."

I could not agree with General Johnston in that regard, and although ready to admit that, under ordinary circumstances, a good defensive line might have been established near Bolivar, at the spot designated in the foregoing telegram, it was not, by far, the best one to be selected just then, in order to carry out the aggressive movement I was preparing, and for which I had even suggested Monterey, instead of Corinth, because of its greater proximity to Pittsburg Landing.

The whole Federal force destined for operations on the Tennessee River, under General Grant, were now assembled at Pittsburg Landing, with the exception of General Lew Wallace's division—about seven thousand men—which had been stationed at Crump's Landing, some five miles below Pittsburg, by General Smith, and left there by General Grant, who considered the position "so well chosen" that no orders were given to change it, "until the Confederate attack at Shiloh." * In fact, General Grant, even as late as the 5th of April, as he admitted himself, "felt by no means certain that Crump's Landing might not be the point of attack." †

General Buell, with seven divisions, aggregating an effective force of over seventy-three thousand men, had quietly remained at Nashville, after the fall of that place, and had not materially interfered with General Johnston's retreat, first to Murfreesboro, afterward to Fayetteville, Huntsville, Decatur, and finally to Corinth. He was at last ordered (March 15) by General Halleck to form a junction with the forces operating under General Grant, on the Tennessee. He only had five divisions with him at that time, or some forty thousand men of all arms. The two other divisions, namely, the seventh, under General G. W. Morgan, and the third, under General O. M. Mitchell, had been detached from his main army, for some special purpose; partly, it was said, for the destruction of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and partly for a raiding incursion in East Tennessee. General Buell's destination was, first, Savannah, and then Pittsburg Landing; though it seems he was not personally informed of the change; for during his march, which only averaged some eleven miles a day he had determined to move to Hamburg, six miles above Pittsburg, and there to await further instructions.

The great point for us, and the essential feature of the campaign, was to strike a blow upon the enemy in our front before General Buell's junction with General Grant. My efforts tended

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* General Grant's article in "Century Magazine," of February, 1885, p. 594.

† Idem., p. 595.

to nothing else. But I knew that, with the forces under me, gathered as they had been, and under such difficulties, no chance of success existed, were I to attempt an aggressive movement upon the combined forces under Generals Grant and Buell, which would have aggregated from eighty to eighty-five thousand effectives of all arms. I informed General Johnston of the fact, urging him again to hurry on with his army, and I also renewed my call upon the War Department for the field officers I had so often—but thus far uselessly—asked for.

General Johnston arrived at Corinth late on the 22d of March. His army came in after him but followed closely, the last files of his columns reaching their place of rendezvous on the 27th. One of his corps, under General Hardee, was stationed in the near vicinity of Corinth. It consisted of about eight thousand men. The other corps—some five thousand more, exclusive of cavalry—commanded by General Crittenden, took position at Burnsville and Iuka, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.

I had scarcely explained to General Johnston the situation around us, the position of the enemy in our front, and the most important details of the organization of the forces under me, in view of the plans he had already been advised of, when, to my surprise, he gravely and impressively declared, with visible emotion, that, with my consent, he would turn over to me the direct command of all the troops now collected at Corinth, including his own, and confine himself exclusively to the duties of department commander, establishing for the purpose his head-quarters at Memphis or Holly Springs. He said that, in his opinion, the adoption of such a course would instill renewed confidence in the people, and even in the army, and eventually benefit the success of our cause. I thoroughly appreciated the motives actuating him, and admired and esteemed him all the more for it. I refused, none the less, to acquiesce in his proposal, and did so in terms befitting the occasion. There was no possibility for misinterpretation on my part as to the "spirit and intention" of General Johnston's offer to me.* It was plain and significant, and I understood it.

It was then agreed that, together—he, as first in command, I as second—we would undertake the task laid out before us, and do our best to achieve success. With his authorization, and in fact at his request, I drew up the plan reorganizing the "Army of the Mississippi," as it was then called, which was approved of and signed by him, as commander-in-chief, and subsequently published to our united forces, on the 29th of March, as a General Orders.*

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* See Colonel W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, p. 619.

The army, as it now stood was divided into three corps: the first, under Major-General Polk, consisted of the Grand Division, as originally organized in his former military district, except as to the artillery and cavalry, otherwise disposed of, and excepting also the troops in garrison at Fort Pillow, Island No. 10, and the other works on the Mississippi River. The second, under Major-General Bragg, was called the Second Grand Division of the Army of the Mississippi, with the same limitations as to artillery, cavalry and the reserves. The third corps was under Major-General Hardee. It consisted of the Army of Kentucky, that is to say, of the troops which had followed General Johnston from Bowling Green and Nashville, subject to the same restrictions with regard to artillery, cavalry and the reserves. The infantry reserves, withdrawn from the three corps, as indicated above, formed a division of at least two brigades. They were placed at first under General Crittenden, and very soon subsequently under Brigadier-General Breckinridge.

As Colonel Mackall, General Johnston's former adjutant, had been recently promoted and sent in command of one of the river defenses, General (then Colonel) Thomas Jordan, my chief of staff, was announced, in General Orders, as Adjutant-General of the united forces of the Army of the Mississippi.

My hope had been that our onward movement could begin on the 1st of April. I knew that General Buell was, at that time, at or near Franklin, and that several bridges—and among them an important one on Duck River—had been destroyed on the route he was following, and I counted upon these and similar hinderances to delay and otherwise embarrass his march. Our deficiencies were such, however, and so great was the inexperience of some of our subordinate commanders, so complete also our lack of engineers, inspectors, and other field officers, that, to my extreme disappointment, our forces were not ready and did not make the projected advance as early as I had wished and striven to have it done.

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* See paper referred to in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Chap. XIX., pp. 267, 268.

A crisis was now unexpectedly brought upon us by the fact of a telegram being sent by General Cheatham to General Polk, his corps commander, stating that late on the evening of the 2d of April, at or near Bethel Station, twenty-four miles north of Corinth, where he was stationed, a large body of the enemy, which he took to be General Lew Wallace's division, had suddenly appeared in his front, with an apparent purpose of attack. General Polk forwarded the dispatch to Colonel Jordan, the adjutant-general, who immediately sent it to my quarters. I read it, thought over it a moment, and believing from its context that the enemy had divided his forces to carry out his reported incursion against Bethel—for nothing showed General Cheatham's surmise as to Lew Wallace's division to be correct—I ordered the telegram carried to General Johnston, after writing the following words on the back of it:

> "Now is the moment to advance and strike the enemy at Pittsburg Landing."

Late as it was (nearly eleven o'clock P.M.) Colonel Jordan repaired to General Johnston's head-quarters, and handed him the dispatch with my indorsement. He went with it to General Bragg's quarters, nearly opposite his own, and asked him to take cognizance of it. General Bragg did so and declared himself in favor of the suggestion. General Johnston was, at first, of a different opinion, which he urged with his usual earnestness. He thought our forces were not in a condition, at that moment, for such an onset, and that it would not be possible to collect our reserves in time. Colonel Jordan reassured him on that point, and added that, by hurrying the advance as suggested, my conviction was that we would take the enemy by surprise, and thus deal him a much heavier blow than by further delaying our projected plan; that we were as ready now as we could expect to be a few days later, when General Buell, in all likelihood, would have already effected his junction with General Grant. General Johnston thereupon yielded his assent, and instructed Colonel Jordan to prepare the necessary orders in view of the movement. This is in contrast with what was lately written about General Johnston's plan of campaign, and his eagerness, at that time, for "immediate and decisive action;" while, on the other hand, it is stated, General Bragg and myself were endeavoring to retard the attack for the purpose of "thorough reorganization." *

The substance of the orders thus prepared by Colonel Jordan, without leaving General Bragg's room, was, that Generals Bragg, Polk and Hardee should "hold their several corps in condition to move at a moment's notice, having forty rounds of ammunition in their cartridge-boxes, and three days' cooked rations in their haversacks; also, sixty rounds of ammunition and uncooked rations in wagons for three days, etc." †

Couriers were sent, that very night, with copies of said orders to Generals Polk and Hardee. General Breckinridge was notified by telegraphic dispatch. General Bragg needed no copy of the circular order, as he was present while it was being written at his own quarters.

G. P. T. BEAUREGARD.

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* See Colonel W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, p. 619.

† See General Jordan's report of his mission to General Johnston, on the night of the 2d of April, 1862.

(*To be concluded.*)

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Let me, on the very threshold, beg my readers not to charge me with presumption if I venture to offer them a few thoughts about the work of the church in America, the work, I mean, which seems to lie most obviously before her—the work most urgently pressed upon her by the needs of the times. The words of a stranger, however feeble or inadequate, may sometimes attract a passing notice which the better and stronger words of a prophet in his own country might fail to win. Whatever I say will not be said *ex cathedrâ*, but with humility, diffidence, and deep respect. In point of fact, it will not express merely my own individual opinion. During my stay in America there is no question which I have asked more frequently or more earnestly than this—What is the task which most urgently demands the consideration and the energies of the Church of God in this great country ? I have put that question to men of all ranks and of all positions ; and I have heard the answers freely given to it by authors, by senators, by politicians of all ranks, by newspaper editors, by judges, bishops, lawyers, and the clergy of all denominations. It is very possible that I shall reflect but inadequately the varying opinions which have been expressed to me, but I will mention some of the suggestions which I have heard, and shall at least speak of them with modesty and with entire good faith.

By "the church" I do not, of course, mean only the Episcopal Church. It would be a mark of unworthy arrogance for any one religious body to claim the title of "the church" as its exclusive badge. My remarks are meant to apply to the church of God in general ; to any and every religious community in the midst of which (to quote the definition of our Article) the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments are duly administered. By the church in America, I mean all the churches in America ; whether Papal, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Episcopalian. These churches are far less separated by differences of organization and of opinion than they are united by common fealty to the Gospel of Christ, and common allegiance to the two ancient creeds of universal Christendom.

I have heard it remarked by one American of eminence that America needs, more than anything else, a new enthusiasm. The very word "enthusiasm" implies a divine impulse, and the enthusiasm inspired by any noble cause is the most elevating and ennobling of all influences. It begins, for the most part, in the soul of some one man, where it burns like a fire of God, and is flashed by him into the souls of thousands. Such an enthusiasm was that which kindled the consciences of William Lloyd Garrison and of John Brown into burning hatred of the slave trade. It has been said of Garrison, and justly said, that posterity will find no marble white enough with which to build his monument. He was endowed with the same moral genius which had enlightened Clarkson and Wilberforce in England, and in the intensity of his conviction he set himself to illuminate the spiritual dimness of twenty millions of his countrymen. He met with an amount of opposition enormous in volume and unspeakably virulent in intensity ; and it is among the saddest parts of this opposition that the church in general was either hostile to him or lukewarm. He had, indeed, some noble and passionate voices raised in his favor—the voice of Sumner in the Senate, of Theodore Parker in the pulpit, of Wendell Phillips on the platform. But, slowly and surely, he awoke the mighty sympathies of the great mass of the people. "Give me anything that walks erect and can read," said the last-named unrivaled orator, "and he shall count one in the millions of the Lord's sacramental host which is yet to come up and trample all oppression into the dust." Event after event, each in itself apparently insignificant, tended to precipitate the great and awful civil war which, more than any event since the War of Independence, bowed the heart of the nation like the heart of one man, and, alike in the North and the South, uplifted into the light of history great examples of human virtue. That war marks the growth to full manhood of the American people. "The war," says Mr. Lowell, "which established our position as a vigorous nationality has also sobered us. A nation, like a man, cannot look death in the face for four years without arriving at some clear consciousness of the stuff he is made of, and without some great moral change. Such a change, or the beginning of it, no observant person can fail to see here. Our thought and our politics, and our bearing as a people, are assuming a manlier tone."

But peace came, and it came to a nation boasting one flag and knit together forever in indissoluble bonds. And times of prosperous peace are times of profound moral peril. In one of his most eloquent passages, Mr. Ruskin has pointed out how, in the struggles of nations, their impotence, and even their disorganization, they often have higher hopes and nobler aspirations. Out of the suffering comes the serious mind ; out of the endurance, the fortitude ; out of deliverance, the faith. But, when the more violent causes of disturbance have sunk to rest, there is danger lest other evils should rise—evils which vex less though they injure more, which suck the blood though they do not shed it, and ossify the heart though they do not torture it. There is danger, he says, lest, at such times, indolence should succeed to effort, apathy to patience, and the noise of jesting words and the darkness of foul thoughts to the earnest purity of the girded loin and the burning lamp.

Has America wholly escaped the moral dangers which are incident to prosperity and peace ?

It is not for a stranger to answer that question. But, if the popular testimony of many among her own writers is to be accepted, those dangers have been felt. American publicists have complained of "a wide prominence of dishonesty both in commerce and in politics ;" of defalcations, of malfeasance, of "sinister legislation, bought and paid for by those whom it profited ;" of a rage for amateur speculation which was the ruin of the peace, the fortune, and the morals of many homes. "The year now drawing to a close," wrote an American reviewer in 1884, "is of a nature calculated to humiliate and discourage those who have both pride and faith in republican institutions. It is not necessary to name over the long and melancholy list. Political scandals and revelations of commercial dishonor are fresh in the minds of all, and all have observed the apparently lessening sense of the sacredness of marriage, the growing tendency toward stock gambling in all sections of the community, and the increased popular success of demagogism in public life."

Mr. Story, the poet-sculptor, in his Ode at Salem, said:

> "Cleanse the Augean stable of politics,
> Of its foul muck of crafts, and wiles, and tricks;
> Break the base rings where commerce reeks and rots:
> Purge speculation of its canker spots."

These passages indicate the two great spheres of American action—politics and business. It is never possible to create, at will, a new enthusiasm, but the steady work of moral development and reformation may always take its place. Is there no special work before the American Church in these great regions of their country's life?

None but ignorant and half-educated persons will ask: "What have the clergy to do with politics?" If "politics" mean the corporate action of citizens, the church would be doomed to work in regions of unreality if she reduced herself to impotence and silence as regards matters which most keenly interest the great masses of the nation. There is little hope of political purity and nobleness if the righteous and the reasonable and the men of culture and aspiration shrink from public life with too cowardly a fastidiousness. Any one who has ever attended a political meeting and watched the ready response awakened by every sentiment, and the intensity of emotion aroused in multitudes by political discussions, must see that the church cannot accept the rule which would shut her out from participation in these struggles. It is true that the pulpit ought never to be abused for party purposes except in cases where, as in the case of slavery, questions are involved which have a direct bearing upon the eternal moral law. As regards the ordinary party questions, clergymen will be for the most part wisely content to do their duty as ordinary Christians. I have heard it said that the church did not gain by any mere direct influence which she exercised in the case of the last presidential struggle. How this may be, American churchmen can judge best; but daily experience in England enables me to testify that the clergy of all denominations may play a most important and a most beneficent part in politics; and that in several ways. First, they may keep steadily and strongly before the minds of the people the general conviction that righteousness exalteth a nation, and sin is the reproach of any people. Next, they may apply this principle in relation to every question—and such questions arise perpetually—in which moral considerations are immediately involved. Further, they may bring to the study of all politics a seriousness of mind and a sensitiveness of conscience which is a safer guide than the conventional maxims of timid statecraft. Lastly, they may set the example of discussing every political question with candor and magnanimity; of being just and fair to opponents ; of refusing either to exaggerate or to misrepresent; of rising superior to the bitterness of petty animosities; of seeing questions in their right perspective by contemplating them through other media than those of party passion. Above all, they may elevate the tone of political discussion, avoiding the base personalities and mitigating the brutal ferocities of language which often make the strife of political parties so ignoble and so saddening a spectacle. No function of the church in relation to everyday life would be more legitimate than that of so intermingling with political life as to ennoble its aspirations and improve its true methods.

In the other great sphere of life, the sphere of business, there is also an opportunity for members of all the churches, whether lay or clerical, to exercise a most beneficent influence. The spirit of gambling is inherent in human nature, because it supplies the craving for excitement which exists alike in the mind of the savage and the civilized man. It can only be exorcised by "the expulsive force of good affections." The power of the pulpit is derived from the aggregate force of innumerable separate appeals ; it illustrates the physical law known as " the superimposition of small impacts," the force which enables the operator to make a heavy bar of iron first shiver, then move, then oscillate with powerful and rhythmic swing, by pelting it time after time with a tiny pellet of cork. The effect of each separate sermon may seem to be infinitesimal; but immense would be the effect of thousands of weekly and daily sermons all tending to impress upon multitudes of business men, who have not forsaken the ordinances of religion, the ideas of magnanimity and stainless honesty. The church alone can effectually teach, and it is her mission to teach, to mankind the firm principles of honor, the nobler elements of national purpose and national life. She alone can convince nations that industrial success is of infinitely lower value than the purpose of duty, the love of right, the enthusiasm for the blessing of mankind. She alone can leave on the minds of men the conviction that "a prosperous iniquity is the most unprofitable condition in the world," and that "labor vocal on every hill-side and commerce white on every sea" are but a poor result of a century of freedom and large civilization if they tend only to luxury and accumulation, and to deepening the chasm which separates capital from toil.

And, therefore, much of the church's work depends upon her attitude toward wealth. Such expressions as "the almighty dollar;" such proverbs as that once quoted by Wendell Phillips about springing after a dollar at any risk, even if it were put on the other side of hell; such a terrible sentence as that of Theodore Parker, "In the American Church money is God," point to a danger against which prosperous nations, and England quite as much as America, have ever to be on their guard. All the clergy, and all true men, can set the example of simplicity of life. They can show an individual superiority to the seductions of Mammon, and rise superior to that base idolatry. One of the greatest living religious teachers of the world—an English ecclesiastic who has exercised stupendous influence—for the greater part of a very long life, and even to advanced age, never had a larger income than two hundred pounds a year. He has shown to the world the spectacle of a great soul living in a small house, and his example has poured silent contempt on the base divinity of gold. Those will best estimate the value of such an example who have noticed the prominence given in Scripture to the dangers of avarice, whether for communities or for individual men. It is more than a hundred years since Joseph Hancock appealed to Americans, by the memories of their fathers, to despise the glare of wealth, and not to be betrayed by the soft arts of luxury and effeminacy into the pit digged for their own destruction:

> "This is the moral of all human tales,
> 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
> First freedom, and then glory; when that fails.
> Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last,
> And History with all her volumes vast
> Hath but one tale."

If such a poet as Byron could thus have learnt from the Hebrew prophets the lessons taught by the fate of Egypt, and of Tyre, and from history the warning memories of Spain and Venice, the church may well feel it to be her duty to keep unceasingly before the mind of nations the truth that opulence is not essential to national greatness, but that justice, mercy, and temperance are; and that, without these, increasing wealth may but be a sign of inward weakness just as the gorgeous conflagration of the autumnal woods is but an evidence of their decay.

And if it be true that divorce in America is greatly on the increase, here, again, there is necessity for the Church's most strenuous action. The corner-stone of the commonwealth is the hearth-stone. The purity and delight of domestic life has hitherto been the special strength and glory of America no less than of England. It is always the main pillar of true national prosperity. When Virgil gave to Æneas the two epithets of *pius* and *pater*, Dryden found great difficulty in dealing with them, because he had not mastered the central conception of the Latin poet, that the national greatness of Rome depended on the spirit of filial affection and family life. Rome was doomed to slow and agonizing decay from the days when her women began to date their years by the number of their husbands. How far the sense of inviolable sanctity in the bond of marriage is being relaxed I cannot know; but, if such be the case, the church cannot be too watchful or too active in arresting the downward movement and averting a peril which would in time prove to be more deadly than any other.

Again, the church would be doing a great work for the national life if she could show her power to elevate and purify the press. No one who has looked at the countless multitudes of local newspapers can fail to fear that powerful influences are constantly tending to bring about a slow degeneracy of the people's life. The immense multiplication of the details of crime, however mean or however revolting—the fact that, wherever wrong or lewdness is wrought over this immense continent, there the knowledge and contemplation of it are forced on the attention of indolent curiosity—is alone an almost unspeakable evil. It familiarizes the minds of the masses with that unwholesome interest in crime and degradation, which, as Dante might teach us, is a fruitful source of demoralization. Then, again, the insatiable passion for personalities is ignoble and weakening, and shows a fatal tendency to invade the sacred privacy of families and of individual lives. Worse than all is the levity with which stories are invented, and the credulity with which, after millions of instances of their utter untrustworthiness, they are still believed. All of us are perhaps too ready to look upon all this as inevitable, as a matter of course, as an evil which, at the worst, is insignificant. I cannot think so. If the church cannot hope, without long and painful effort, to improve the taste of the masses as to cure them of the somewhat base, and certainly frivolous, habit of mind which demands satisfaction in its rage for novelties of gossip, and for the stimulus of criminal details, yet the inculcation of a deeper sense of truthfulness ought not to be beyond her power. That church has done a mighty work which has taught her children that it is far better to die than lie.

Moving, lastly, to the broader field of direct religious teaching, and assuming, as a matter of course, the constant enforcement of the few great essential eternal truths which lie at the very heart of Christianity, it seems to me that three elements are essential to insure the triumph of the church over the opposing forces of agnosticism and infidelity. Perhaps no answer has been given to my inquiries with firmer emphasis than this—that it is the special work of the church, in these days, to teach a true and an intelligent, as opposed to a delusive and obsolete, view of religion. True religion, like true liberty, demands an eternal vigilance on the part of its defenders. We cannot withstand the skilled arms of modern antagonism with the bows and arrows of mediæval warfare, nor will the mud ramparts which alone were possible in darker ages hold out against the tremendous artillery of scientific skepticism. I hold that no defense of religion is possible which does not coordinate its doctrines with truths taught us by God's other revelations in science and in history. No one can be a champion of belief who does not keep abreast of the times. If the church chooses to stand or to fall by the doctrines and commandments of men which she has sometimes held to be infallible ; if she clings with inflexible obstinacy to sacerdotal and sacramentarian theories which are only permissible or possible as individual opinions ; if she attaches as much importance to apostolic succession as to spiritual consecration ; if she determines to abide by exploded systems of exegesis, whether borrowed from the rabbis, the Alexandrians, or the fathers, her days are numbered, and her institutions will be trampled down by the hurrying feet of advancing generations.

The three elements which are essential to the teaching of a strong, living church are Tolerance, Freedom, and Progress.

There must be tolerance. It must be recognized, even by those bodies which are tempted to be most exclusive, that, though there is but one flock, there are, and to the end of time there will be, and are meant to be, many folds. Until the various religious bodies are content to work together side by side in mutual respect and amity; until they are ready to sink the discussion of mind and exacerbating differences and to combine on the bases of things needful; until they respect and refrain from invading each other's separate spheres of work; until they substitute the spirit of large Christian charity for that of ecclesiastical opinion-worship, so long they will be weak. Infidelity and immorality will never prevail against the unity of differing bodies of Christians; but they can safely despise the arrogant self-sufficiency which reigns in "the subdichotomies of petty schisms."

There must be freedom. It is the aim of all the ambitious ecclesiastical tyrannies, whether of new presbyter or old priest, to load the minds of men with secular chains: it is the essence of true religion to make men free. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

There must, lastly, be progress. Churches have been very slow to learn this lesson. They have fought to the last for exploded doctrines and antiquated traditions. They have often resisted to the last the advancing knowledge of mankind. They have become revolutionary and convulsive in the effort to keep things fixed when the world is moving forward, and they have tried to preserve when it was their duty to improve. They have kept their earthen vessels closed so that the swelling tide of human progress did but shatter them upon the shore, or, at the best, roll them hither and thither with their "stagnant doctrines rotting in a dead theology." But

> "The old order changeth, giving place to new,
> And God fulfills himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The churches of America ought, more than any others, to be free from this curse of obstinate stagnation. They ought to recognize, with Coleridge, that doctrines which are vehemently denounced as errors may after all be "the refractions of some great truth still below the horizon;" for the prophetic voice of John Robinson, in his farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers, just before they set sail from the shores of Europe, uttered the memorable words, "I am persuaded that the Lord hath more truth yet to come for us; yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. Neither Luther nor Calvin has penetrated into the whole counsel of God."

And the various churches of America, amid yet higher sources of inspiration, may lift their eyes to a galaxy of great examples. They can cherish the memory of Bishop Berkeley, to whom even the cynical poet attributed "every virtue under heaven," and of Wesley and Whitfield, who flashed into this continent also the electric thrill of moral renovation. They can look to Cutler and to Johnson of Yale College, of whom the latter was the first to introduce into America the Copernican teaching; to the indomitable faith and energy of Bishop Seabury; to the large insight and statesmanship of Bishop White, the bosom friend of George Washington; to the firmness of Roger Williams, and the sweetness of William Penn; to the absolute self-devotion of David Brainerd; to John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, with the splendid achievement of his prodigious toil in the Indian Bible; to the powerful if Cimmerian theology of Jonathan Edwards; to the resolute thoroughness of Dr. Robinson; to John Cotton; to the Mathers; to Dr. Hodge; to William Ellery Channing, that brave Abolitionist, who, as Coleridge said, showed the true spirit of a philosopher in that he had alike the love of wisdom and the wisdom of love; to Belknap and Buckminster and Parker with his trumpet voice. They can look up to these examples in carrying out their task of guiding along the path of moral and spiritual progress "a mighty and swiftly increasing nation, which has to work out, through the stamina, the public spirit, and the watchfulness of its individual citizens, not only its own salvation, but one may almost say the salvation of the human race itself." These great examples stand out on the fine background of American history. "Glorious New England," exclaimed Sargent Prentiss, "on thy green fields rest, like morning dews, the recollections of our early years; round thy guardian summits gather the mighty memories of the Revolution; while far away on the horizon of thy past, like thine own northern lights, gleam the awful virtues of our Pilgrim Sires." There will ever be some developments of national tendency which, if left unchecked, will carry men far away from those awful virtues, yet those virtues, undoubtedly, made America what she is. It was because of those virtues that the feet of a few outcasts made of Plymouth Rock the corner-stone of a mighty empire. It was by the light of those virtues that Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence. It was the memory of those virtues which molded the life of him who

> "*Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*"

Those virtues gave to James Otis and to Patrick Henry the prophet's tongue of flame. They nerved the arm of Washington in battle, and kindled the embattled farmers to fire the shot heard round the world. They kindled the eloquence of Phillips and the song of Longfellow. They gave to Abraham Lincoln the faith at whose bidding a hundred thousand men sprang to their feet as one—the faith which brightened the six and thirty stars round the forehead of Liberty, and flung the broken fetters of the last slave beneath her feet. If the church keep the people in their allegiance to those awful virtues, America shall still be the enlightener of the nations, the beautiful pioneer in the vanguard of the progress of the world. But if she spread a table to Fortune or enshrine Mammon above her altars—if her commerce become dishonest, and her Press debased, and her society frivolous, and her religion a mere twilight of willful and self-induced delusion—she in her turn shall fall like Lucifer, son of the morning, and the double oceans which sweep her illimitable shores shall only plash to future empires a more sad, a more desolate, and a more unending dirge.

F. W. FARRAR.

CANADIAN PROSPECTS AND POLITICS.

I.

THERE is a depression in trade which exists at the present hour all the world over in a greater or less degree. The mysterious cycle which gives us periods of "good" or "bad years" occurs at no fixed time, and yet with certainty, and, with the same certainty, theories are started to account for the phenomenon. Some economic scientists are, during such times, always to be found declaring that "overproduction" has done the mischief, while others say that this is a mere phrase belonging to a false idea. The fact remains, that every few years the appetite for the consumption of goods decreases, and the consequent world-wide fasting is not conducive to thankfulness and happiness. One nation is inclined to believe another to be the cause of evil. If one abides by a belief that a gold standard is alone serviceable, its neighbor demands bimetallism, or a double standard. Meantime, that which strikes the ignorant observer as the most curious of the phenomena attending the shrinkage of commerce, is the vast amount of money lying idle, the fullness of the banks, the hesitation as to the safe or remunerative investment of the gold lying in the overflowing coffers, also the universality of the "depression." It is not like an atmospheric "cold snap" or "heated term," exhibiting intensity only in certain localities; but wherever modern civilization shows its exchanges, its constantly recorded levels of barter, its systematized net-work of money movement, the loss is manifest. The Western farmer finds less demand for his grain, the railway company finds its shares unsalable, the lumberer complains there is no demand for timber, and the European owner of land finds that his tenants cannot pay the rents, which have hitherto given him a certain income. It is the same, whether land be owned in England, France, Germany, or Austria. From

25 to 50 per cent. has to be deducted from the expectation of value. "The railways have made the difference," say some; "our wood is no longer salable, for coal comes in so cheaply;" "it is the quantity of food that comes from America and Australia," say others. No laws make any difference. If protection be tried, the same thing happens under its influence. The French peasant, with all his earth hunger, and economic restriction of the number of his family, in order to save his property, finds the game is up, and goes to the town to see if the pavement there may not, after all, be made of gold. So cities grow fuller and fuller, and discontent grows, until some new nostrum is tried, and some new girt is lifted into place, only to find that it also has no power to prevent "bad times," or to cause "good times," which seems to be as much above human calculation as is the waxing or the waning of the stars of the heavens. Free-trade England groans in unison with her Protectionist neighbors and children. It is only in those lands where the number of the people is sparse as compared with the life of the country that buoyancy and hopefulness are never extinct. Where there are fresh natural resources waiting to be opened up, and plenty of new hands willing to explore them, trade depression cannot be so seriously felt. Wants are comparatively fewer. There is less machinery required, so to speak, and there is less steam required for driving it. This is especially the case in the Pacific coast Territories and Western States of America, and in the vast areas under the rule of the Australian colonies, and those subject to the government of the Dominion of Canada. They also feel the pressure, but in a less degree; and one good to be derived from the evil days is the inclination manifested to make arrangements with their neighbors, which shall be of mutual benefit in encouraging a revival of a free and profitable traffic. If it were not for such periods of pressure, it is doubtful if they would care for much freer intercourse, their own lands giving them so much scope and space and opportunity, that they would be apt to become entirely self-absorbed, and be happy and prosperous even though in forgetfulness of the outer world, and by that world forgotten! But even such vast and fortunate countries must have neighbors, though a sea divide them from the nearest lands under another flag; the sea itself is now not so formidable a barrier as is a range of mountains or an inland tract of desert. And with the neigh-

bors, whoever they may be, whether separated by an imaginary boundary line or by the great waters, there must be communication and some mutual dependence ; for the population nearest to the neighbor, or the sea, finds it advantageous to have dealings with the people in front of them, as well as with their own fellow-citizens behind them. Thus, all the gulf States are interested in Mexican and South American commerce, the New England people and those of Minnesota and Dakota, as well as of New York, are interested in trade with Canada, and the Pacific slope with Australian and Asian trade. Improved communication is fast making the globe a small place, and is linking all the nations closer and closer. It is not many years since the popular idea of Canada, both in America and in England, was that it was a region of no depth, great length, and of picturesque coloring, but of little practical interest. It was known that there were wandering redskins in the middle of that strip of country, also that there were "blue noses" at one extremity, and at the other Chinese, or "yellow bellies." This, with a background of pine wood, snow-fields, Esquimaux, and a Polar bear or two, formed a picture that quite satisfied the popular curiosity. "Where did you learn to speak English so well?" asked an Englishman lately of an Australian ; and not long since it would have puzzled many a Londoner to answer what language, or languages, a Canadian could speak. Old English and French works represent Canadian events as taking place in a country covered with palms, and the remark of a Parisian, on seeing a moose-head fixed at Paris over the Canadian Exhibition, "*Tiens, c'est un Canadien!*" is well known. At the present day both American and British think it worth their while to be well-informed about your northern neighbors, but few have taken the trouble to see for themselves their best provinces. Consul Taylor, of Winnipeg, has kept the government and public well informed of his own views as to the value of the Northern prairie country, and late events, culminating in the Half-Breed and Indian rising under Riel, have directed attention to the old realm of the fur-traders. The insurrection, small as it was, revealed the fact that in a very short space of time volunteers from all the provinces could be sent at an inclement season to fight shoulder to shoulder, in defense of federal law, and under orders issued by the national government. The French Canadian and his English-speaking brothers were of one mind on that subject, and were equally ready to shed their blood in the same cause. It did not matter whether the rising was to be swelled by all the redskins of the North, or by all the sympathizers with rebellion to be found in the far West and border-lands; the thing must be put down, and the supreme law of the Federal government asserted. As it happened, only four or five thousand men were required, but treble that number would have gone, and gone readily in a few more days, if they had been called for. There may have been sympathy for the Half-Breed and Indian grievances, or want of understanding of their condition, from which those assumed grievances arose, but there was no lack of knowledge of the salient fact that Rebellion must be suppressed. In a country where all items of expenditure are jealously discussed, and where a standing army has been considered unnecessary, there has been laid the foundation of an excellent military system, on which both Liberal and Conservative governments have worked. The little war on the Saskatchewan showed how necessary it is to have a small force which may be quickly directed to any point of danger. The Mounted Police of the Prairies, already a fine regiment of cavalry inured to hard work, has been largely increased, and an infantry school is to be instituted at Winnipeg. In former years, such schools, each having a strong company of foot soldiers, had been stationed in New Brunswick, Montreal, and at Toronto. At Quebec and Kingston artillery batteries had already partially served the purpose of imparting distinction to the militia, and new officers and non-commissioned officers alike are to have passed the mill of these schools, while for permanent service first-rate men are turned out by the West Point of Canada, namely, by the military college situated at Kingston. On the Pacific coast, also, a beginning has been made, and the country sees with pride the proof lately given of what her children can do, and knows that not only are they ready for work, but are also ready to train themselves so that the work shall be well done.

Such self-confidence is in itself a mainspring of national sentiment, a feeling which has been growing in Canada during the last eighteen years. When a people settle down to make themselves defensively strong, and recognize the fact that military duty is not a question of fuss and feathers, but of sacrifice and of training for what may at any moment bring serious suffering, that people mean business in keeping themselves a live political unity. Canada has proved herself already to be no confederation of factions, but a solid, well-linked chain, from which no link can sunder itself without breaking the strength of all. Her provinces mean to march and swing together for good, come what may, and it would be the shallowest judgment which could take the words of a few selfish men, anxious to lengthen their purses by the ruin of a rising nation, as anything but an exception to prove the rule which has made the Northern Union ambitious and "national" in the truest sense. When confined to the old Eastern provinces there may have been some misgiving, even among the most patriotic, as to the vitality of the Union, but with the opening up to settlement of the new country in the North-west any such misgiving vanished. The discovery that there was more soil to be profitably worked, in the stretch of 800 miles between "the Rockies" and the Red River of the North, than existed in all the original thirteen Colonies, with old Canada thrown in, practically solved the problem as to whether the Dominion would live. Men doubted long that matters were as hopeful as they were represented to be. The accounts of the fur-traders, whose eyes had been more to the skins of beasts than to the earth's skin, were unfavorable, partly because they did not wish to have their fur-bearing animals driven off, and partly because they never realized that farming could be successfully carried on where communication was kept up by dog sleighs in winter and by canoes in summer. The steamers on the rivers and the railways crossing the great plains made their calculations fail. It is now certain that nothing can beat the Manitoba soil for grain, and that a large portion of Assiniboin is excellent. This is the province immediately to the west, and further in along the frontier line is Alberta, whose ranching has proved a success. In the Saskatchewan province, again, farming has been proved to be capable of being pursued with profit, although such profit can only be gauged when the railway arrives. The same may be said of the furthest division of the Northern Territory, the District of Athabasca. The coal along the whole space near the mountains is excellent, so that the possession of cheap fuel is only a question of time. The settler must, in the mean time, confine himself to lands near clumps of poplar, or be within reach of the railroad. It is curious how complete has been the success of the vast majority of the new possessors of these virgin lands. They have come, too, from all parts and from all classes. Many Americans have entered. There are many Englishmen drawn from the educated classes, and I have myself directed gentlemen, having only small incomes, to lands which have assured them competence, sport, health, and happiness. The Scottish crofter and cotter has been most successful wherever he has been helped with a little money for the start, and even the East Londoner, who never knew the knife from the handle of a plow, has by no means failed, although his good fortune must be difficult of attainment. Disbelief and doubt have gone. The capitalists who first viewed the country in connection with proposed railway enterprises went there full of doubt and came back full of enthusiasm. Disappointing as was the bad effect of the first "boom," the country has steadily improved, and homesteads by the thousand will again rise in 1886 over an ever-increasing area of cultivated land. Emigrants will know from the late display of vigor made by the government that they are safe, and will value the advantages of efficient military protection, and of the handling of the police, which proves that disaffection and insurrection meet with a doom both just and prompt. Severity of law may be too great in a highly civilized community, but in a country attracting a new population such severity is one of the first necessities of effectual settlement. Canada has a pure and excellent judiciary, and she knows how to carry out the law so that vigilance committees and amateur police are unnecessary. The Indians, who have been so quiet with the exception of a few bands influenced by the unscrupulous among the disaffected Half-Breeds, will continue to acknowledge the generosity and honesty of the treatment given to them by the government of the Great Mother. All this in regard to the value of our prairie country the world has now fully seen and acknowledged, and it has made Canadians look the future in the face with a calm mind. They know that theirs is a country worth living for and worth dying for.

I remember, in 1878, Prince Bismarck asked me if the attraction of the United States was as strong for Canada as it used to be. It is not unnatural that this should be the impression made in the minds of the older generation of statesmen. The London "Times" has the same opinion now. One of that paper's most influential editors once visited America, coasted the whole frontier, sat down in his hotel at Niagara, opposite Canadian ground, went on to St. Paul, and sturdily refused ever to set foot on the soil of the Dominion. And why? Because he thought Canada a country in a false position, trying to belong to somebody who did not want her, and necessarily a failure as a self-governing community. These opinions are held by very few in England now, although they are still heard when some inveterate free-trader insists that all who do not worship Cobden out of England are morally and politically mere outcasts and heretics, fit only for the slow-burning fire of ruin. "The leading journal," as the "Times" is called, still partly sticks to its old ideas. The leading articles have changed in tone, but no correspondent is detailed to give in large type the information lavishly spread throughout the newspaper columns on the affairs of Australia. The "houghing" of a cow's hind leg by an agrarian Irish ruffian is given a more prominent place in the columns of this paper than are the weighty questions of provincial *versus* federal law, or the discussion on free education, the liquor laws, tenures of property, or maritime rights, which are of real importance, and have an interest bearing on similar questions in England. This apathy, still to be observed in old-fashioned circles of politics or journalistic literature, is the outcome of the belief indicated in Prince Bismarck's question.

It is not so very long ago that many of the men now prominent in Canadian political life put their hand and seal to a document, drawn up at Montreal, which recited the reasons for the annexation of Canada to the American Union, and yet, in the comparatively short life-time that has passed, what a change! An annexationist now, if not regarded as a "crank," is hardly regarded as either a sound politician or as possessing half the spirit of a man. Extraordinary as the progress is which has been made in cohesion, there is, of course, "tall talking" on the part of the dissatisfied, and I have often wished that the glorious example of the American press were more followed in allowing nothing unpatriotic to slip into the newspaper columns. The patriotism on the Southern side is perhaps carried a little too far—or at all events I may be excused for thinking so—when, as often happens, any very favorable account of their Northern neighbors' progress is carefully omitted, although a governor-general's speech, delivered on the very borders so that it might be well heard across the boundary line, may have carefully emphasized the "extraneous" matter! Any jarring notes to the political harmony will oftenest be heard from the coast, where many do not like the high tariff, just as American dissatisfaction with such fiscal arrangements is oftenest heard from the Western States. It is in regard to a maritime question affecting these provinces that the "Reciprocity Question," or the renewal of some treaty like that of 1854 between Canada and America, is of most importance. This is the matter of the fisheries along the shores of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and New Brunswick. Unless some arrangement be made, local collisions between the fishermen are inevitable, and with these come heart-burnings and little troubles, which, if not rising into importance, are often annoying and troublesome. The great fish "schools" have of late left the northern shores, and are found farther south. But it is a well-known fact in natural history that such desertions of coasts long frequented by the fish are temporary, and that at any moment the fish may reappear in numbers greater than ever. This has been proved to be the habit of mackerel and herring, so that although our good friends of Gloucester, in Massachusetts, may at the present moment think the fishing-grounds of less value than of old, it is certain that any movement of the fish northward to their old haunts would cause trouble, unless some sensible arrangement be made for the common use of the extensive fisheries. The French knew well the value of the Newfoundland banks, and it is idle to assert that they are ever useless. The harvest of the sea is sometimes great, and sometimes of less amount, but valuable and profitable it always is. There is much reason to believe that the local habits of the fish differ just as the time of the entrance of salmon differs in various rivers, and a joint commission, composed of Canadian and American practical scientists, if sent round the shores to make inquiry and draw up a report, would probably result in an agreement as to the main points. Information of interest would in any case be gained by such an inquiry, even if it resulted in no legislative action. There is no part of the international ground which a treaty might cover that is so much in need of agreement, for unwarranted intrusions are certain as soon as temptation takes the fishermen toward the proscribed water boundary, and it is only between the fishermen that quarrels may develop into unpleasant circumstances of which the governments of the respective countries need take heed. Americans understand so well from their own experience and the teaching of their scientists the necessity of protecting the fisheries, if they are to remain of value, that they are certain not to be blind to the advantage of mutual trade, under international regulation, in the northern seas. In other respects waiting need bring no evil, for British imports flow in with regularity into Canada in spite of the depression of trade. Britannic exports to foreign countries have during the bad times fallen off, as it is estimated, to the amount of 13 or 14 per cent., while to her own colonies her exports have only declined by about 3 per cent. Each hour and day during which no arrangement is arrived at in regard to reciprocity gives the British tradesman an advantage as compared with the American. In the view of imperial federation this is no evil, and delay but decides the opinion even of the most purse-greedy, to the effect that the commerce between the mother and daughter is what really pays, and that there is nothing like sticking to the old lines. Each bale of goods taken by Canada from the old country enforces the preaching of those who in English public life speak up for the colonies and tell the British that nothing pays so well as an Anglo-Saxon colony—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and the best all-round customer for their English manufactures. Canada can get on well enough without reciprocity. She would like to have it, but her imperial trade is so good that she is nearly independent of others. To be sure, the recollection of the old days of reciprocity do not disincline her to their renewal. But there are valuable properties she can call her own now which she at that time hardly possessed, and she can at the present day easily afford to wait until these are demanded and her terms are acceded to. She waited before, and when the treaty was concluded the progress made was marked. In 1853 the trade amounted to $20,000,000, as recently given from correct data by the Toronto "Mail." In 1854 the treaty commenced to operate, and the volume of trade "leaped to $33,000,000. In 1855 it was $42,000,000; in 1857, $46,000,000; in 1859, $48,000,000; in 1863, $55,000,000; in 1864, $67,000,000; in 1865, $71,000,000, and in 1866—the year the treaty was abrogated —$84,000,000."

All this was satisfactory enough, and the volume of trade increases now along lines of latitude instead of along lines of longitude—that is, between the people who are politically united rather than across the international boundary. When men speak of that boundary they are apt to suppose that the customs line excludes everything; but it is notorious that it does not do so, and one can drive a coach and six through the acts of the assemblies of the two countries at many points, so that local inconvenience is much eased by smuggling, which is impossible to prevent, and is practically winked at by both governments. The whole question should be settled by neighbors rejoicing in so much common sense and real friendship. The feelings of the two countries are all that could be wished toward each other. If the American occasionally wonders that the Canadian does not cast in his lot with himself, the Southerner is some one who has not seen that even where the habitable country belonging to the Dominion is narrowest, it has a breadth greater than that of many famous European states. He has not taken into account the intense pride in a rising nationality and in the vast material resources that make that pride and hope a reasonable and moderate expectation, certain, unless by the hand of God, to be triumphant. Canada must be torn limb from limb before she will now give up her faith and recant. There is no instance in history of such a recantation. In the main she has the best wishes of her big brother. There is ample room for both, and one is as little likely to cause the other trouble as the independence of Belgium is likely to cause trouble to France. In another half-century Canada might if she chose stand as a nominally independent, as she is now a really independent, State. Whether she will wish to change her flag remains to be seen. To do so now would be to cut her own throat to breathe more freely. She has nothing but good from her connection with the ancient glory, modern greatness, and assured freedom of Britain. She is under no leading-strings, and can shape her destiny as she chooses. As yet she is loyal to the backbone to the great traditions and the wonderful fabric of the Empire. But she has in her the rising strength of a separate nationality which will probably prefer the alliance, as it has in the old days revered the scepter, of the British Sovereign.

LORNE.

II.

NATURE has made Canada an integral part of the American continent. With this arrangement geographically the politicians cannot interfere. With it politically and commercially, however, they do interfere, but in the end, politically and commercially, as geographically, nature will have her say. The forces of nature are all working in the direction of unity and homogeneity, and although the end may be postponed it cannot be averted. Canada will one day be to the United States what Scotland is to England, not by force of arms, for there is no land-hunger among our neighbors, but by gradual absorption, and because her few millions of people will see it to be more to their advantage, some years hence, to join their fortunes with seventy-five or a hundred millions, sprung from the same parent stock, than to hold themselves aloof for mere sentimental reasons and perish from commercial atrophy.

The idea of imperial federation is being cried up. But imperial federation is a dream. It has been repeatedly presented to the Canadian people, but although it may have a certain fascination for a few, to the great mass it is devoid of meaning. Between the various colonies of the British Empire there is no community of interest. They have nothing in common. Federation would not bring them a day's sail nearer the one to the other, nor create a single commercial necessity. The federation of Canada and New Zealand, for example, would have no more practical effect than the federation of a railway train and a balloon, nor would it create a feeling of attachment between the people of the two lands. However attractive the idea of colonists sitting in an imperial parliament and making laws for the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland might be to the colonists themselves, of such attractiveness to the people of the United Kingdom it would be wholly devoid; and the colonists would be given to understand that, however competent they might be to legislate for a colony, they were not competent to legislate for a kingdom, the laws of which the inhabitants prefer to make for themselves. Representation would involve taxation. The most enthusiastic imperial federationist has not yet avowed his willingness to contribute toward the cost of England's foreign wars. To what extent are the people of Canada affected by the delimitation of the Afghan boundary line, or the suppression of the rebellious tribes in the Soudan? What is Hecuba to them, or they to Hecuba? Their interests all lie on this continent, and the people of Michigan, New York, and Maine, are more to them, commercially and socially, than the people of South Africa, New Zealand, or Australasia. It is more profitable, more convenient, and more satisfactory in every respect, to do business with neighbors next door than with strangers thousands of miles over the sea. In the direction of imperial federation Canada's destiny does not lie.

Yet sentiment cannot altogether be left out of consideration. It weighs. The people from the old land who have come to Canada are not prepared to subscribe to continental union. They are not even prepared to subscribe to independence, while the young Canadians look to something nobler than simply transferring their allegiance from one land to another. They look forward to setting up a nation of their own and becoming a great and united people. The result of the experiment of confederation, however, has not held out much encouragement for the success of independence. When these British North American provinces were confederated into the Dominion of Canada, the argument of the politicians was that it would weld the scattered parts together. This it has failed to do. An apparent union there may be, but of real union there is no more now than there was eighteen years ago, when the cabalistic words were uttered that were to make the contracting parties one. The union was not the result of internal desire but of external pressure, and there is scarcely a province that has not at some time since confederation threatened to withdraw. Independence might be the means of tying this many-jointed fishing-rod into a firm bundle, but at present the provinces are only a fishing-rod, with one end reaching to the Pacific and the other resting in the waters of the Atlantic. Only the other day one of the joints got sadly out of order, and it cost four millions of dollars and many valuable lives to fit it firmly into its place again. There are those among us who claim that the only effectual way to head off annexation is for the mother-country to give Canada her independence. But we may as well make up our minds that if confederation has proved to be the finger-post on the road to independence, independence would prove to be the finger-post on the road to continental union.

That Great Britain would readily consent to Canada becoming an independent nation is looked upon on all hands as a matter of course. Canada has but to ask for her independence and she will get it. When she gets it she will step out from under the maternal roof, followed by the maternal blessing, and reciprocating the maternal love. The Manchester school of politicians told us years ago that we could go when we were ready; but as yet we have not taken the hint. In the event of a conflict between Great Britain and Russia the old question as to whether the colonies are a source of weakness or of strength to the mother-land would be revived. The duty of protecting the colonies from attack would seriously hamper the mother-land, and it is doubtful if her wings would be broad enough to cover the flock. The unprotected sea-coast of Canada, for example, on the Atlantic as well as on the Pacific, is notorious. Canadians do not shut their eyes to the fact that were it not that their country is a colony of Great Britain they would never need to give a thought to their sea-coast. Russia would never attack Canada on its own account, but simply because it is a dependency of Great Britain. Dependence means danger. Separation would mean security.

One circumstance that strikes all who visit Canada is the steady growth of social and commercial relations between the two peoples lying to the north and south of an imaginary boundary line. Young men cross over to the adjoining States in search of employment quite as readily as they set out for Manitoba; intermarrying and giving in intermarriage goes on all the year round; there are in business in Canada thousands of mercantile Americans, with their roots in the soil; on the occasion of any public demonstration, such as the return of the volunteers from the North-west, the Stars and Stripes fly as freely and almost as frequently as the Union Jack; in the suppression of our late insurrection an American officer, in the uniform of his regiment, played a prominent part, and was saluted as freely by the volunteers as if he were one of their own officers; United States paper currency passes as readily in Canada as our own; our government concedes to American fishermen the right to fish in Canadian waters to the end of the fishing season, although the right itself expired by the abrogation of the fishery treaty on the first of July; the United States Government did a neighborly turn during our Indian trouble in holding the Indians in check along the Montana frontier, for which it was thanked by our Governor-General in his prorogation speech; and the experience of most travelers is, that were it not for the vexatious customs houses which line both shores it would be impossible to realize that they had crossed the threshold of a different land. The two peoples are of the same race; they speak the same language; they kneel at the same altars; they draw their laws from the same fount; they glory in the same grand old traditions; they were nursed in the same lap; they live side by side—what more natural, then, than that they should be steadily drawing closer to each other as the years roll by? Englishmen like Messrs. Gladstone and Bright never weary of sounding the praises of their kin beyond the sea and limning the splendid future of the American republic. In that future are the people of Canada to have no share? As James Russell Lowell makes one of his characters say, "the Past is a good nurse, but we must be weaned from her sooner or later, even though, like Plotinus, we should run home from school to ask the breast after we are tolerably well-grown youths. It will not do for us to hide our faces in her lap whenever the strange Future holds out her arms and asks us to come to her." The opinions of our people may be divided into three classes. One class is in favor of union with the United States; a larger class is in favor of maintaining the *status quo;* a third class is in favor of independence. Independence will be the middle path upon which the rival sections will compromise. In the end continental union will come.

ALEX. F. PIRIE.

III.

I SCARCELY think that a discussion as to the advisability of the severance by agreement of the connection which now exists between the mother-country and Canada can lead to any practical result. A very large proportion of the people of Canada believe that their future prosperity depends upon the continuance of that connection, and that feeling is so strong that I think any attempt at a separation would lead to civil war.

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE IMAGINATION.

THE man of imagination—that is to say, of genius—having seen a leaf and a drop of water, can construct the forests, the rivers, and the seas. In his presence all the cataracts fall and foam, the mists rise, the clouds form and float.

To really know one fact is to know its kindred and its neighbors. Shakespeare looking at a coat of mail, instantly imagined the society, the conditions, that produced it, and what it produced. He saw the castle, the moat, the drawbridge, the lady in the tower, and the knightly lover spurring over the plain. He saw the bold baron and the rude retainer, the trampled serf, and all the glory and the grief of feudal life.

The man of imagination has lived the life of all people, of all races. He was a citizen of Athens in the days of Pericles; listened to the eager eloquence of the great orator, and sat upon the cliff, and with the tragic poet heard "the multitudinous laughter of the sea." He saw Socrates thrust the spear of question through the shield and heart of falsehood; was present when the great man drank hemlock and met the night of death tranquil as a star meets morning. He has followed the peripatetic philosophers, and has been puzzled by the sophists. He has watched Phidias as he chiseled shapeless stone to forms of love and awe.

He has lived by the slow Nile amid the vast and monstrous. He knows the very thought that wrought the form and features of the Sphinx. He has heard great Memnon's morning song—has lain him down with the embalmed and waiting dead and felt within their dust the expectation of another life mingled with cold and suffocating doubts—the children born of long delay.

He has walked the ways of mighty Rome, has seen great Cæsar with his legions in the field, has stood with vast and motley throngs and watched the triumphs given to victorious men, followed by uncrowned kings, the captured hosts, and all the spoils of ruthless war. He has heard the shout that shook the Coliseum's roofless walls when from the reeling gladiator's hand the short sword fell, while from his bosom gushed the stream of wasted life.

He has lived the life of savage men, has trod the forest's silent depths, and in the desperate game of life or death has matched his thought against the instinct of the beast.

He knows all crimes and all regrets, all virtues and their rich rewards. He has been victim and victor, pursuer and pursued, outcast and king—has heard the applause and curses of the world, and on his heart have fallen all the nights and noons of failure and success.

He knows the unspoken thoughts, the dumb desires, the wants and ways of beasts. He has felt the crouching tiger's thrill, the terror of the ambushed prey, and with the eagles he has shared the ecstasy of flight and poise and swoop, and he has lain with sluggish serpents on the barren rocks, uncoiling slowly in the heat of noon.

He has sat beneath the bo tree's contemplative shade, rapt in Buddha's mighty thought, and he has dreamed all dreams that Light, the alchemist, hath wrought from dust and dew and stored within the slumbrous poppy's subtle blood.

He has knelt with awe and dread at every shrine, has offered every sacrifice and every prayer, has felt the consolation and the shuddering fear, has seen all devils, has mocked and worshiped all the gods—enjoyed all heavens and felt the pangs of every hell.

He has lived all lives, and through his blood and brain have crept the shadow and the chill of every death, and his soul, Mazeppa-like, has been lashed naked to the wild horse of every fear and love and hate.

The imagination hath a stage within the brain, whereon he sets all scenes that lie between the morn of laughter and the night of tears, and where his players body forth the false and true, the joys and griefs, the careless shallows and the tragic deeps of every life.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

LANDLORDISM IN AMERICA.

In pursuance of the plan announced in the prospectus of the North American Review for 1886, a special commissioner was deputed to personally investigate the present condition of landlordism in the States of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota. His report is subjoined.—Editor.

I.

No one can study the American land question and fail to have his imagination struck by the unexpected analogies that will appear between the agrarian concerns of the American Republic and those of ancient Rome. The Romans, too, had their public domain, of which they were exceedingly proud, with a free farm thereon (in theory) for every citizen; and so serene did this make them feel, that, until the agitation of Licinius Stolo, year of the City 378, they could not be got to seriously understand that there was such a thing as a Roman land question. Now, nothing can be more remarkable in the United States to-day—year of the Republic 109—than the Roman serenity of the people and government on all affairs relating to the land. Why should we bother ourselves about the land? they say, with an imperial gesture (exactly like the Romans in talking of their *ager publicus*), why should we be so silly as to anticipate trouble about the land in a country with a public domain like ours?

But Rome found the *ager publicus* all too helpless to stem the progress of agrarian disease once it had fairly set in. Let us be sure that America is not already in the first stages of the very disease that Rome died of. "*Latifundia*"—that is its name in economic pathology, land monopoly we may translate it—"*latifundia,*" says Pliny, "killed Italy." Why should it not kill America too, if the remedies be not applied in time?

The fact is, America has refused to avail herself of one of the most vital of the advantages that she became heir to by virtue of her late entry into the family of nations. She has refused to benefit by the bitter experience of Europe in regard to the land question. From any of her elder sisters of the Old World she might have learned what a Pandora's box of evils an ill-favored land system is; she might have heard them bemoaning the day they ever allowed certain forms of tenure to grow into their soil, and envying America the measureless and virgin territory on which she could experiment with intelligent caution, having their mistakes before her eyes. Even since the founding of the Republic, revolutions and agrarian agitations in Europe have furnished her with many a violent and awful proof of the curses entailed on a country by improper dealing with its land. But America has paid no heed. Taken up with the phenomena of her marvelous growth and prosperity, secure in the vastness of her area and the noble freedom of her political institutions, she has indulged an unthinking optimism, which under the circumstances is hardly unnatural. [With more than one other troublesome social problem, she has left the land question to shift for itself. And the American land question appears to have been shifting for itself with a vengeance.]

II.

It is hard to say which is the more surprising: the extent to which the system popularly known as landlordism has gained a footing on American soil, or the ignorance of the American people about the matter. The average American has a vague but rooted idea that the agriculture of his country is carried on by farmers who are the owners of the farms they till. With a great public domain, of which every man who chooses can possess himself of a hundred and sixty acres, he cannot conceive of any farmer tilling land that does not belong to him, and paying for the privilege of doing so into the bargain. If you ask him whether the landlord and tenant system prevails to any extent in American agriculture, he will promptly answer, "No; how could it?" and will proceed to explain why the thing is impossible. Far-fetched as this innocence will appear beside the facts, it is nevertheless so common as to be the rule; and the unclouded optimism of the American citizen is simply what is reflected in the land policy of the American nation. The immensity of her territory has blinded the Republic to the responsibilities that that very immensity entails. It has never seemed to occur to her that a day would come when there would be no public domain to give away; and the facts that it takes more to set up farming than the mere virgin soil, and that, as population increases, and as pre-emptible land recedes farther into the West, and as desirable land increases in price, it becomes more surely impossible for the man without means to establish himself as a land-owning farmer, seem never to have weighed with her law-makers. They have not paused to devise any national and systematic code of land laws; and they have made no more attempt to regulate the relation of landlord and tenant than if that relation had no existence. Content with rendering as simple and generous as possible the process of obtaining a proprietor's title to the land, and with some provisions to hinder an undesirable devisement of estates, they have left the various States' legislatures, if ever the emergency arose, to plan whatever land codes they wanted for themselves. The inevitable result has followed. Of course the emergency arose; of course the landlord and tenant system began to appear. As the settlement of the country proceeded, the land went up in value. The man of capital desired to invest in a rising stock. The landless poor man found it impossible to buy such high-priced acres; and the poor man already in possession found it difficult to maintain his hold with Ahab's eye upon his vineyard. It is the ordinary process in conditions where money is omnipotent. Owners of large estates in agricultural districts soon learned that the most profitable disposition they could make of them was to let them in farms to tenants. They let them to tenants; and then they called upon the States' legislatures, in which they held a controlling interest, to frame laws which would secure them against any loss. Probably the history of constitutional government does not furnish a more one-sided scheme of legislation than the landlord and tenant laws thus manufactured in the Western States. They are implements for extracting rent, as simple, terrible, and brutally candid in their design as a revolver in the hands of a peremptory road-agent. At any rate, they have resulted in fixing on the free soil of the United States a land system that belongs to the ages of barbarism. Its nearest surviving relative in Europe is the *métayage* of France; but it is more like the *zemeendaree* and *ryotwar* of Britishized India than any land system now in existence.

III.

The census supplies an extraordinary illustration of the innocence—there is no other name for it—of the American people and government in this matter. The last Census Report, that of 1880, is the first to give any statistics as to agricultural tenures in the United States! Clearly the Census Commissioners, representing the average state of mind, did not suspect the existence of any land tenure in the United States but the one, pure, fee-simple proprietorship—at least to an extent that made it worth while investigating. So for sixty-five years, since the institution of the regular census, land tenures have been allowed to make what growth and pursue what vagaries they might, unrecorded by the official statisticians. What a commentary on this comfortable apathy is the state of things revealed by the first statistical inquiry!

At the Census of 1880, there were found to be 1,024,601 farms rented by tenants in the United States. That figure alone entitles America to take rank as possessing the largest tenant-farming class now furnished by any nation—a strange singularity for a nation, one of whose proudest boasts is that the old feudal institution of landlordism has obtained no foothold on her free soil! But to bring it nearer to the actual truth, that figure must be made bigger still. In the five years since the census was taken, it is a modest and well-considered calculation that the number of tenant-holdings has increased twenty-five per cent. This would raise the number of tenant-holdings at present in the United States to a million and a quarter. In Great Britain and Ireland, the countries that have clung most tenaciously to the aristocratic system, the number of tenant-holdings, according to statistics obtained during the late Parliament, is as follows: in Ireland, 547,222; in England and Wales, 414,804; in Scotland, 80,101—total, 1,069,127. Thus the United States, at the present day, possesses a quarter of a million more tenant-farmers paying rent to landlords than the Three Kingdoms and the Principality together. It contains more than three times as many as England and Wales; and more than twice as many as landlord-ridden Ireland. In the State of Illinois alone, which is neither an old Eastern nor a Southern State, there are, with a less population, nearly twenty thousand more tenant-farmers than there are in the ancient feudal kingdom of Scotland. By the time the next census is taken, the probability is the number of tenant-farmers in the United States, increasing in pace with the population, will be up to a million and a half. And from that onward, for reasons which will appear, the ratio of increase in tenancies will be greater than ever.

Going a little further into the figures of the census, we find that the total number of persons engaged in agriculture in the United States five years ago was 7,670,493. Of this number, 2,984,306 are registered as nominal owners of their holdings, the remainder being tenants paying rent to landlords and agricultural laborers. Thus, at the first flash, the census shows the popular notion that the agricultural classes of the United States own the soil they till to be incorrect. In France, on the other hand, where the feudal system is not yet eradicated,* out of a population twelve millions less than that of the United States, there are in round numbers 5,000,000 rural proprietors, each holding less than twenty acres (from one to six hectares apiece), and cultivating the land with their own hands; while there are 2,000,000 of a class comprising owners of holdings larger than twenty acres, landlords, and owners of house property in towns.† It is a suggestive fact—to go no deeper than the surface of these figures—that France, with her expensive and restricted soil, has been able to place more than five million thrifty agriculturists in absolute proprietorship of their small holdings, while America, on her boundless virgin area, unhampered by title-deeds or traditions of past proprietorial rights, with her ever-growing population hungry for land, has been unable to establish quite three millions of proprietors, counting both great and small. And it is to be noted that the ratio of working proprietors of land in France is steadily increasing, and that of the tenants and landlords is steadily diminishing, while the reverse is true of the United States.

But the figure given in the American Census Report is too comprehensive. To get at the number of genuine rural proprietors, or working farmers who own the lands they till, in the United States, the estimate of the census must be considerably reduced. The 2,984,306 farms given as owned by their cultivators include farms of all sizes, from three acres up to a thousand acres "and over." Can the owner of a farm of "1,000 acres and over," or, for that matter, of "500 acres and under 1,000 acres," be called a working cultivator, or (to use a word of undemocratic extraction, but which expresses more nearly than any other the general idea in the minds of Americans as to the class of men by whom they suppose the agricultural regions of their country are being occupied) can such a man be called a peasant proprietor? A thousand-acre holding is a considerable ranch, and its owner must be a capitalist of some kind, a stock raiser, or a "bonanza" farmer. If a "bonanza" farmer, since farming on that system has proved a failure, he has probably by this time broken up his ranch into tenant-farms of eighty acres and become a landlord. Nor does the census say at how much "over" a thousand acres it places the limit of size in its calculation, nor whether it includes as stock farms of "1,000 acres and over" the great ranges of the cattle barons. The likelihood is it does include these.

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* There are still upwards of a million *métayers* in France.

† In the absence of the latest official statistics of French agriculture, these figures are taken from M. Léonce de Lavergne's great work, "*Economie Rurale de la France*," which is generally allowed to be even a more accurate authority.

Again, the census does not specify how many of its 2,984,306 proprietors possess a clear title to their holdings. It is certain that this figure would sustain an enormous reduction if this specification were made or the number of genuine proprietors only returned. The inquirer is amazed at the extent to which farmers, nominally owners of their holdings, really hold the land under mortgage, and at the extent to which small farmers, in the westerly States and Territories especially, are plunged in debt. It is a very rare thing in the newer States to come across a farmer who has not a mortgage or a bill of some kind falling due on his land—if he be an "owner"—or on his crops or his stock or his machinery. Every other "owner" you meet, both West and East, is struggling to pay the interest on his mortgage, and seldom seems hopeful of lessening the principal. The grip of the money-lender is fast on the American farmer. His gilt legend, "Loans," strikes the eye with too significant frequency in every Western town. Who own these wasting farms, that you noticed during your day's ride, with their bleak frame shanties through whose unglazed windows the prairie wind sings? Ask the land agent, who is almost invariably the person that transacts loans and who unrolls before you a list of "improved" farms, in which he recommends you to invest rather than in the virgin soil. *He* owns them. What have become of their former proprietors? "Oh, various things; they were a shiftless lot for the most part; some went back East again and became tenant-farmers; others moved farther west and pre-empted new land; some quit the country in the middle of the night when an interest was coming due—ran away from their honest debts, the rascals!" Others—but of these he omits to tell you—signed an agreement in his office, the same day they filed their pre-emption entry, to hand over to him for a sum of money the title to their homestead as soon as it was perfected according to the statute; it is one of the many ways of defrauding the nation of its public domain and throwing "improved" farms upon the market. In towns like Kansas City, Omaha, Sioux City, and St. Paul—and even in towns no bigger than Worthington, Minnesota—there are publications specially devoted to advertising "improved" farms for sale. I am convinced that had the Census Commissioners thoroughly discriminated, the number of small farmers in the United States genuinely owning their holdings would have been found to be something more painfully slender than even the 2,984,306 given in the report.*

IV.

If the public domain were really what it was forty years ago, or what it is in the eyes of most Americans still, an apparently illimitable area of glorious soil, its proportion would at once be dwarfed in the eyes of thoughtful people when they beheld the stupendous rate at which it was being squandered. When the historian comes to render his account of the disposition of the public land of the United States, it will be a record unparalleled in the history of the world. Uncle Sam will have whipped creation in that matter anyway! We are all more or less vaguely familiar with the story of the railroad grants, by means of which empires of the public land have been fraudulently seized by irresponsible corporations. Occasionally some speaker or writer asks attention for these things, but the public barely listens, and shrugs its shoulders. The other day the legislature of Texas, when it wanted to build a capitol, instead of making a bargain with an architect and contractor in the ordinary way, called in a company to save it the worry, and asked it to take over the whole job in return for a grant of three million acres of land! Such grotesque wantonness the American public witnesses with a helpless smile and the reflection that "there's more where that came from." But these are comparatively open transactions. No one can travel in the border States, where there yet remains some public land to be disposed of, and inquire among the land-offices there, without feeling that by paltry and occult methods the United States is being defrauded of nearly as much of its domain as by the depredations of railroad corporations and the extravagance of Texan legislators. In Dakota and Minnesota I have seen men farming land and paying half the crop as rent to quasi-landlords who actually had no title whatever to the holdings. They had filed timber culture entries, by which, on payment of a fee of $14 and signing an agreement to plant ten acres of trees within four years' time, they were allowed to use one hundred and sixty acres of prairie land, to which their title would be perfected when the agreement was fulfilled. The entryman, under the timber culture act, is not compelled to plant any trees until the third year from date of entry, when if he likes he may file a relinquishment of his claim, and the land is again open for entry.* Thus a man without the faintest intention of planting a tree, or doing a stroke of work, can get possession of one hundred and sixty acres of land, let it to a tenant, and pocket a heavy rental—half the fruits of another's toil—for three years! The most astonishing thing about this is that such a man can find a tenant. Others file timber culture entries solely with a view to holding the land out of market until the growth of the community around it puts up its value. At the end of the third year the entryman will agree with another for a sum of money to make a written relinquishment so that the other may file a new entry on the spot. The second speculator will repeat the process, only charging a heavier consideration to the next entryman when the time comes for his relinquishment. So the process goes on, without a tree being planted on the land, and the honest settler is kept hopelessly out of it. This sort of thing is carried on by wholesale; and on a larger scale still are frauds perpetrated under the desert and timber land acts, which enable capitalists in combination, by means of dummy entrymen, to appropriate miles of territory. The dummy entryman is also used by capitalists on an immense scale under the homestead and pre-emption laws.

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* This conclusion is in accord with that of two prominent American writers on the land question, Mr. Henry George and Mr. W. Godwin Moody. The latter, in his "Land and Labor in the United States," page 85, says: "Could the facts be definitely ascertained, I have not the least doubt that they would show that at least fifty per cent. of the small farm ownerships in the older States are merely nominal;—that that number at least of the small farmers in these States are so deeply in debt, so covered by mortgages, that their supreme effort is to pay the constantly accruing interest that a roof may be kept over the heads of the family—an effort that can have but the one ending. In the newer States is found a similar condition of things."

Indeed, there is no room for a difference of opinion on the point. The evidences stare the observer in the face.

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* Act of May 14, 1880, Section I.

Meanwhile the settlement of the country proceeds at its own bewildering pace. America is still presenting to the world the phenomenon of a population that doubles itself in periods of twenty-five years. Emigration is pouring in from all quarters of Europe, and from over the Canadian border, at a rate never before surpassed. It is certain that at the next census the population will be found to have increased more since 1880 than even during the preceding decade. From figures issued by the Census Bureau the other day, it appears likely that some of the Western States and Territories will go near quadrupling their population. Dakota has grown almost twice as populous in the five years since 1880, and Nebraska has increased from 452,402 in 1880 to 740,000 in 1885.

If there were still untold millions of fertile acres of public domain to be given away, and if a stop were put to the gigantic frauds by which the domain is now being swallowed up, it would be a matter of grave moment to consider how this population is to be accommodated on the land, and how it should be protected in possession of the nation's gift.

But it is no longer a question of untold millions of acres of public domain. It is no longer a question for to-morrow, it is a question for to-day. The pressure has already come. For all practical purposes of bestowing free farms on its growing population, the public domain of the United States is now exhausted.

According to the Reports of the Land-Office, the diminution of the public domain, by all methods, fraudulent and lawful, under the homestead and pre-emption, the timber culture, the desert, and other land acts, is taking place at the rate of 20,000,000 acres a year. And according to the same Reports there are just 5,000,000 acres of the public domain still left of a character that makes them available for settlers without capital.

Said the Land Commission, Report of 1880: "It was estimated, June 30, 1879, that (exclusive of certain lands in the Southern States) of lands over which the survey and disposition laws had been extended, lying in the West, the United States did not own, of arable agricultural public lands, which could be cultivated without irrigation or other artificial appliances, more than the area of the present State of Ohio, viz., 25,576,960 acres." Of this arable land about 7,000,000 acres were taken up in the year ending June, 1880; and in the four years since then, so much more of it was absorbed that the 5,000,000 acres now declared to be remaining is a rather generous estimate.

The public domain outside of this includes only lands which are (1) totally unfit for agriculture, (2) lands which are only capable of being cultivated after great outlay of capital for irrigation or clearing, and which are open for pre-emption under the desert land act, (3) coal and mineral lands, (4) "lands likely to be segregated for private land grants still unsatisfied," (5) Indian and military reservations, and (6) the unsurveyed area of the Indian Territory, making in all something over 600,000,000 acres unavailable for homesteads.

The Government Land Commissioner in his latest Report sounds the note of alarm. He points out the rapid disappearance of the arable public land, and calls for the repeal of the timber culture, the pre-emption, and the timber and stone land laws. "The time has fully arrived," he declares, "when wastefulness in the disposal of public lands should cease;" "the time is near at hand when there will be no public land to invite settlement or afford citizens of the country an opportunity to secure cheap homes." *

The first palpable effect of the exhaustion of the public domain will be to put up the price of land. Last August I saw in Chicago land-offices, maps of whole counties of virgin prairie land which could not be bought for less than $15 an acre. And in States like Minnesota and Iowa, it was impossible to find land of any good quality at all offered for sale at less than $9 an acre. Even such a price as $10 and $15 an acre puts the land beyond the reach of the unmoneyed class of working farmers whom the nation is anxious to see thriftily settled on the public domain. One hundred and sixty acres at $10 would cost $1,600, and then—a fact which is strangely overlooked—even if a man gets a farm for nothing, he has to go to a large outlay before it begins to pay. He must buy expensive machinery (at the least a sulky-plow, a harrow, a seeder, a mower-and-reaper, and self-binder), a team of horses, a yoke of oxen, seeds, and he has to erect a house and barn, and purchase as much food for himself and family, and winter fodder for his stock, as will put him through

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* Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land-Office for the year 1884.

the year that he must wait before he cuts his first crop. Very few homesteaders have cash enough to procure all this without going into debt. The majority of them do go into debt, and, with the eternal mortgage upon their belongings, they begin farming under a disadvantage that but a remnant of them ever triumph over. Those who wish to avoid debt or to get out of it have to endure privations that the Eastern farmer has no conception of. Indeed, the only class of settlers that seem fully capable of facing this experience are the Scandinavians, who seem born to struggle with a stubborn soil and climate, and who burrow in the earth sooner than go in debt for frame shanties. But the land that was $10 an acre three months ago has been going up in price since, and will continue to go up by leaps and bounds. When there are no more far-distant patches of government land to be had by the hardy settler, he will have none but this high-priced land to choose from. How is he to possess himself of it ? He simply cannot possess himself of it. Never again will such a man have the opportunity of winning by his toil and his courage a free home for himself in the United States. The land will have become the privilege of capital, and the hardy settler will have no alternative but to rent a farm and work it as a tenant, with no hope of coming nearer to being its owner after a lifetime of labor on it than he was the first day he broke its verdure with the plow. Thus from the day—now officially declared to be at hand—that the public domain is quite exhausted, the manufacture of a tenant-farming class will go on in the United States at an enormous rate. "We let most of our land in certain districts to tenants," said a Chicago land agent to me, "because by that means, with the rents we get, we are often able to turn the original price of the land twice over in three years. We have sixty thousand acres now let to tenants. But we don't keep it up ; landlording needs supervision, and we do business on too extensive a scale to go in for it as a regular thing. It enables us to hold our land out of market until we get a fancy price for it. But many of the men we sell to keep on the tenants, only retaining one farm to work themselves. It pays better." In fact, even now—before the public domain is yet altogether a tradition—tenant-farmers are being manufactured in the Western States by wholesale. Settlers have no other resource, and men who own land find it a vastly better investment to let it to tenants than to work it themselves. They can get a preposterous rent—half the crop is a usual rent—and thus make a round income without working for it, having their time to devote to other pursuits or to idleness, while their principal, the land, is sustaining its great increment in value from the labor of the tenant and of the other tenants around who go to make the neighborhood a settled community. It is a fact that there cannot be a moment's doubt about—the tendency to landlordism in the United States is inevitable and immense. Even the owner of one hundred and sixty acres will, by and by, when land becomes still scarcer, find it more easy and enjoyable and far more profitable to break his lot up into small tenant-holdings, retaining only a few acres of kitchen garden for his private use. This conclusion, which is really palpable, can be submitted to a satisfactory statistical test. I have made up from the census, in groups, the distribution of the tenant-farmers over the various States :

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	NUMBER OF TENANT-FARMS.
North Atlantic Group:	
Maine	2,718
New Hampshire	2,615
Vermont	4,762
Massachusetts	3,140
Rhode Island	1,236
Connecticut	3,126
New York	39,872
New Jersey	8,438
Pennsylvania	45,322
South Atlantic Group:	
Delaware	3,708
Maryland	12,537
District of Columbia	210
Virginia	34,896
North Carolina	52,722
South Carolina	47,219
Georgia	62,175
Florida	7,240
West Virginia	12,001
Northern Central Group:	
Ohio	48,573
Indiana	46,050
Illinois	80,244
Michigan	15,411
Wisconsin	12,159
Minnesota	8,453
Northern Central Group:	
Iowa	44,174
Missouri	58,892
Dakota	678
Nebraska	11,419
Kansas	22,651
Southern Central Group :	
Kentucky	44,027
Tennessee	57,196
Alaska	63,649
Mississippi	44,558
Louisiana	17,006
Texas	65,465
Arkansas	29,188
Western Group :	
Montana	80
Wyoming	13
Colorado	584
New Mexico	408
Arizona	101
Utah	433
Nevada	136
Idaho	89
Washington	471
Oregon	2,286
California	7,124

This table throws a remarkable light on the progress of American landlordism. What we look for first is neither a very old nor far Eastern or Southern State, nor a very new nor far Western State, but a State that in its growth has been subjected to the more or less modern conditions, and that has got beyond the transition stage, through which the newer States are now passing. Such a State will be found in the Northern Central Group, and it will be allowed without cavil that the most typical State of that group is Illinois. What do we find ? That Illinois has gone deeper into the landlord and tenant system than any State of the entire Union ! And if we look through the other States of the same group, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Kansas, Missouri, and even a State so new and so far west as Iowa, we behold a state of things equally astonishing. In less than ten years' time, States like Minnesota and Nebraska—which already possess a substantial tenant class—will have as many tenants and landlords as any of the others.

Looking now in another direction, we see that, with the exception of New York and Pennsylvania, the older Eastern States have not gone in for tenant-farming to anything like the same extent as the settled mid-Western States ; and this, of course, is because they were settled up at a time when good free land was in fact—not in fancy—both plentiful and handy. The old plantation States of the South may stand out of our argument, as it may be urged that they had no alternative after the war but to transform the slaves on the plantations into tenants.

V.

A study of landlordism in some of the States where it most flourishes has revealed many remarkable things which cannot be referred to on this occasion. It may be remarked, however, that landlordism, in States like Illinois, is aleady taking on many of the features that distinguish it in the Old World. The crude nucleus of a landed aristocracy is being surely formed. In Springfield at present there dwell some two hundred landlords who live upon the rent-roll of properties in the middle of the State. Many of them were originally working farmers who, having the eye for land—what a French writer calls the *convoitise des champs*—managed to gradually patch together a considerable estate, and, having leased it to tenants, have come to the State capital to live at their ease.

The children of many of them are now picking up the airs of the great world in Paris and London. One landlord, whose estate I visited, owns forty thousand acres in one county alone, and this is less than half of his entire property. From these forty thousand acres he derives a rental in cash of considerably more than $100,000 a year. He is not an American citizen, but an Irishman who has earned an unpleasant notoriety as a landlord in his own country. He lives in England, leaving his estates here to be managed by an agent, and contenting himself with a flying visit to this country once every four years or so. He does not even pay taxes to the country from which he draws his princely income. In his leases, one of which I possess, it is stipulated that the tenants shall pay yearly to the landlord "the full amount of all taxes or assessments, general or special, of every kind or nature whatsoever, made, levied or assessed upon or against" the land they hold from him. He must find a most enjoyable difference between landlording in Illinois and landlording in Ireland; for in Ireland the land law is now framed with some view to the protection of the tenant, and the tenant's representatives in Parliament have had some hand in the making of it; whereas the land law of Illinois is made altogether for the landlords and by the landlords, without a single one of its thirty odd clauses that can be construed as other than a device to secure that the tenant shall bleed to the full nomination of his bond.

VI.

The soil of a country is like the blood: once it is badly vitiated it seems impossible ever to cleanse it, and the poison keeps constantly breaking out. It was thus with Rome, whose public domain, though continually increased by conquest, was helpless to protect the republic from the consequences of early improvidence. Periods of distress, agitations, struggles between rich and poor, land laws made under terror of the fire-brand in the hands of hunger, are the phenomena which, like ulcers on the human body, mark the progress of agrarian disease throughout the course of Roman history. No remedy could succeed in stemming it. Though every agrarian law had for its object to establish the poor on small holdings on the public domain, and to break up the illegal monopolies of the rich, yet Rome ever failed to establish her peasant proprietors or to shake off the grip that monopoly was once allowed to fasten on her vitals. The men of money evaded law after law, bought up officials, ruined the agitators, and the poor men worked their bonanza estates for them as tenants or as serfs, or came into the city to swell the vote-selling mobs of the purlieus. Feudalism, landlordism, usury, slavery, spread their humors over Rome's fair body. The ulcers became cancers, and the disease, so thoughtlessly admitted into the system, became the disease the patient died of in the end. "*Latifundia perdidere Italiam*," wrote the historian with the scientific precision of a physician closing the entry of an interesting case.

Does America, that looks to no conquests to add to her domain, whose day for purchasing Louisianas and Alaskas is over, America that is inviting the overflow populations of the world to take possession of her territory, and is giving to every one the privilege of citizenship, that allows even aliens to possess her soil—does America hope that the law of cause and effect will suspend itself for her benefit, or that the consequences which followed the mistakes of Rome will not follow like mistakes when committed by a republic of the nineteenth century? She would seem indeed to be confident that a miracle will happen for her protection, to judge by the stupendous recklessness of her policy in regard to the land. She is squandering her public land at such a rate that it would be rash to name the hour beyond which there will be a square foot of it still left; and she has allowed to intrench themselves upon her soil systems and conditions of land tenure that have spread ruin and misery wherever they have been given a footing in the Old World. Rome, even in the days of the Gracchi, was at least able to fall back on the fact that she had given no individual a fee-simple title to more of the public domain than the five hundred jugera deemed sufficient for a homestead, and that all who held more than that held it illegally. America seems anxious only to bestow her soil as completely out of her hands as possible, and to leave the proprietors of her mammoth grants as irresponsible as absolute monarchs in the disposition of their possessions. Even now agriculture, the pride of America as it was of Rome, is seeing its aspects revolutionized, is seeing the small proprietor being transformed into the tenant-at-will, the independent small holding passing away and its place taken by the large estate—the *latifundium*—with its landlord, its agent, its rack-rents, its oppression, its misery, and its hopelessness. How far otherwise the parallel may be extended between the two great republics of the world—and the Americans are no wiser, harder-headed, farther-seeing, or fonder of freedom and independence than were the fathers and citizens of early Rome—how nearly pointed on the course that Rome followed to her ruin, from democracy to plutocracy, from plutocracy to imperialism, is America to-day, it would be bootless here to conjecture. But there is a forecast one may make that is as practical as a meteorologist's storm-warning. It is that the day for an American Licinius has arrived who will reform the landlord and tenant tenures, remodel the homestead and pre-emption, the timber culture and desert laws under which so much fraud is perpetrated, and restrain the encroachments of monopoly upon the public domain. Let us hope, with an abiding faith in American human nature and law-craft, that the new laws will not be so framed that the men of money can evade them, and that the American Senator who takes the part of Licinius will not, like his cynical prototype, be their earliest violator. Let us hope that the evil may be checked in time before it take root and spread, and before it be left for some Tiberius Gracchus, in noble desperation, to shake the republic to its foundations, and fail of his object after all.

THOMAS P. GILL.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing article was written, the startling Report of the Commissioner of the General Land-Office for 1885 has appeared—a document that confirms some of the worst anticipations above expressed. Land Commissioner Sparks finds that "the magnificent estate of the nation, in its public lands, has been to a wide extent wasted under defective and improvident laws, and through a laxity of public administration astonishing in a business sense, if not culpable in recklessness of official responsibility." From the outset of his administration he was "confronted with overwhelming evidences that the public domain was being made the prey of unscrupulous speculation and the worst forms of land monopoly, through systematic frauds carried on and consummated under the public land laws." The Commissioner gives most interesting particulars of these "frauds," and recommends the immediate amendment of several of the existing land laws.

LUCRETIA BORGIA.

It is some years since a doubt was raised whether this famous character is not unjustly pilloried in the popular imagination—whether she could possibly have been guilty of the weight of crime and depravity attributed to her. The familiar conception of her is derived from Victor Hugo's tragedy, published in 1833, and from Donizetti's opera, the plot of which was borrowed from it. These works are generally supposed to be based upon some foundation of truth, and to present actual traits of character and stage situations approaching to historical events. But Victor Hugo details, in his preface, the method by which he elaborated his heroine. He placed the most hideous moral deformity where it should be most repulsive—in the heart of a young and beautiful woman; to make her crimes salient, he gives this woman power; to render such a figure interesting, he plants in her one pure sentiment, that of maternal love—and names this curious monster Lucretia Borgia.

A reaction has so far taken place as to stimulate an inquiry into the historical evidence upon which, alone, she should be judged. Her ablest defenders have so far rehabilitated her that it is now conceded that the accused is entitled to a new trial upon the testimony of contemporaneous writings.

The career of Lucretia Borgia divides itself into two periods, the first comprising her life in Rome until the age of twenty-two, the second her residence at Ferrara from 1503 until her death—each charged, during her lifetime, with one distinct offense. Her future biographer will find no difficulty in proving her innocent of murder. Upon this accusation the fictions I have cited are the only proof. Upon other charges there will be opportunity for a complete scrutiny of her life, when documents relative to the Borgias, existing in the Vatican library, among the unexamined manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are brought to light. No woman could have passed her early years in the intimate and familiar presence of such debauchery and crime as were habitual in Rome at the close of the fifteenth century—under the influence of evil example, with the temptations of irresponsible power, and the dangers that pursued extraordinary beauty—without sustaining injury to her character and a blemish upon her name.

Her relatives stand distinctly before us. Her father was Pope Alexander VI., a man of dissolute nature, to whom, when a cardinal at Siena, a suggestive letter of rebuke was addressed by Pope Pius II :

". . . Several ladies of Siena, habituated to frivolity, being together at the gardens of Jean de Bichis, your eminence, forgetful of your sacred office, shared with them in most licentious dances. The companions of the young women were excluded, and you alone instigated what followed, of which decency forbids me to speak."

Her mother was the Contadina peasant Vanozza Catanei ; her brother, the profligate Cesare Borgia. Her early education was received at the convent of San Sisto, where she acquired a tolerable facility in reading Latin, and a slight knowledge of Greek. Upon returning to Rome, at the age of twelve, she was instructed in French, in *belles-lettres,* in music, and in the dance. At the age of thirteen she was married to Giovanni Sforza, Count of Pesaro, who came to live with her at the Vatican.

Among her associates at this time were her sister-in-law, Sancia, a woman of corrupt life, Giulia Farnèse, who, with her husband's consent, became the mistress of Alexander after he had wearied of Vanozza. They all lived in an atmosphere of duplicity, of intrigue, of blood-shedding. The favorite entertainments at the Vatican were bacchanalian dances of courtesans, occasionally followed by the performance of what was called a *torneo d'amore.* The novelettes and comedies of the time turned upon the stolen sweets of seduction and adultery, and it was not unusual for a company to be entertained with a *conversazione galante* in the form of a scandalous narrative.

At the end of four years the ambitions of Alexander and Cesare had extended, and their projects for Lucretia had risen. The alliance and political standing of Giovanni Sforza being no longer equal to their aspirations, they disdainfully ordered him to leave Rome, and went through the form of a divorce based upon his alleged impotence. To this reproach he answered with a torrent of abuse of all the Borgias. He accused his wife of several lovers, of one illegitimate child, of participation in the *torneo d'amore.* If we accept his statement we must believe Lucretia guilty of habitual incest with her father and two brothers; we must conceive her under the guise of a young and beautiful girl, well educated, often in the society of men of letters, devout, given to benevolence, and, at the same time, guilty of a perversion from which the most brutal criminal would turn with disgust. Upon her divorce from Sforza commence the first rumors against her virtue. Satires and epigrams are written, all based upon the declaration of her husband, that she had given birth to an illegitimate child. But the journal of Burkhard—a minute registry kept at the time when Lucretia reigned at the Vatican, and mentioning the tragic events which transpired during her girlhood, and of which she was at times a witness—makes no allusion to her fault. Camillo Benimbene, confidential *habitué* at the Vatican, says nothing of it in his record. Only one foreign ambassador mentions it, and then as a rumor, not as a fact. Her husband, during four years of wedded life, breathes no reproach upon her. It is only when he is contemptuously dismissed, and his marriage annulled, that he bethinks himself of every infamy wherewith to accuse her. Had he said less he would have been more entitled to belief. And it is a noteworthy fact that Guido Posthumus, who knew Sforza intimately, and who, as his partisan, wrote diatribes against the Borgias, never makes any charge against Lucretia.

At the age of twenty she was married to a prince of the Neapolitan house of Aragon. Upon the downfall of his family, shortly after, he was assassinated by Cesare Borgia. Her letters give evidence of the horror with which the murder of her second husband filled her, and of her momentary repugnance for her brother; nevertheless, she was very willingly married, six months later, to Alfonso of Ferrara, whom she had never seen, and with whom she was united solely for political considerations. In this tragedy appears the defect of Lucretia's shallow nature. She loves her husband, she knows of his danger, she takes no means to protect him, and when he has been done to death she merely retires tearfully to Spolito to pout at its author, and presently passes, with astonishing levity, to preparations for the brilliant future which awaits her.

At Ferrara she found a court and populace predisposed against her as the daughter of Alexander and sister of the cut-throat Cesare; but the witchery of her presence charmed all hearts. She is described, at this time, as of rare beauty and winning grace. Of medium stature, having clear blue eyes, light auburn hair, quickly smiling lips—"her face," says Cagnolo da Parma, "is radiant with gayety and good humor." Three years after her arrival, a Venetian courtier, named Bembo, fled from Ferrara. It was whispered that, having excited the duke's jealousy, he had barely saved himself by flight.

The letters exchanged between Bembo and Lucretia are the only evidence that remains upon which to judge of their relations. It was not unusual for women of rank to have such correspondents, nor is its general discontinuance without exception in our own day. The letters in question cover a period of nearly ten years—from 1503 to 1513. We find token in Bembo's that he was inspired by an ardent passion, which he covers by the most delicate forms. Lucretia's, which are nine in number, evince an admiration for the Venetian, who seems to have been more adept than her soldier husband in the accomplishments which please a woman. On both sides are expressions of regard. There is respectful devotion from him, and sentimental interest from her. But no suggestion beyond this is to be found. When such letters are the accompaniment to a criminal amour, it is natural that they cease, or at least undergo some change, when the motive which induced them is ended. These continue, and are always the same in tenor. Their substance is identical during the three years when Bembo must have been frequently in the presence of Lucretia and the seven years that followed his flight, during which he never saw her. The relation, whatever it was, continued unchanged by separation.

There were others who wrote amorous verses to Lucretia, not with intention, but in conformity to the usage of the time. Tebaldo, Calcagnini, and Giraldi have sung of the sweetness of their duchess, comparing her, after the allegorical fashion of the age, to Minerva, to Venus, and, for virtue, to her namesake, the classic Lucretia of republican Rome. Caviceo, Vicar of Ferrara, dedicates to her a romance by a letter in which he addresses her as "accomplished, wise, and modest." The verses of Strozzi are more impassioned than any passage in the letters of Bembo, as in this sonnet to the "Rose of Lucretia:"

"Oh, Rose, born on a favored soil, wherefore is thy coloring more brilliant than thy mates'? Is it not that Lucretia enriched thee by the touch of her crimson lips!"

The number of these effusions from different hands makes it presumable that their object encouraged them with evidences of the gratified vanity of her sex. But her most emphatic justification comes from Ariosto, who had more opportunites for knowing her than any of the others: in "Orlando Furioso," he places her image in the temple of honor, and lends to it the attributes of purity. These writers would scarcely have ventured upon the sarcasm of honoring in the subject of their verse qualities notoriously deficient. To have done so would have given to their phrases the bitterest and most stinging irony, for which, in those days of action, the writer might have paid dear.

In the autumn of 1503, the Pope died poisoned, his son Cesare lay dangerously ill, and the fortunes of the Borgias collapsed. Lucretia was left with no other support than that she derived from the name and influence she had made for herself in twenty months' residence at Ferrara. Had she been a cruel, sensual, defiled woman, her husband, profiting by her helplessness, and acting according to the ethics of the time, would have made quick riddance of her. The excitable Italian populace, inspired by the downfall of her family, would have clamored against her. But the reverse is the fact. She continued to be honored and cherished by her husband, and from the Ferrarese she received every mark of loyal attachment.

Victor Hugo causes Lucretia to die at the hands of her son in a house of prostitution, at the climax of a poisoning scene. The truth is that she died in childbed in her palace, surrounded by her husband and children. Shortly before her death she addressed to Pope Leo X. a letter full of courage and resignation, of which these are the last words:

> "And so great is the favor of my all-merciful Creator, that it is accorded to me to know that the end of my life approaches—that in a few hours it will have ceased, though not before I shall have received the holy consolations of the church. Arrived at this solemn extremity, I bethink me as a Christian—albeit a sinner—to ask of your Holiness the spiritual treasure of a benediction that may bring peace to my soul. And while entreating this favor for myself, I further commend my husband and my children, who are devout followers of your Holiness, to the benefits of your spiritual grace."

This does not sound like the utterance either of a remorseful conscience or of hardened guilt. Her husband's judgment upon her, written a few hours after she had been laid in the grave, is found in his letter announcing her death to his nephew:

> ". . . It is not without tears that I trace these words—so afflicting to me is it to be deprived of a companion so dearly beloved; for she was such to me by the qualities of her nature, and by the tender affection that existed between us. . . ."

The Middle Ages are filled with struggling and ambitious princes and sinful women. But scarce one of them stands in the focus of so strong a light as the Borgias. It is less his crimes than the monstrous travesty of his life that places Pope Alexander on a pedestal: it is less his murders and vices that have made the name of Cesare Borgia conspicuous than the grotesque contradiction of such a fiend figuring as the son, the instrument, the counselor of the head of the Christian Church. And so with Lucretia. The stain upon her is from surroundings she could neither change nor escape. Were it not that she too stands within the halo of the sacred precincts of her father's office, her fame, and the story of her frailties would barely have left a trace upon the page of Italian history. And but for her connection with such a brother as Cesare Borgia, her story would not have grown to the fantastic legend that it is.

WILLIAM WALDORF ASTOR.

DEMOCRACY IN ENGLAND.

THE most interesting political problem which the world presents to-day is undoubtedly that now pressing for solution in England. For the first time in their history, the majority of her people have power. Henceforth England is democratic. Cajoled, overruled, thwarted for generations by the aristocratic classes, who have doled out to them from time to time only such small measures of reform as were necessary to prevent revolution, the people have never been fully heard. A climax was reached, however, last session, when an act was forced upon the House of Lords which at once transferred power from the privileged few to the masses. It is this fact which renders the situation there so interesting to the political student.

To understand the position, it is needful to look for a few moments at the scope of the great act just referred to. The electoral system of England was quite fair when established centuries ago. The centers of population then lay in the south of England, and this district very properly sent to Parliament a majority of representatives. Those were the days when pretty little Bideford in Devonshire was required to send sixteen sail against the Armada, while Liverpool's quota was but two. But as population shifted to the middle and north of the island, the great cities like Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and Glasgow, each sending but two representatives, were offset by the two members from some decaying village in the south. Seventy thousand electors, say in Birmingham or Glasgow, had no more weight than a few hundred in Woodstock or Eye. To aggravate this injustice, the aristocratic land-holders kept firm hold of the counties by restricting the right of voting to such as paid a rental sufficiently high to exclude all but the farmers, and traders who were wholly dependent upon them. All this has been changed. The bill of last year gave the suffrage to residents throughout the country districts. Even the hitherto despised farm laborers are now voters. The total electorate is increased about forty per cent. The squires and parsons, who have for generations designated the county representatives, now find themselves powerless against the populace. The influence of this revolution is already seen in the character of the representatives whom they have just returned. The old-fashioned country squire has been discarded, and a rising barrister, rich merchant, or large employer of labor, has taken his place. Most significant was the remark of one of the Liberal managers to me, that he had on his list thirteen titled gentlemen ready to serve the state in parliament, for whom no satisfactory constituencies could be found, their titles being regarded as elements of weakness before the new voters.

Even more important than the vast addition of voters to the electorate, is the redistribution of seats which the measure enacts. One hundred and sixty-seven have been taken from the smaller constituencies and given to the great cities. All constituencies less than ten thousand in number have been abolished. What England is and has been, under the rule of a privileged class chiefly intent upon preserving their privileges, and restricted at every turn by feudal traditions, is well known. What she is to become under the rule of a democracy, in which no barriers exist between the popular will and its prompt execution, is now the question.

To this but one reply can be given. The people of England will proceed to assimilate their political institutions to those of all other English-speaking communities. The institutions will be rapidly colonialized and Americanized. This process began some years ago, and has continued without cessation. And just in proportion as the people have been able to influence their rulers, has the movement been accelerated. The record of recent legislation shows only a copying of our institutions.

The first, and by far the most important step ever taken in this direction, was the adoption some years ago of a system of public education. Every child in the land now receives an education equal to that we bestow. Small fees are still collected from parents; but the local school boards have authority to pay these fees should parents be unable to do so. Attendance is compulsory. The first generation of those who have benefited by this system are now appearing upon the stage of action with the inevitable result: they are radical. Education is everywhere a sure destroyer of privilege. The boy who can read the Declaration of Independence may be trusted to feel its force sooner or later. The doctrine of political equality, once known, enters the heart of man a welcome guest. Following us again, as we have seen, the Electoral Act is a great step toward our plan of equal districts and universal suffrage. Legislation upon law, a department in which Britain has long been considered supreme, has recently been in the direction of combining law and equity, after our practice. The patent laws of England have just been modeled after our own, although there is yet much to be done to bring them to our standard. In regard to married women's property, the year before last witnessed the discarding of feudal ideas and the adoption of our American law upon the subject. In a short time we are to see marriage with a deceased wife's sister allowed in England, as it is in other English-speaking lands. If we except legislation upon Irish land, which Mr. Gladstone and every member of the government pronounced exceptional and only justifiable upon the plea of necessity, it would be difficult to point out any change made in the laws of Britain during the past twenty years which is not in the direction of the colonial and republican practice. If we regard prospective legislation, we find the same suggestive fact: the parent land is politically under the influence of her children, and her part for some years is to follow them.

England's position is indeed unique among nations. Time was when not only all English-speaking communities, but the thinkers of all nations looked to her for lessons in political development. The Mother of Nations was the Mother of Parliaments. Trial by jury, *habeas corpus*, freedom of the press, constitutional government itself—all these are her work, but they are of the past, and are accepted as the law of gravitation is, there being no further dispute about them. The world requires the solution of new problems, fitting a more advanced condition; and toward this the fondest admirers of the dear old land must blush to own her contribution has been but scanty. A new English-speaking community, about to found a state, might indeed still look to England, but it would be to learn not what to adopt, but what to avoid. Instead of standing forth a model, she has become a warning. No State would think of adopting throne, hereditary chamber, primogeniture and entail, church and state, or any other of the remains of feudal institutions with which England is afflicted. Her more enterprising children seem to stand reminding her that

> " *To have done*, is nothing
> But to stand like rusty mail,
> In monumental mockery."

It is not to be supposed, unless Britain's star has set, and Britons are Britons no more, that the people—now educated, and becoming more and more apprised of the truth that they have been indulging in a Rip Van Winkle sleep—will rest content, deprived of the position they once held as the foremost nation of the world, the pioneer in political progress. I am quite sure that Britons are still Britons, a mighty race, whose part in the world, great as it has been, is not yet played to a finish. England has risen from her slumber.

The appeal to the people, which has just taken place, has unfortunately resulted in an equivocal response. For several reasons the towns which voted first have deserted the Liberals for the Tories. First, the Irish vote, from dictates of policy, was thrown against their natural allies, the Liberals. Second, the premature explosion of the issue of church disestablishment on the eve of the election frightened many Liberal churchmen into opposition. The Englishman regards every new question as a "bogey," and has to be led up quietly to the object, and accustomed to it before he can be driven on. A third reason, no doubt more potent than a surface view would indicate, was a deep aversion to the Liberal policy in Egypt and in the Soudan, which resulted in a loss of thousands of lives, and added twenty millions sterling to the budget. A fourth cause is found in the theory of "Fair Trade" as opposed to "Free Trade." Great distress prevails in the manufacturing districts, and many operatives were carried away in the hope that there might be some virtue in the fair trade idea. Thus the Liberals fought at enormous disadvantage in the towns, and lost a great many seats which are safe for them under normal conditions.

Turning to the country districts the reverse is found. All that the most advanced Radical hoped for has been accomplished, and more. The enfranchised voters have turned upon their former oppressors, the parson and the squire, and their class, and have driven them from the field. The new parliament will differ from other parliaments in nothing so much as this: that the members from the country are Radical instead of being Tory magnates as hitherto. The gains in the counties have equalized the losses in the towns, and all to the advantage of the Radical wing of the Liberal Party. Left to struggle with the Tories alone, Mr. Gladstone and his followers would have had a triumphant majority, and be able to carry the Liberal programme complete. But here comes in the most important factor of all. As Richelieu says to the king, of Cromwell: "A great man has arisen in England"—Parnell. His triumph is complete. He holds both parties at his mercy. The scales of power are in his hand. In presence of this great fact speculation concerning the Radical programme is vain. The question of Ireland overshadows all. Nothing else will be heard of. Not even the reform of the rules of procedure of the House, which is a crying necessity, can be accomplished except by arrangement with the "uncrowned King of Ireland." The natural course would be an alliance between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, when probably a few of the Whigs—Goschen and Hartington, would go sulking to their tents. Rosebery and Harcourt, and even Granville, if he does not finally retire, which is probable, may be depended upon, however, to remain with the advanced wing, which is headed by Chamberlain, Morley, Dilke and Trevelyan. Even with this alliance it is probable that an appeal would have to be made to the country next year upon the one vital question of Home Rule for Ireland; and as the Liberals would then have the Irish vote, the result could not be doubtful.

But neither Mr. Gladstone nor the Marquis of Salisbury, not even Parnell, nor any other man, can tell what combination the kaleidoscope of British politics is to form during the next sixty days. It is useless, therefore, for me to speculate further upon it. This much, however, is certain: The democracy are in power, and their measures will be carried, if not this session, then in some early parliament. And included in these will be Home Rule for Ireland, with rights similar to those enjoyed by the States of the American Union—a further imitation of her giant child by the mother land. When this great question is settled, but not till then, the Radical programme of further democratic reforms will be in order.

The most important consideration of all is the future attitude of Great Britain toward other nations. Is the British democracy to be pacific or belligerent? Is Britain to continue to embroil herself in wars in all parts of the world? Is she to maintain her costly and useless interferences in the quarrels of Europe? I think not. I believe that the British democracy is to be pacific, and that the American doctrine of non-intervention will commend itself to it. Britain will be more and more inclined to follow the example of America in regard to foreign affairs, as she has done in home affairs—"friendship with all, entangling alliances with none," is to become the common platform of the democracy on both sides of the Atlantic. I believe further, that it will not be long ere both parties in Britain will pledge themselves, as both parties here have done, to offer arbitration for the settlement of international disputes before drawing the sword. In short, Herbert Spencer's great law will be further vindicated.

> "As power is held arbitrarily by king or chief the military type is developed, and wars of dynasties and aggression ensue. As power passes to the people the industrial type is developed, and peace ensues."

In all this we see the unceasing movement of the various divisions of the English-speaking race throughout the world, to assimilate their political institutions, each division taking that which the others have proved to be best. English law is already universal; the decisions of the Supreme Court of Washington are quoted wherever our language is spoken. Religion, too, may be said, in a broad sense, to be universal. Our speech is also the tongue of a hundred million Anglo-Saxons; our literature is also the same, and political institutions are rapidly becoming assimilated. The world is soon to see this community of language, religion, and political forms merge into the great Anglo-Saxon democracy. The child now lives who will see every English-speaking community living under institutions founded upon the extremest view of the rights of man, as formulated in our Declaration of Independence, without a vestige of privilege from birth, without king or aristocracy, without united church and state, without great standing armies, unhampered by primogeniture and entail, with equal electoral privileges and equal districts. In short, with only such slight variations of laws as are necessary to adjust them to differing conditions and climates, the various divisions of the English race will live in peaceful brotherhood, each governing itself as a free and independent nation, but held to the others with bonds stronger than those of conquest, feudal dependency, or colonial relationship, and ready to help each other in need. This is the ideal federation of the English-speaking people of the world. It is also the only one possible or desirable.

The great parent land, it is true, lags behind at present. It is characteristic of her to be slow, but it is no less characteristic of her that what she once sets her hand to do, that she accomplishes. Twenty years' reign of the people will place her abreast of the most advanced of her children, and twenty years more may restore to her the political leadership of the world.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF DELAWARE.

A TESTIMONIAL OF THANKS.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, *December* 17, 1885.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE, ESQ.,
Editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW:

DEAR SIR : As citizens of Delaware, subject to her institutions and identified with her interests, we wish to thank you for the stand you have recently taken in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in your article entitled "A Disfranchised People." That brief but effective monograph is bringing to the knowledge and criticism of the whole country a condition of public affairs in this State unique in their iniquity, and necessarily inflicting upon our people the charge that "partisan cunning, injustice and dishonesty have here reached their lowest ebb in American public life." These are your own words, and they are true.

It is futile to attempt to dispute the facts, or to hide the point at issue. We are indignant that even the small band of ex-Republicans, represented by the New York "Evening Post," should add insult to injury, in our case, by sneering at our grievances, and seeking to belittle a most important exposure of political crime.

But we do not find, in your conduct of this discussion, any partisan motive or bias. You have simply described the political abominations existing in this State, which have practically nullified the principles and purposes of our Constitution itself; and your elucidation of the matter has been so calm, clear, and connected, that, to a thoughtful reader, it carries conviction on its face. You have rigidly and truthfully summarized the political wrong which exists among us when you say that a large part of the citizens of Delaware "are as thoroughly disfranchised by legal chicanery as any community of negroes in Mississippi were ever disfranchised by physical intimidation." Our disfranchised citizens do not happen to be altogether the blacks; they are simply the *poor*. At present they belong chiefly to one political party—the Republican; but, as thousands of Democrats in Delaware are also poor, the disfranchised might easily belong to the Democratic party if the tables should be turned, and the same dangerous laws and unscrupulous methods should be continued. This question, in fact, rises far above all mere partisan controversy, and is thus a proper subject for the strenuous but impartial treatment of The North American Review.

It is unnecessary for us to reiterate the main and evident facts exposed in your article. Here permit us to give special emphasis to one point: Those who misunderstand us, and those who misrepresent us, prate of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, with the implication that we complain of laws similar to theirs, which require voters to pay a tax. Whatever any of us may regard as the "ethics of actual democracy" on this point, we have made no complaint, in connection with present outrages upon us, against the poll-tax of Delaware, or against any other tax that the people, as a whole, consider necessary. Our complaint is, that during the past twelve years the tax-laws of our State have been so distorted—warped from their original and honest purpose for partisan ends—that one political party disfranchises at will a sufficient number of its opponents to reduce the exercise of the great right of suffrage almost to a farce. Our difficulty is, not that we have a tax to pay in order to vote, but that we live under laws which prevent citizens from qualifying to vote by paying their taxes, and which thus defraud us of our rights, and defraud the public of its legitimate revenues. This crying abuse, this inexcusable shame, which is well understood and generally acknowledged in our State, you have been able to bring to the attention of the nation. You have done an excellent work. Again we thank you for it. If you should continue it you would still find much to do.

Very truly yours,

Geo. W. Bush,
Edward Betts,
Geo. G. Lobdell,
Henry Du Pont,
Anthony Higgins,
Edward G. Bradford,
W. Hastings,
Geo. W. Stone,
Henry C. McLear,
H. Mendinhall,
Thomas S. Bellah,
Watson R. Sperry,
E. T. Warner.
Alfred D. Warner,
Washington Jones,
J. H. Adams,
H. B. Seidel,
H. C. Jones,
William Canby,
John G. Baker,
Daniel J. Layton,
William G. Pennypacker,
Job H. Jackson,
James Scott.

LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

No. I.—To the Secretary of State.

My Dear Secretary: I had nearly called you "my dear Senator," for (unless the depilatory influence of office is called in) one does not shake off the friendly habit of years in a few weeks or months. But it suddenly occurred to me that to address you thus would be to wound you as Dido wounded Æneas when she insisted on making him tell over again for her the doleful tale of sacked and burning Troy.

"*Sic me servavit Apollo.*" As you received your education in the humanities on the three-legged stool of a merchant's counting-house, and not within the academic groves of a University, these classical touches of mine, I know, will almost console you for any cutaneous irritation that may be provoked, perhaps, by this or that necessary reference to the irrevocable Past or the uncontrollable Future.

Your friends, your party—I might almost say your country—I may certainly say your proud little State, will always think of you, must always think of you as the "Senator from Delaware." It is no fault of theirs—it is hardly a merit of yours—that thus to think of you is to cast a sort of oblique obloquy upon a most conscientious and consistent Democratic Senator, your colleague. That is a matter which you must settle, on its merits, with Senator Saulsbury, when he comes, if he ever shall come, to insist that Democratic Delaware shall receive from the Department of State at least an equal recognition in the diplomatic service of the Union which reposes upon these two massive pillars of State sovereignty, with Republican Vermont.

All that now concerns me is to maintain that the appeal which the old woman of antiquity made from Philip drunk to Philip sober, ought to lie from the Secretary of State who is the butt today of every witling's flying shaft of scorn, to the Senator from

Delaware who but a brief twelvemonth ago was the cynosure of so many plans and of such prismatic hopes.

My purpose is to urge this appeal. And if I am asked in whose interest I urge it, and to what direct end, I answer frankly and at once, that I urge it in your interest, to which, like all the Blue Hen's Chickens and like yourself, I have the "single eye" of the late Mr. Fernando Wood, your staunch and loyal ally; and that I urge it to the end that I may further your once cryptic, but now apocalyptic longing to abandon a position, not the one you sought and which you ought never to have accepted, and drop back into a seat from which you rose with reluctance for the first time when you rose to vacate it finally.

"Events are moving," even in the conservative little commonwealth which was so successfully invaded and captured by your "carpet-bagging" ancestors from New York at the beginning of the century which is now rounding to its close. We in Philadelphia and in Wilmington know (for our local and family traditions are close and "provincial") how much pains it cost those indefatigable adventurers to get the better in local influence of the good old Delaware stock, the Bedfords, the Barretts, the Vinings, the Latimers, the Pattersons, the Claytons, the Rodneys, the Reads, the Dickinsons, the McKeans! You have cultivated such cheerful and useful relations with the Drexels, and with that eminent elegiac poet Mr. Childs, that the estimable editor of the "Philadelphia Ledger" has probably forgiven you the wrongs inflicted by your ancestors upon his. If it was a good thing for Jeffrey and Brougham to "meditate literature upon a little oatmeal" at Edinburgh fourscore years ago and more, it has certainly been a better thing for you to meditate politics at Philadelphia in our time upon terrapin, and to hobnob with the Camerons over champagne in white glass bottles at the expense of an association of amiable agriculturists always ready to crack a magnum, for the sake of exploding your friend Mr. Duffy's infallible joke about the equivalence of cost between a quart of imported *crême d'Ay* and a quart of amateur native *crême de vache!*

But many circumstances combine to make me doubt whether the history of Delaware is as familiar to the sixty millions, more or less, of the American people as the history, for example, of Bœotia was to the Hellenic race before the overthrow of Hellenic liberty and independence by the Macedonians.

I regret this. If the history of Delaware were as well known, let me say, as the history of Rhode Island (now represented, through your good offices, at the court of the Netherlands), there would be little difficulty in making the American people understand that there is no time to be lost in getting you out of the Department of State if you are ever to be got back into the Senate of the United States.

As things are, nine men in ten, I need not say, really imagine that Delaware and the Bayards are convertible terms, the State being as inseparable from the family and the family from the State as canvas-back ducks from Maryland and Maryland from canvas-back ducks. This notion is as deeply rooted in the popular mind as the impression that you, individually, are not to be judged by the same standard with casual men of the people like Seward, or Lincoln, or Chase, or Andrew Johnson, or Cleveland, because you are the American representative of that ideal of mediæval Gallic chivalry, the Chevalier Bayard. The sins of the father we know are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation; and this may be wise if it be not wholly equitable. But it is hard that the virtues of an imaginary ancestor should be made a stumbling-block in the way of his imaginary descendants. Let me clear up this grotesque misapprehension! It is due to you at this crisis in your political fortunes that the truth should be known. You have no more to do with the Chevalier Bayard than with Michel Chevalier or the Chevalier d'Eon. The vulgar error on this point involves a cruel injustice to the memory of the knight *sans peur et sans reproche.* As he never was married, he could have had no children entitled to claim him as their sire; and as his name was not Bayard at all, he could not have transmitted it to his children had his table bloomed and bourgeoned with olive branches.

The *sobriquet* under which subsequent generations have learned to love and to honor the heroic soldier of King Francis was given to him to commemorate his gallant charger, not "a red roan steed of steeds," such as Miss Barrett sings, but a bright and blooded bay. How fond you are of horses I need not say, and no man who has seen you at a race-meeting will need to be told that you can hold your own on that subject with any Yorkshireman alive. But you do not claim, like the Hohenzollern, to be descended from a stallion; and the gifted genealogist who has traced back the origin of the Gallatins to the Roman Consul Callatinus has not ventured, so far as I know, to intimate that your veins run blue with the blood of the quadruped upon whom Caligula conferred that rank.

You may justly resent the imputation, so often put upon you, that you inherit from your forefathers a congenital contempt for the *ignobile vulgus,* for nothing is more certain than that you come of a family whose founder in this country was the artificer of his own fortunes.

Whether your ancestor Bayard, the estimable Huguenot preacher, who fled from France into the Netherlands and there married a sister of Petrus Stuyvesant, was by birth even a Frenchman is open to doubt. Certain records in the story of the persecutions which attended the attempt of Louis XIV. to fulfill those obligations to "extirpate heresy" which he assumed by his marriage contract with his Austrian wife lead to the belief that, like many other Calvinist pastors in France, Domine Bayard, as the Hollanders called him, was really a Scotchman, a countryman of John Knox, and that his true name was Baird.

Be this as it may, his son Nicholas, one of the first of your name in America, was as "canny" as any Caledonian that ever lived. I need not recite the steps by which from the humble position of an official clerk, swift to take service under the English invaders and conquerors of New Amsterdam, this Dutch nephew of stout old Peter Stuyvesant rose to heights of political importance and of personal opulence relatively loftier than those attained in our own time by Sweeney and by Tweed.

How ingeniously and skillfully Nicholas Bayard compassed the overthrow and the death of Leisler, the ablest champion in our early Colonial history of popular rights, and the New York protomartyr of American Home Rule, I do not care to recite. His story, as you know, jars rather awkwardly upon the sounding contentions of your literary idol, Mr. Russell Lowell;

> "Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne,
> But God standeth in the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

Leisler and his gallant lieutenant, Milborne, were arrested and tried for their lives under a law of which it is said that Nicholas Bayard procured the passage for that special purpose. Did this dark history repeat itself as your political enemies aver in your efforts to secure the enactment of measures intended to give you the control of the Legislature of Delaware? Or is this latter a case of unconscious "atavism?" But to continue our story:—

Once tried and condemned they were brought by Nicholas Bayard to the scaffold on a warrant, the signature of which was secured from an intoxicated governor, plied with heavy liquors at a convivial board. But when Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan, ten years afterward, arrested Nicholas Bayard under the very law which he had caused to be passed for the destruction of Leisler; and the court had heard the case; and Nicholas Bayard had been found guilty of "treason and of rebellion," "and of inciting the soldiers in the fort to rebellion, and of persuading them to sign libels against the existing government;" and sentence of death had been passed upon him, he was suddenly rescued and released from prison by the timely arrival in the colony of that illustrious rapscallion, Hyde, Lord Cornbury, with whom he had kept up a secret correspondence for months, and who had been sent out by his royal kinsman, King William, to rule New York, and to save him from his British creditors.

Under the patronage of Lord Cornbury, Nicholas Bayard lived and throve, so that when he died his children found themselves the "millionaires" of that early time, holding from him a great tract of real estate on the Bowery, south of Bleecker Street, known as the "Bayard Farms." What became of his brother is, I believe, uncertain, but his collateral descendants are to be found to-day in Boston and Philadelphia, as well as in Delaware, and the association of your name with that gallant little State goes no further back than to the appearance in our modern politics of your grandfather and earliest predecessor in the Senate, to whom you made such an unlucky reference in your speech at St. Louis last summer, and who made himself such a truly "offensive partisan" in connection with the Federalist plot of 1800–01, for keeping Thomas Jefferson out of the Presidency and putting Aaron Burr into it.

Let me dwell on this for a moment, if only to show how unfair and how unfriendly it is to treat you as a public man whose claims to consideration rest chiefly on the superiority of his ancestors to those "questionable" proceedings in politics which President Cleveland reprehends so sternly in his recent Message.

Under the date of February 12, 1801, Thomas Jefferson made this entry in his diary:

> "Edward Livingston tells me that Bayard applied to-day or last night to General Samuel Smith, and represented to him the expediency of his coming over to the States who vote for Burr—that there was nothing in the way of appointment which he might not command—and particularly mentioned the Secretaryship of the Navy.
>
> "Smith asked him if he was authorized to make the offer. He said he was authorized. Smith told this to Livingston and to A. C. Nicholas, who confirms it to me.
>
> "Bayard, in like manner, tempted Livingston, not by offering any particular office, but by representing to him his (Livingston's) intimacy and connection with Burr, so that from him he had everything to expect if he would come over to him."

Five years after this, on the 15th of April, 1806, Thomas Jefferson found it necessary to make another record in regard to Mr. Bayard, in connection with a suit between Colonel Burr and Mr. Cheetham. In the course of this suit Colonel Burr had a deposition taken of Mr. Bayard, of which Jefferson tells us that it seemed to have no relation to the suit, nor to any other object than to calumniate President Jefferson.

> "Bayard," says Mr. Jefferson, "pretends to have addressed to me, during the pending of the Presidential election in February, 1801, through General Samuel Smith, certain conditions on which my election might be obtained, and that General Smith, after conversing with me, gave answer, from me.
>
> "This is absolutely false.
>
> "No proposition of any kind was ever made to me on that occasion by General Smith, nor any answer authorized by me. And this fact General Smith affirms at this moment."

It was at the opening of the Fifth Congress, on the 15th of May, 1797, that this ingenious ancestor of yours first made his appearance as a representative of Delaware. He had nothing to do with the history of the Blue Hen's Chickens during the war of the Revolution, nor indeed does your name occur in the annals of that stormy time, after the war began, excepting in a letter written by General Washington from Valley Forge in the terrible winter of 1778 to the British commander at Philadelphia, Sir William Howe.

At that time the soldiers of the Revolution were writing the record of their weary marches on the snow in the blood that streamed from their naked feet, and nothing but the indomitable soul of Washington upheld the sinking cause of American Independence. A sterner chief might have been pardoned in such circumstances for concerning himself only with the men who were battling for their country under his command. But Washington closes a military letter to the hostile commander with an earnest plea in behalf of "Mr. James Bayard," of whom he says "he was taken prisoner near the Swede's Ford the day your army crossed the Schuylkill. He had just returned from college, and had no rank in nor connection with the army. He is not to be considered as a prisoner of war, but as a citizen, and as such his friends will propose an exchange for him."

All this did not prevent your grandfather from working his way up, eventually, into the Senate of the United States, nor did all this prevent President Madison from consenting that your grandfather, though he had earnestly opposed the war of 1812 for "Free Trade and Sailor's Rights," should accompany his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Gallatin, to Europe, in May, 1813, as a commissioner to deal with the offer of mediation made by Alexander I. of Russia for the settlement of our quarrel with Great Britain. President Madison was writhing at that time under the perplexities of the position created for him by intestine squabbles in his Cabinet, and by a sort of faction fight in the Senate. These perplexities were such that John Randolph was almost justified in speaking of him as "President only *de jure;*" and for a time they really reduced President Madison to political impotence almost as effectually as somewhat similar circumstances did Mr. Hayes, "a President only *de facto*" in our own time. The private records of the long series of negotiations which began with the arrival of Mr. Gallatin and Mr. James A. Bayard in July, 1813, at St. Petersburg, and their conferences there with Mr. Adams, and which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on Christmas Day, 1814, make it quite clear that your grandfather, from first to last, was indisposed to insist upon the surrender by Great Britain of the right of search and of the license of impressment as matters of principle.

Both in the original Commission to Russia, and in the Commission as modified by the appointment of Mr. Clay and of Mr. Jonathan Russell to negotiate conjointly with Mr. John Quincy Adams, Mr. Bayard, and Mr. Secretary Gallatin, a treaty of peace, directly with the Commissioners of Great Britain, your grandfather represented the party of "peace at any price." Events favored him at the outset, by making it difficult for the American Government to insist on the surrender by Great Britain of the right of search; and subsequently, by developing a troublesome antagonism within the body of the American Commission between Mr. Clay, who, as became the author of the "American system," thought it most vital to keep the navigation of the Mississippi closed against the British flag, and Mr. Adams, who justly regarded the maintenance of that immemorial right of the people of New England to an unrestricted enjoyment of the North American fisheries, which George III. had acknowledged in the peace of Versailles, as a permanent object to be attained in any diplomatic understanding with Great Britain.

You know how large was the confidence reposed during all these negotiations in the late Vice-President Dallas who went out to Russia as the secretary of Mr. Gallatin, and how plain he used to make it that your grandfather, under the direction of Mr. Gallatin, ingeniously contrived to play off the passion of Mr. Clay against the petulance of Mr. Adams in the interests of that peace with Great Britain which Mr. Gallatin considered to be more important, certainly for the time being, than the protection of our seamen against impressment, the command of the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, or the reaffirmation of the rights of our fishermen.

Your sympathies, like those of your grandfather, have always run in the direction of Great Britain, and this, by the way, may perhaps be regarded as an incidental confirmation of the presumptive evidence which carries back the origin of your Calvinistic "forebear," the thrifty and versatile clerk Nicholas, to Scotland rather than to France. But your grandfather had a guarantee against the dangerous effect of personal sympathies upon diplomatic transactions, which you do not possess, in such a placidity of temper as served Mr. Gallatin especially, by enabling him to play verbal billiards, after a masterly fashion, with the irascible John Quincy Adams and the imperious Henry Clay.

I dare say, for example, that your grandfather, if he had longed for the position held by Mr. Gallatin in the Cabinet of President Madison, as ardently and openly as you longed for the same position in the Cabinet of President Cleveland, would have been almost as much annoyed and disappointed by the nomination of Mr. Gallatin, as you were when you found that nothing would induce President Cleveland to do even so much as to consider your claims to the control of that great engine of political patronage and influence, the Treasury. But your grandfather would never have permitted his feelings to hurry him into accepting an entirely different office for which neither his tastes nor his training had given him even an elementary preparation. Still less would he have allowed his vexation and his anxiety to betray him into any attempt to purchase the favor of the President by affecting coldness and indifference to those of his own personal friends whom he might have supposed to be regarded with dislike or distrust by the Executive!

I cannot wonder, knowing you as well as we all of us do, that you should have been piqued and provoked by finding yourself described among the candidates for Cabinet office as "a clerk in the house of Belmont & Company," if only because you doubtless regarded the description as intended to remind the public that your early training was that of the counting-house, not of the college, and that your earliest associations with literature run back like those of the most delightful and imaginative of bookkeepers, Charles Lamb, to "books which are not books." But it was a mistake such as your grandfather would never have committed, believe me, to allow your irritation to vent itself in the form of what could not fail to be regarded by the indifferent public as a studied attempt to "turn the cold shoulder" upon the most loyal and the most liberal of your political and personal friends!

Could you suppose that the story of the Chicago Convention of 1884 was a mystery for the successful candidate, or for those who, having stood nearest to the successful candidate during the contest, stood naturally nearest to him in the organization of his work as President elect of the United States, and in the formation of his Cabinet? To whom of all these was it a secret that the one and only thing which for a moment even made it possible that the lightning of nomination should strike your lifted brow, was the frank and outspoken offer of Mr. Belmont to assume the lion's share of the legitimate expense of a presidential canvass, should your name be inscribed upon the banner of the party? To whom of all these was it a secret that during the administration of Mr. Pierce and of Mr. Buchanan, while your excellent father was keeping little

Delaware firmly in line with the Virginia of Mr. Mason, and with the Louisiana of Mr. Slidell, Mr. Belmont was the trusted counselor and ally of large-minded national Democrats like Governor Marcy and Senator Douglas; and that for twelve long years after the crash of civil war overtook us, and while you were still chiefly known to us in Philadelphia and at Newport as the "Cupid Bayard" of our youth, Mr. Belmont, as chairman of the National Democratic Committee, was holding firmly the constitutional lines of the grand old party under an incessant and implacable fire of injustice and of obloquy? How could you persuade yourself that to adopt the tactics of the ostrich in your treatment of such a leader at such a moment could possibly advance your permanent influence, I will not say with your party, but even with that very section of your party which you supposed to be affected unfavorably to you by the splendid publicity which Mr. Belmont had so long given to his warm interest in your welfare and in your political advancement?

"*C'était pire qu'un crime—c'était une faute!*"

But, as you see, I do not attribute it, as your enemies doubtless do, to ingratitude on your part; that is, to conscious ingratitude. I do not think you an ungrateful man—for ingratitude is a deliberate disregard of obligations intelligently felt and recognized. I am quite sure that you clutched at the Department of State partly in a spasm of personal mortification at your failure to obtain the Treasury, but partly also because you really fancied that not to see you enrolled among the advisers of President Cleveland, would be a source of such pain and distress to all your political friends, and of course to Mr. Belmont among them, that the mere fact of your going into the Cabinet would make them perfectly happy, and would appear to them to be an adequate compensation for all their labors, not only on your behalf but on behalf of the party and of its principles.

H. D., in one of his sardonic caricatures of the terrible story of the siege of Paris, represents the Kaiser William addressing a battalion of stalwart Prussian infantry. The soldiers stand ankle-deep in the snow, and shiver in their scant tunics under the leafless boughs of the ice-clad trees.

"My children!" says the grand old warrior—"my children! I am well pleased with you, and in proof of it I have ordered a fur-lined cloak to be given—to my son Fritz!"

Here I am sure we have the true and inward type of your instinctive and unconscious attitude toward your political friends. It is not without many parallels in the history of successful princes; but it has never worked well in the case of politicians.

Let me, however, be wholly just to you. I have no doubt that an honest and generous anxiety for the success of President Cleveland had much to do with your eagerness to assume the responsibilities of a Cabinet office. You knew him to be entirely without experience in Federal affairs; and everything that you had heard of him (for you had no personal relations with him before his election to the Presidency) led you to think that in choosing his Cabinet he would incline of himself and would be urged by his nearest personal friends to make what Jefferson so strongly and tersely condemned as "a draught upon the lottery of untried characters." This, doubtless, seemed to you a prospect full of perils for the party and for the country—perils so grave that to counter them by throwing yourself into one of the Departments would be an act of unselfish good will to the head of the new Administration, not untinctured with some flavor of that high Roman spirit which still stirs and kindles the hearts of men in the tale of Marcus Curtius.

Alas! that you should have succumbed to the temptation! Once before at such a critical moment in your career, your guardian angel had nodded upon his post. Can we ever forget it!

When the great conspiracy of 1876 had been fairly organized, and the pressure of Federal power was put by those who controlled it upon the sworn representatives of the American people to make them abandon the discharge of their sacred trust, and turn over the choice of the Chief Magistrate to an extemporized tribunal lying outside of the customs, and, as I believe, outside of the Constitution of the Republic, why did not you sit silent and steadfast to await the assault of the conspirators as sate the senators of Rome in the presence of the invading Gauls? What had you to do with promoting the device by which it was written in the Book of Fate that the Democratic millions of the United States should be defrauded of the plain result of their legitimately recorded will?

Was not your strength then, in the words of Scripture, "to sit still?" By what accursed influence was it laid upon you to arise and to insist that the Democrats of the United States should put their faith in the verdict to be given by an unimpaneled and un-authentic jury upon a case already decided in the High Court of the American people at the polls?

"What beast was it made you do it!"

"It is not to be assumed," you exclaimed, "that men of high station, like these Republican senators and representatives and judges, will come to any decision upon the great question out of key with justice and with the Constitution!" What was this but to say that Judge Lynch must be trusted to administer the law?

"I have tried a dozen ways of getting this matter put straight," exclaimed Lord John Russell, upon a certain occasion, to Lord Palmerston, "and I really am at my wit's end how to manage it!"

"Suppose," replied the caustic Premier; "suppose you tried letting it alone?"

Familiar as your guardian angel must be with the British peerage, how unhandsome it was of him not to enforce upon you in those cruel and crucial days of the battle over the Electoral Commission, this simple and masterly suggestion of the Irish viscount whom John Bull honors and reveres as the most successful and the most English of modern English statesmen!

A truce, however, to vain regrets!

"Not Jove himself hath power upon the Past." Let us deal with your position as you have made it, and not waste idle tears upon what might have been! If there is nothing to be hoped for by you, or from you in the Department of State—and I am sure that this will become entirely apparent to you before I close this friendly appeal—must we abandon all expectation also of seeing you serve the party and the country in the Senate?

I hope not. But if my hope is to ripen into fruition, the popular notion must be dispelled, that your seat in the Senate was in the nature of a "pocket borough," created for you by the hereditary devotion of the voters of Delaware to your family.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who did not agree as to many matters, were both of the opinion, very keenly expressed by Jefferson in a letter to Adams, that "in Massachusetts and Connecticut there seemed to be a traditionary reverence for certain families which had rendered the offices of the government nearly hereditary in those families." This, which was true of those two Commonwealths threescore and ten years ago, seems to be commonly believed now of Delaware.

I think I detected a tincture of this belief in the treatment of the question of the Delaware qualifications for voting which attracted so much attention in the November issue of this REVIEW. It is an unfounded belief, as I think I have already shown, and in showing it to be an unfounded belief I think I have done a real service not only to Delaware and to you, but to your amiable and accomplished successor in the Senate.

Mr. Gray is too often alluded to, not as a Senator from Delaware, but as Mr. Bayard's Senator. He it was who urged your nomination for the Presidency upon the Democratic Convention, at Chicago, in a brief but eloquent speech, in the course of which he frankly admitted that the Convention might not unnaturally fancy that "his affections had taken possession of his head." No one is likely to fancy this of you, and the extraordinary zeal shown by you in February last for the election of Mr. Gray as your successor has been pretty generally interpreted, at least in Delaware and in Philadelphia, as proof that you expected Mr. Gray to hold and occupy for you your "curule chair" while you tried your hand at the Department of State with the understanding that he should resign it to you at any time if you made up your mind to return to it.

I need not repeat that such an impression as this ought to be dissipated without delay. It is calculated to irritate the self-respect of the Legislature and of the people of Delaware; and you and I know it to be absolutely groundless. What the Bayards were in Delaware when Mr. James Bayard fell into the hands of Sir William Howe, at Swedes' Ford, and prayed to be delivered from them as having nothing to do with the armed rebellion of the Americans against King George, they still are; "carpet-baggers," not in any offensive sense of that word, but in its true sense. And it was not an easy matter, as you and I know, for Mr. Gray to overcome the objections to his election by the Legislature of Delaware, which were founded upon the charge that if elected he would really represent not Delaware, but the Department of State. As it was, he was elected by a bare majority, and after what an anxious canvass!

Can I forget how troubled and distressed your friends in Philadelphia were while you were struggling with that local opposition! What would have been your position had your acceptance of the State Department been followed by the defeat in Delaware of Mr.

Gray! How bitterly you spoke at that time of the new President, and of his "crass indifference" on a matter so vital to you! No man knows better than you do just to what turn a canvas-back should be cooked; but when you then expatiated to your friends on the traits of "that delicate duck, Cleveland," it certainly was in the vein rather of Brutus preparing Cæsar for burial than of Antony come to bury him!

Your petulance in regard to the President at that time attracted much attention. Only the other day a very clever woman, the wife of one of your most indefatigable Republican tormentors in the Senate, told me that, meeting you by accident a day or two after the confirmation of your appointment as Secretary of State, she congratulated you in perfect good faith upon the new career thus open to you.

> "Imagine my surprise," she said, "when instead of responding to my good-natured commonplaces good naturedly he swerved from my words like a half-broken horse from the shadow of a whip, and, tossing up his head in that comical way he has, exclaimed: 'No, madame, no! Condole with me, do not congratulate me!'"

She is a meditative little lady, and as she tells me she discussed your queer behavior afterward with her husband.

> "For my part," she said, "I really thought he was making believe and trying to humbug me into the notion that he was indifferent to office; but my husband laughed at me, and said in his cold, sardonic way: 'No, my dear, nothing of the sort. He meant what he said. The truth is, that he took the office regarding it as a brevet nomination for the Presidency, and imagining that he was to play a more successful Seward to a second-rate Lincoln. I know Cleveland better than he does, and I can see that he has found out his mistake. I am only amused at his finding it out so soon.'"

That you have since then done your best to accommodate yourself to the icy facts of the case is undoubtedly true. I am sure you would not now speak of the President as a "delicate duck." I even believe that you are entirely sincere in the profession of admiration and "almost boyish affection," which you now lavish upon him whenever he is mentioned. He is an excellent listener, and you have always had a high opinion of anybody who would lend you his ears.

Most senators have a weakness for monologue, born of that "courtesy of the Senate," which has made that august chamber the Elysium of political bores. Under the time-honored customs of the Cabinet you might have found your seat at the green table less agreeable, for it has always heretofore been usual for the President to discuss public questions with his official advisers freely at Cabinet meetings. President Cleveland has inaugurated a new order of things, which makes it possible for you to monopolize the whole of a session; and however this may affect your colleagues it keeps you in good humor with yourself and with the President who permits it, while it leaves him at liberty to work out questions quietly in his own way without wasting words upon them.

But how has this order of things affected your standing with the party which opened the doors of place and power to the President and to you? What is the prospect before you if you disregard this earnest appeal of mine and insist upon allowing Delaware to put another person into your late seat in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1887?

Remember, there is danger in delay!

I am sure that the candid Editor of this REVIEW, on whom the Tyrian and the Trojan may urge with equal confidence their conflicting claims, will allow me to protest against certain inferences drawn by others from his paper on the disfranchised State, to the disadvantage of the Democrats of Delaware. But the Democrats of Delaware have not forgotten that it was your own voice raised, though raised in vain, at the Democratic Convention of 1872, in Baltimore, against the validity of the Fifteenth Amendment, which has fastened upon Delaware the acrid hostility of the North on this subject. They were wounded then to see a patriotic South Carolinian of Irish descent, Mr. O'Connor, come forward and demand for the "four millions of enfranchised negroes" that protection and security in their guaranteed rights which your lips should have demanded!

Nor were they gratified, believe me, when in a fit of temper last summer, as Secretary of State, you allowed yourself to express to a member of Congress the absurd opinion that "popular government was a failure if men were to expect office as the reward of party work." Did not your grandfather offer office to General Smith as the reward of party work for Burr eighty years ago? And has popular government failed in consequence thereof? Such explosions of childish temper recall the story told of John Adams, who, when he was amiably reminded by Langdon of the heavy vote given to Clinton for the Vice-Presidency, "gritted his teeth and said, 'D—n 'em—d—n 'em—d—n 'em. You see an elective government will not do.'"

I do not care to dwell at length upon your handling of the patronage of your department. You certainly must have heard enough on that subject to convince you that you have succeeded in alienating profoundly the good-will of your own party without conquering the respect of the opposite party or of the public. Perhaps you are not wholly to blame for this. Diplomatic appointments of importance cannot possibly be made without discussion by the Cabinet if they are to satisfy either a great party or the general opinion of the country. Your responsibility in this particular arises out of your failure as a Mentor to impress upon your Telemachus, the President, the importance of consulting your colleagues at least before consenting to adopt suggestions made by you. The true rule to be followed in all such matters was long ago laid down by President Jefferson in a remarkable conversation which he had with Burr in April, 1806. In that conversation the founder of the Democratic party maintained, "that in a government like ours it is necessary to embrace in its public administration as great a mass of public confidence as possible by employing those who have a character, with the public of their own, and not merely a secondary one through the Executive."

Wise and pregnant words!

What can be more fraught with peril to that government of the people by the people for the people, of which we hear so much and see so little, than the practice of "astonishing" the country by the appointment to important public positions of men whose merits and whose claims are a conundrum? Government by party is the only method of government which as yet has been found to be practically consistent with the maintenance of free institutions; but you stand alone with the President so far in the contention that the party which can best be trusted with power is "a surprise party."

Of course I know that your appointments have not all been made at haphazard. I do not wonder that your colleagues were struck with dumb amazement when you quietly announced to them in a room at the White House on the morning of Sunday, the 15th of March, that the question of the English mission had been settled the day before between yourself and the President by the selection for that conspicuous post of an able lawyer from the Republican State of Vermont, whose name had never till that moment been so much as mentioned in connection with the appointment to one of them. How could they have divined the processes by which your mind was mysteriously working back from the State Department in 1885 to the Custom House Investigations at New York, and the case of Phelps, Dodge & Co., in 1872? No one supposes that Mr. Phelps took any steps to promote this operation of your mind; but on the other hand it is quite clear that you can claim no credit for the satisfactory results of a nomination thus engendered; nor can you justly quarrel with the critics who have found an explanation of it in that bitter and persistent personal dislike to Ex-President Arthur, which led you to scandalize a company of ladies and gentlemen assembled at the residence of Senator Pendleton to bid farewell to the Ex-President and to his sister, by flinging violently out of the house as soon as you learned of the presence there of the late Chief Magistrate of the Union.

It is really no one's fault but your own that personal considerations of this unfortunate kind have been imported into the discussion of almost every appointment of importance to which you have been a party.

Consider the case of Mr. Keiley, over which such a ludicrous pother has been raised by you in the President's first Message to Congress. What is more certain than that you selected Mr. Keiley for a foreign appointment, not because he was "an estimable citizen of unimpeached probity and competence," as you solemnly aver in the Message, but because you had reason to suppose that the patronage bestowed on him would strengthen the canvass then making in Virginia by a most respectable and excellent Democrat of that State, your especial friend Mr. Barbour, for that seat in the United States Senate which has just been given by the Democrats of the Legislature to an equally respectable and excellent Democrat who does not happen to be your especial friend, Mr. Daniel? This is the simple truth, as you know. Why deform it with a nodding cap and jingling bells? Why make yourself out above all to be phenomenally ignorant of the rudiments of diplomatic common sense by pretending that Mr. Keiley was nominated because he was a Catholic to gratify the Catholic world with the spectacle of a conscientious Catholic honestly convinced that the King of Italy is an usurper, yet paying deferential homage to that usurper as an accredited minister near the usurper's court? That Mr. Keiley is indeed "an estimable citizen of umimpeached probity and competence" abundantly appears from his bearing amid all the vexatious circumstances into the bubbling vortex of which your heedless nomination so inconsiderately threw him. But the country is full "of estimable citizens of unimpeached probity and competence." Why then make yourself and the government a laughing-stock by pretending that it was by reason of his probity and competence, and not by reason of his political relations with your own political friends, that you first nominated him for a mission which he could not have discharged without practical disloyalty to the head of his Church; and then nominated him for another mission near a court which could hardly have been expected by any well-informed manager of the foreign affairs of the United States to expose itself without a protest to the annoyance of receiving an envoy already rejected by a neighboring power? How can you expect grown men to believe that the government of Austria rejected Mr. Keiley because the Court of Vienna wished to "put a limitation upon the right of selection by the Executive, of the servants of the United States?" Why should Austria or any other power wish to do this? Did you not cover the whole ground as a matter of common sense, when, writing on the 31st of August last to the American Secretary at Vienna, you said that "this government concedes as freely as it exercises the right to refuse to receive an envoy?" Why make a political mountain out of a very small diplomatic mole-hill? Believe me, my dear Secretary, the American eagle is now a full-fledged bird, no longer to be taken with chaff—and, if I may be pardoned for mixing metaphors, no longer to be vexed into a world-shaking scream of wrath by the casual brushing from his imperial wing of a chip scarcely solid enough to supply the raw material of one of those Delaware matches which, thanks to your zealous treatment of the tariff as a "local question," are now protected against the dangerous competition of Austria, Norway and John Bull, at the expense of every laboring man and woman in the land!

Trust me, this veneering of fine words will not long deceive any one who takes the trouble to test your work with his thumb-nail. Was it because he was "an estimable citizen of unimpeached probity and competence," that you asked ex-Governor Porter, of Tennessee, to step from a railway office into the Department of State—or was it because you wished at one and the same time to oblige Senator Jackson of that State with whom you delight to exchange talk of horses under the umbrageous boughs of the grand old beeches in his pleasant Western home, and to disoblige Senator Harris, to whom Vice-President Arthur four years ago sought to "limit the right of selection" of the Democratic Senators in order to keep you out of the chair of that august body?

But these, as I have said, are minor matters. It is by your treatment of graver and more troublesome issues that you have made your continued tenure of the State Department inconsistent with any hope of future usefulness in you to your party, your country, or yourself.

You came into the Department, denounced by a journal usually most devoted to your interests, the New York "Herald," as having upheld the "side of England, clearly in the wrong against America, clearly in the right" on the question of the binding force upon the United States of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention of 1850. Your efforts to prevent the ratification of a treaty with Nicaragua for the construction of a ship canal were calculated, in the opinion of the "Herald," to send the President and the Democratic party out of power after four years, "with ruined reputation and lost prestige."

Undoubtedly you were right to oppose the ratification of that treaty, for it was open to serious and fatal objections. But were you right to uphold the binding force of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, a treaty violated by Great Britain almost as soon as it was made? Were you right to assume, as you did in your speech on the subject, that the intent of Sir Henry Bulwer in negotiating that treaty in 1850, was to "crown the edifice" of American independence and complete the work begun thirty years before by George Canning, Monroe, Rush and John Quincy Adams!

Certainly not, and it is impossible that any Senator who listened to that speech can think without anxiety of your possible conduct in dealing with any one of a hundred dangerous questions likely at any moment to arise out of the existing situation of affairs on the great American Isthmus?

And what shall I say of the indictment (there is no other word for it) which has just been brought against you by one of the ablest and staunchest Democratic leaders in New England, in connection with that grave international question of the North American fisheries which was so mischievously dropped out of sight with the connivance of your grandfather, Mr. James A. Bayard, at the time of the negotiations of the treaty of Ghent in 1815 ?

It appears from this indictment that on the 7th of March last, before you had so much as set your new official house in order, you permitted the British minister at Washington, Mr. West, acting in concert with the very able and astute and anti-American Premier of Canada, Sir John Macdonald, to lead you into committing the Administration to the practical stultification of a joint resolution of the American Congress adopted March 3, 1883, the express object of which was to secure the abrogation of the fishing clauses of the Treaty of Washington and the restoration to our New England States and people of rights fully conceded to them by George III. at the peace of Versailles and suspended by the war of 1812. What Democrat needs to be told that no man in this country can speak with more authority on this subject than Mr. Spofford of Newburyport ? And it is Mr. Spofford who assumes the responsibility of the assertion that

> "the course upon which Secretary Bayard has entered, is precisely that which being desired by Great Britain was not desired by the fishing interest or by the fishermen themselves, and that unless it can be forestalled and reversed, it will lead to the destruction of our fisheries as one of our productive industries."

Do you imagine that such an indictment as this will be suffered, by your enemies and by the enemies of your party, to go untried ?

Nor is this the worst.

Mr. Spofford, a Democrat trained in the soundest principles of the Democratic faith, and tried by years of battle in a State only less hopelessly Republican than the State of Mr. Phelps, goes further far than this. He calmly and deliberately charges you not with infidelity alone to a great American interest, but with the un-Democratic crime of "undertaking to exercise powers with which" you are not officially clothed, and he denounces your understanding with the British authorities as "an instance of usurpation in office demanding, I had almost said, the penalty of impeachment."

This is no child's play, believe me, my dear Secretary !

Questions of your private relations with the patronage of the

Executive, questions even of tact and taste in your treatment of foreign governments, dwindle away before the formidable accusation that you have ventured to make "an agreement with Great Britain wherein, without the slightest warrant of law, without the participation of the Senate, although that body was yet in session pending the negotiation, you have offended the sovereignty of the United States by attempting to deed away their maritime rights, or to guarantee immunity for their violation!"

Truly does Mr. Spofford say that "for offenses much less grievous against the majesty of the State there are not wanting precedents for impeachment in the parliamentary journals both of Great Britain and the United States."

With these words ringing in my ears, I almost begin to feel that I have deferred too long this warning cry! Can you retire from office in the face of such an indictment? Can you remain in office under the gathering cloud of such distrust and such denunciations? And whether you retire, or whether you remain, is it still possible that Delaware, relieved though she be of the imputations put upon her of subservient acquiescence in the condition of a family pocket borough of the Bayards, may and will afford you once again an opportunity to redeem, by quiet and modest fidelity to the duties of a Senator, the reputation and the influence which you have so swiftly squandered upon the futilities of patronage and the illusions of office, as a Secretary of State?

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

AT LAST!

In the twelfth century England invaded Ireland (a happy and prosperous country, under King Brian, in 1020), overpowered her with numbers, garrisoned her strong places with soldiers, killed her leading men that she failed to corrupt, disarranged all native growth and plans of development, and sat down in the Irishman's house as its lord and master, by the right of the heavier weapon.

The Irish struggled for a hundred years; and the foreign oppressor increased the bands and decreased the methods and order and civilization among the people.

England had realized that Ireland was a very rich country; blessed by nature with enormous material resources, and inhabited by a people of great intelligence, courage and enterprise, capable of becoming strong competitors in the world's race. Another hundred years of desperate struggle, the Irishman vainly trying to get the Englishman's hand off his throat. The Englishman now abolished Irish law (the ancient and revered Brehan Code), and established courts of English law. He also began the system of incorporating English cities, companies, and corporate bodies in Ireland, to which all power was given over the native people.

The Scottish nation was at war with England also, and this prevented or delayed the absolute destruction of Ireland. Five hundred years ago, Edward Bruce (brother of Robert), went to Ireland, was crowned king, and with the united forces of the native princes, defeated the English for a time.

But the Englishman returned and the fearful struggle began again, the Irish now knowing that their fight was one of life or death, liberty or slavery.

Four hundred years ago, the weaker country was prostrate once more; helpless, gagged, manacled. Then England abolished even her own first system of ruling the country by English corporations, judges, and law matters settled in Ireland. It was ordered henceforth that all Irish law must be made in England (Poyning's Act), and no Irishman, high or low, was to hold office or power or to have any rights whatever—even the right to live. It was no crime for an Englishman to kill an Irishman who dared to appear without an English dress or the protection of an English resident. It was also enacted that Irishmen should not learn to read. A reward was offered for the arrest of schoolmasters and priests. All schools and Catholic churches were thrown down: their ruins are found, like skeletons, throughout Ireland to-day.

England had resolved to make the Irish forget that they were Irish, trusting that when this had been achieved she could teach them that they were in truth not Irish, but West Britons, and had never had national freedom, or traditions, or glory, or great men, or wise laws, or famous schools, or a high civilization and the honor of other nations; but had always been a poor, broken, restless, miserable, quarrelsome people, dreaming about ancient greatness that was all a lie, and about future freedom and honor that were all a delusion; and that God and nature had made them, past and future, subjects to the wise, good, unselfish, gentle English nation, that went about the world helping weak countries to be free and civilized and Christian!

Three hundred years ago, when Henry VIII. became a Protestant, he resolved that the Irish should be Protestant, too; and for the next hundred years the reforming process never rested—the chief means being the bullet, the rope, and the slave-ship.

A gentleman from Jamaica told me last year, as a curious fact, that the negroes in that country used a great many Gaelic words. No wonder: about sixty thousand Irish boys and girls were sold to the tobacco planters of the West Indies, 300 years ago, as Sir William Petty and other English historians of the time relate.

Two hundred years ago—and still the deathless fight, the Irish growing weaker, the English stronger. It had now become "the religious duty" of the Englishman to subdue the Irish "for their own sakes." Cromwell went over, and slaughtered every man in the first garrisoned town he captured, Drogheda. "By God's grace," he wrote to the Parliament, "I believe that not one escaped," and he added that when the officers capitulated and surrendered: "They were knocked on the head, too."

Cromwell "made peace and silence" in Ireland; his troopers ruled the whole country for the first time. Then came an unexampled atrocity in the name of "civilization;" four-fifths of the entire island, every acre held by the native Irish, who were Catholics, was confiscated and handed over to Cromwell's disbanded army.

This was the beginning of the Irish Land Question, that Michael Davitt has been hammering at for years, and which he is going to see settled.

A hundred years ago, Ireland was in the most deplorable condition that any civilized nation ever descended to. Six centuries of a violent struggle had wasted her blood, money, and resources; her people were disfranchised—no man voted in Ireland except those of the English colony. For a hundred preceding years the teacher and priest had been hunted felons. There were only four million Irish altogether, and they were nearly all in Ireland, friendless, voiceless, voteless, landless, powerless, disarmed, disorganized, ignorant, forgotten by the world, misreported and misrepresented by their rich and powerful enemy, and held up in English books, newspapers, schools, at home and abroad, as a race of wild, weak, witty, brave, quarrelsome, purposeless incapables.

But in his mud and blood and rags and wretchedness, the Irishman was still unsubdued, still a free man in soul and a foeman in act. The Irishman then was, as he still is, the most intense nationalist in the world.

Grattan abolished the Poyning's Law; and the Irish Parliament from 1785 to 1800 made the laws for Ireland. In that time, the country advanced like a released giant. Lord Clare said in 1798: "No country in the world has advanced like Ireland, in trade, manufacture, and agriculture, since 1782."

Then England began to fear the Irish revival, and the demands of the English mercantile, manufacturing and shipping classes were marvels of cowardly and jealous feeling. (See Lecky, "Public Life in England in the Eighteenth Century.") They demanded that Ireland be destroyed as a competing power. "Make the Irish remember that they are conquered," were the words of one petition to the English Parliament.

The rebellion of '98 was fomented by the English Government, and a fearful slaughter of 50,000 Irishmen ensued. This was the pretext wanted: The English colony in Ireland were instructed to raise the cry of "Our lives and religion in danger!" A majority of the Anglicans who composed the "Irish Parliament" were bought off by Castlereagh, who paid them, as the Irish Red and Black lists show, nearly three million pounds for their votes: and so the union with England was carried.

Three years later, another rebellion broke out, organized and led by a Protestant gentleman, Robert Emmet, who was "hanged, drawn, and quartered," and the dogs of Dublin lapped his blood, as an eye-witness relates, from the gallows-foot in Thomas Street.

Then the pall was pulled over the face of Ireland, and she lay down in the ashes and abasement of her loneliness and misery. She had no earthly friends; she was weak to death from struggle, outrage and despair. Even God had apparently forgotten her in the night.

But a new voice called to her in the night, and she listened—Daniel O'Connell, a strong man, full of courage and purpose. After thirty years of agitation he won, with his minority. He had trained them superlatively. He won the franchise for the Catholics.

For eighteen years more he worked to get the Act of Union repealed; but England, when he touched that point, arrested and imprisoned him. This stopped the agitation. The people had no leader and no outside moral support. It was O'Connell and the Irish people; not the Irish people and O'Connell.

The Young Ireland party in 1848, impatient, maddened, broke into premature rebellion—were crushed, condemned, banished.

Then the famine, and the swelling of the Irish emigration stream into a torrent! Thousands died on the soil, and literally millions fled to other countries—to England, Scotland, America, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Argentine Republic.

Twenty years later, 1865–67, the first warning movement of the exiles—Fenianism; a marvelous crystallization of sentiment, heroism, and sacrifice.

Again, the abrogation of law in Ireland—the rule of the dragoon, the glutted prison, the crowded emigrant fleets, the chained men on convict ships; and again, "silence and peace in Ireland."

England had now realized the important fact that the commercial development of the Western World had placed Ireland in an objective position of the highest value. She lay in the high stream of progress. Her western and southern shores were indented with deep and safe bays and harbors. A ship-canal from Galway to Dublin would capture every ship on the Atlantic bound for

Liverpool, saving two days in sailing time; and the Irish were bent on cutting such a canal. The great fall of the Irish rivers was an inestimable treasure, greater even than the mineral wealth of the island, and the fisheries on the coast.

Every ship going through an Irish canal was in danger of forgetting the southern English ports, Bristol and Southampton. Every mill built on an Irish stream would deduct from the profits of Lancashire. Every ton of coal or other mineral dug in Ireland lowered the prices in Nottingham, Sheffield, and the Black Country. If the Irish farmers' children could get work in mills and mines and shops, their earnings would make their parents independent of the landlords, and rents would have to be lowered.

It was clear that Ireland's advance must be stopped, or she would become a dangerous competitor and a democratic example for Great Britain.

While the Fenians lay in prison—from 1866 to 1874—and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and the stipendiary magistrates had the power of Persian satraps, Ireland lay still and gnawed her heart in the waiting.

Feeble voices of timid Home Rulers were raised in Westminster, and Whig landlords patronized Ireland with a mock patriotism.

Then the moral pressure of the world, and especially of America, compelled England to open the prison doors for the political convicts, and there came out to the world some scores of men whose patriotism had been condensed and crystallized into terrible purpose; and many of them had become powerful leaders by reflection and self-mastership.

Michael Davitt, John O'Leary, John Devoy, O'Donovan Rossa, Charles Kickham, Thomas Clarke Luby, and a host of others, were sown like seed among the fertile Irish and Irish-American millions; and their impressive story and uncompromising principles took root and flourished in a new crop of Irish unrest.

The tendency was toward another attempt at violent revolution; but England, though alarmed, was secure in the knowledge that an appeal to arms by the disorganized, scattered, disarmed Irish, could be crushed as all similar attempts had been crushed.

Then, fresh from Oxford, with his cold English training, his Yankee blood and Irish patriotic traditionary feeling, came Parnell with a new message and a new method.

No need to follow his steps. From the moment that he first laid his hand on the Irish key-board the race listened to him. He has done what O'Connell failed to do, enlisted all creeds and classes—landlords, professional men, tradesmen, peasants. He has made the larger Ireland in exile one body with the five millions at home. The radicals have joined his forces, believing in the man. The bishops and priests are his warmest supporters. A Protestant, a landlord, an aristocrat, and a Home Ruler, he has the support and friendship of Archbishops Walsh and Croke, Michael Davitt, the Fenians, the farmers, the laborers, the mechanics.

He has drawn together the forty millions of people who respond to the Irish barometer, in all lands, and made them into one marvelous, moral, organized nationality, supporting Ireland with public opinion, agitation, and money.

The thirty millions of Englishmen are confronted with this extraordinary, cloud-like, but absolutely real and potential Irish force ; and as yet they do not know quite what it means.

The late elections have opened the eyes of the world to the fact that Ireland is overwhelmingly "National." Eighty-six out of one hundred and three Irish members stand behind Mr. Parnell in Parliament, pledged to vote as he leads, utterly irrespective of British interests or desires.

Liberal and Tory in England may join to defeat the Irish strength ; but it will be only for a year or two. It is clear now that another Cromwell must sweep Ireland with fire and sword, or that England must grant her constitutional demand for Home Government.

The abominable selfishness which would destroy Ireland for England's sake, if now allowed to operate in another conquest and disfranchisement, would assuredly destroy England—and England is learning the great lesson.

Ireland is saved by the twenty million Irish-blooded Americans ; by the five million Irish and their descendants in England, Scotland, and Wales ; by the vast numbers of Irish sympathizers in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and other countries. It would be highly dangerous to slaughter the kindred of such a people.

It is not likely that Ireland will gain much from the coming Parliament. The Parliament cannot last long ; it is too evenly balanced. Besides, England has not yet realized that Home Rule for Ireland is inevitable. It will take three years to vaccinate her with the idea and allow it to "take."

The second leader of the English Liberals, during the recent elections, several times repeated this assertion, that the Irish elections were not truly the expression of the country—that Mr. Parnell was "grinding" and "oppressing" the Irish people! A glance at the returns—at the ten and twelve to one in scores of cities, towns and counties, makes such a charge ridiculous. But it indicates the perverse ignorance or the audacious dishonesty of even leading Englishmen.

In returning eighty-six Nationalist members to Parliament, the Irish have not ended, but just begun their national struggle.

There are three stages in pacific reform: agitation, controversy, and legislation. The Irish have passed through the first, and are entering the second.

Parnell, with fifteen or twenty votes, was not a power; he was only a voice, an emphasis, an appeal. He was an agitational influence. With eighty-six votes he is a controversial force. "He has compelled John Bull to listen," as Wendell Phillips said of him.

In 1889, I predict, the legislative stage of the Irish question will have arrived; and the Union with England, which shall then have cursed Ireland for nine-tenths of a century, will be repealed.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

SHERMAN ON GRANT.

A CONTROVERSY as to the opinions entertained by General Sherman of the military capacity and true merit of General Grant has been provoked in some quarters by the following passage in an interesting paper contributed to the December number of this REVIEW by General James B. Fry:

> "The time has not come for final judgment of Grant. He had great abilities and great opportunities. Chance is undoubtedly an important factor in the race of glory, and perhaps it favored Grant in the war of rebellion. General Sherman goes so far as to have said since Grant's death, that, 'had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson;' but that is conjecture. Grant is one of the 'singular few' who possessed qualities which probably would have gained for him a high place in history, no matter who had lived to compete with him in our great war."

The fame of General Grant now belongs to history and to his country, and it is not surprising that intelligent and patriotic men should be keenly alive to any such indications of the esteem in which he was really held by his colleagues, if we may not say his compeers, in the great work of maintaining the Union, as may conduce to a final and accurate judgment of him. The words attributed, therefore, to General Sherman by General Fry, in the above citation, could not fail to excite attention and comment. They have given rise to a correspondence which makes it proper and necessary, that I should put a stop to any future misinterpretation of their scope and force, by publishing, at the instance of General Sherman, a portion of a most striking, informal, and therefore especially valuable letter addressed to me many months ago.

This letter was written in reply to one addressed by me to General Sherman, under the strain of the great anxiety and distress which possessed the public mind when the painful truth first became known, early in March last, that Death had marked for his own the hero of Appomattox.

It was not then known to be certain that General Grant had completed, or thought in general to be probable that he would live to complete, that priceless record of his military services which Providence permitted him, as we now know, to bring to a full and rounded close. It seemed to me that no better public service could be done in that moment of the nation's startled sorrow than to urge upon the most illustrious of the fellow-soldiers of Grant the importance of setting his own authentic seal upon the imminent verdict of the nation's admiration and gratitude.

After acknowledging in his own forcible way the obvious propriety of the suggestion, General Sherman, on the 13th of March last, wrote as follows:

"General Grant will die, so shall you and I, and, indeed, all. But he is not yet dead, and we know that he has prepared for publication much which will enter into the final estimate of his character and genius. I saw him familiarly in December last, and know that his memory of the past was clear, and that he had progressed in his memoirs to a period in 1863, by which date he had manifested the qualities in him which needed only perserverance to insure what we all sought and fought for—the Union and Constitution of our fathers. He has written to me since, and though I, in common with the whole world, am troubled at the dread word 'Cancer,' I believe he will substantially conclude his work, and leave, like Napoleon at St. Helena, his memoirs as the best possible evidence of his thoughts and acts to the time when Appomattox sealed the destiny of this nation up to the next epoch, hidden as yet from mortal eyes.

"I went to West Point in 1836, and was therefore a First Classman when Grant came there a 'Plebe' in 1839, and a more unpromising boy never entered the Military Academy. I remember perfectly when the names of the new cadets were posted for our information, among them U. S. Grant, United States Grant, Uncle Sam Grant, and he is known to day in the old army as '*Sam* Grant,' whereas, in fact, his baptismal name is Hiram Ulysses Grant. By a mistake of the Congressman who nominated him (General Hamer) his name was given as U. S. Grant. He tried to correct the mistake but failed, and though his parents named him Hiram Ulysses Grant, he must pass down to history as U. S. Grant.

"These are truths well known to his comrades, but may not be to you. His service with the army in Mexico was honorable and creditable, and in due time his regiment, 4th U. S. Infantry, carried him to Oregon.

"Then he resigned to try to take care of his family here at St. Louis. He labored hard, but could not earn by patient and honest labor the means, and went to Galena, Ill., as an employee of his brother, engaged in the business of making harness and leather. There he was in 1861 when the civil war broke out. He had no more agency in causing that civil war than you or I had, but Providence had so fashioned events that he was the man fitted for the occasion. Webster, Clay, Douglas, and Lincoln had never heard of him, yet from almost absolute obscurity he entered upon the arena of public events, and you and I know substantially the result.

"My relations to him were peculiar. I think I know some things that no others do, but I will not name them for millions of dollars, and I will not anticipate his death. Should I survive him, I will always bear testimony to his good qualities, and be charitable to those which were the result of outside influence."

From this letter, written months before the death of General Grant, it is surely quite clear that nothing said of him, or of the circumstances of his career by General Sherman since his death, can be rightfully interpreted to mean that in the opinion of General Sherman this great soldier, "the man fitted for the occasion," would have disappeared from our history after Donelson, "had C. F. Smith lived," through any lack in himself of the great qualities demanded to "maintain the Constitution and the Union."

How hard the task of the generals of the Union in the field was too often made by political intrigues in Congress, and political pressure upon the Cabinet at Washington no one knows better than General Sherman. Nor can General Fry be ignorant of the circumstances, wholly foreign to the military ability and the military conduct of every eminent soldier, almost without exception, through which, at one or another epoch of the great civil war, the mischievous intrusion of personal and political jealousies "might" have intercepted the march to victory, not of General Grant only, but of any one of the chieftains whom the whole people now delight to honor.

It was doubtless of one among the many public disasters which "might" thus have been caused, and not of any possible eclipse of a renown ordained by the Providence which, to use his own strong language, "fashioned events," that General Sherman must have been thinking if words at all resembling those cited by General Fry, were used by him either "before" or "after" the death of General Grant. It is proper to add that General Sherman has called on General Fry for his authority, and upon me to say that he repudiates the sentiment attributed to him.

THE EDITOR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE "Chapter on Monetary Policy," by S. Dana Horton, reminds me of a little story. Once upon a time the baby, the only son and heir, was sick. The mother sent for some rhubarb and magnesia. The father, excited and alarmed, sent for all the doctors in the neighborhood, and as they, one after another, arrived, he insisted that all should join in consultation. The doctors entered into a long and excited debate about the nature and treatment of the case, which was continued without agreement until the mother came in and announced that the rhubarb and magnesia had taken effect, and that the child was better.

In the "situation," as revealed to Mr. Horton, he sees a "vicious circle—the nations watching each other, sensitive and expectant, all waiting for the United States to act." And we see the United States waiting for its doctors—its financial experts and professionals—to agree upon a course of action. To me it appears that many experts and professionals, who have hitherto taken part in the debate, have either an axe to grind or a hobby to ride, and that we should not expect them to agree upon a monetary policy that will give the practical results which the people have a right to demand. Individually, I favor a much more radical "monetary policy" than popular prejudices will permit the discussion of at present. But it appears to me certain that the "rhubarb and magnesia" for the settlement of the silver question is to be found in the Warner Bill—in the suggestion of issuing silver certificates at the gold price of silver in the market. The Warner Bill has been understood and appreciated by very few, because the unjust and superficial criticisms it has encountered have been given wide circulation, while the advocates of that bill have not been accorded a hearing. The bill is defective, because it does not in itself give a clear and positive assurance that the silver will be received at its market value. If, instead of the gold and silver certificates of the Warner plan, bullion certificates were to be issued, the same for silver as for gold, and the Secretary of the Treasury were to vary the treasury price of silver from time to time, as required to keep a nearly equal or fixed proportion of the two metals in the Treasury, a perfect national and international settlement of the silver question would thereby be reached, and the experts and professionals would then be as badly chagrined as were the doctors by that motherly dose of rhubarb and magnesia.

DAVID REEVES SMITH.

II.

I HAVE read with some attention the account given by Mr. Israel Green, former lieutenant of marine under the command of Robert E. Lee (then a colonel in the United States service), of his unsuccessful attempt to kill John Brown in the engine-house at Harper's Ferry, October 18, 1859. Finding some errors and omissions therein, I will call his attention, and that of your readers to them. In the first place, he misdates his exploit. Colonel Lee's report, which is the best authority, states that he reached Harper's Ferry on the night of October 17—that is to say, fourteen hours *before* the time when Mr. Green represents himself at the Washington navy-yard, as first hearing of the foray of Brown. This is not very important, but accuracy in such matters only requires an old almanac, not a new memory. Mr. Green's new memory, six-and-twenty years after the event, has lost some details which his old memory retained, though rather unwillingly, it would seem. When he was questioned in court at Charlestown in November, 1859, under oath, by the late George Sennott, of Boston, the following answers were given :

"*Mr. Sennott.* You say that when Brown was down you struck him in the face with your saber ?

Lieutenant Green. Yes.

Q. This was after he was down ?

A. Yes ; he was down.

Q. How many times, Lieutenant Green, did you strike Brown in the face with your saber, after he was down ?

A. Why, sir, *he was defending himself with his gun.*

Andrew Hunter. I hope the counsel for the defense will not press such questions as these.

Doubtless these were inconvenient questions, and Mr. Green does not suggest them at all in his paper. He even says, speaking of Brown's condition the next day, (when Lieutenant Green took him to Charlestown, to have the killing completed, which his repeated blows could not effect): " He had recovered a great deal from the effects of *the blow* from my saber, the injury from which was *principally the shock*, as he only received a flesh-wound." Mr. Green had already said : " I brought my saber down with all my strength *upon his head.* . . . He received a deep saber-cut *in the back of his neck*, fell senseless on his side, then rolled over on his back. *Instinctively*, as Brown fell, I gave him a saber-thrust *in the left breast.*" Here, then, were three distinct blows, all taking effect in different places, according to Mr. Green.

Now, what do other witnesses, quite as impartial as Mr. Green, say ? Mr. Daingerfield, a Virginian, one of Brown's prisoners, who stood within two feet of Brown, and saw the whole affair, says, that Lieutenant Green first gave "an under-thrust of his sword, striking Brown about midway the body, and raising him completely from the ground. Brown *fell forward*, with his head between his knees, while Green struck him *several times* over the head, and, as I supposed, split his skull at every stroke. The reason that Brown was not killed *when struck on the head* was, that Green was holding his sword in the middle, *striking with the hilt*, and making *only scalp wounds.*"

Another eye-witness, a Kentuckian, Benjamin Mills, who was made masterarmorer at Harper's Ferry, by Floyd, the Virginian Secretary of War, in 1858, thus described, in 1881, Mr. Green's exploit: "Brown stood erect, like a pillar, not a muscle moving. Green made a lunge at Brown, knocking him forward on the face, on the floor of brick. Leaning over the hose-cart, Green *chopped Brown twice on the head.* The thick otter-skin cap saved Brown's life, but he was left senseless. *Green thought he had killed him,* and I also thought the first lunge had gone through Brown's body, but it only struck him on the hip-bone, knocking him down."

Brown's own account of the affair, as taken down by the reporter of the New York "Herald," the next day (October 19), was as follows: "These wounds were inflicted on me—both saber-cuts on my head and bayonet stabs in different parts of my body—*some minutes after I had ceased fighting and had consented to surrender,* for the benefit of others, not for my own. I believe the Major" (meaning Green) "would not have been alive—I could have killed him just as easy as a mosquito when he came in—but I supposed he only came in to receive our surrender. I do not think the Major, or any one, meant to butcher us after we had surrendered."

Apparently Mr. Green does not wish to be thought guilty of meaning "to butcher us after we had surrendered," and I am willing he should have the benefit of such reasonable doubt as there may be in the matter. But his new account of it—made after so many years, and in contradiction of living witnesses—while he cites only one witness, a dead man, Colonel Washington, in support of his version—does not impress me as very credible. I have printed in the "Life and Letters of John Brown" (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1885), the vivid account of Mr. Daingerfield, which was first sent by me to "The Century," where it was published in June last. The account of Ben. Mills was first printed in the Louisville Courier-Journal in the summer of 1881. I believe both Kentuckians and Virginians have a prejudice against striking a man after he is down ; and both Mills and Daingerfield seem to have remembered the incident better on that account. I hope Mr. Green shares the same feeling in cases where his own action is not involved ; and I believe he is not exactly proud of his conduct on this occasion. It was quite in keeping, I admit, with the general use then made of United States troops to protect slavery; and even with Colonel Lee's instructions to Lieutenant Green that morning, Lee says in his report: "The men were instructed (before the assault) how to distinguish our citizens from the insurgents ; *to attack with the bayonet,* and not to injure *the blacks detained in custody,* UNLESS THEY RESISTED." The sacred property of slave-holders must not be spoiled by a stab, but, for all that appears, every white man might have been put to the sword, as Brown was by Green. Fortunately for mankind, Green's sword was not so savage as his mind, and the old hero was spared to tell Lee and all Virginia what Jefferson had told them in 1785, that the day of emancipation was at hand, and that "the Almighty has no attributes which can take sides with Virginia in such a contest." They would not listen to Jefferson and the prophets ; they resolved to fight against the army of the Lord ; and their madness made John Brown the one irresistible soldier in that army. Which side Mr. Green took in the contest I have not learned.

F. B. SANBORN.

III.

PETERSBURG was taken in April, 1865, after a siege of eight months. Just before dusk of June 15, 1864, Hancock's Corps (the 2d), relieving Smith's and Weitzel's troops, who had, during the afternoon, been engaged with a small force of Confederates, moved into the unoccupied Confederate earthwork defenses that covered Petersburg from the direction of City Point—elaborate works of heavy profile, constructed, a good while before, under the plans of the Confederate engineers. Between these works, in the neighborhood of the Appomattox River and Petersburg, about a mile farther on, not a Confederate soldier was to be seen, nor was there a sign that there was a force in the town sufficient to make even a pretense of defending the place against such a body of Union troops as were standing under arms near Fort Beauregard—thirty thousand or more, perhaps.

The writer, then a lieutenant of infantry, was sent forward, as officer in command of the picket line of his regiment, and formed his pickets, according to instructions, along the hither bank of a little creek that was fordable at all points. He and his men, and, if he does not mistake, the entire 2d Corps at least, were most of the night in momentary expectation of an order to advance and occupy Petersburg. The order did not come. But, before dawn, the sound of locomotive whistles up the river near Petersburg began and continued in an almost incessant shriek until daylight, telling us that the opportunity had passed. For Lee, having now divined the intention of our army, was sending his troops from Richmond to Petersburg as fast as the trains could carry them. At daylight (the 16th) the cornfield stretching away from the creek toward Petersburg was as full of men in gray as a meadow of a sunny day is of grasshoppers. *Then* we advanced, at eight o'clock, and were repulsed. A Georgian, just after being taken prisoner in this advance, told the writer that, until near dawn, the only Confederate troops in or about Petersburg was "Wise's Legion," a sort of home-guard organization, numbering about fifteen hundred. The question naturally arises, Why did not the Union troops occupy Petersburg some time before midnight of June 15, 1864? Had some one blundered?

T. F. GALWEY.

IV.

THE disparity of conditions in society is rapidly widening by the accumulation of large personal fortunes. That a comparatively few individuals are garnering into their coffers the wealth of the world, and the custody of the land, is painfully apparent.

It cannot be urged that such persons have other than legal claims to their enormous possessions, certainly not equitable rights, because the wealth has been accumulated by the toil of the millions, and the land is common heritage. It would be wise, therefore, for the governing classes in society to reason together as to the best and most equable mode of readjusting this disparity, before the chasm widens into anarchy, or dangerous revolution precedes justice. Certain it is that in a republic the great middle class will not go down to poverty or servitude without a struggle, or accept the conditions of poverty without resistance. The breach is rapidly widening between them. The manual-labor branch of the industrial classes of the republic have been beaten into submission to the inevitable, for the hour only, because capital, with a bank account to draw upon at will, can endure longer than labor upon an empty stomach, while the great middle class are being steadily pushed out of their sphere, the farmer from his mortgaged home, and the mechanic and trader from their occupation and business by this tyrant of centuries, human or inhuman—selfishness enshrined in the unlimited acquisition of wealth.

But there is a way out, a way to readjust the scales, and harmonize conditions between labor and capital with a measure of justice and equity to both, without altering the relation of employer and employed, or precipitating a revolution that would either end in a stronger government or a chaotic democracy, without the training, experience, stability, virtue, or conscience to form an enduring reformation.

This way out would be through *a beneficent law of limitation*, a legislative enactment, requiring no constitutional changes, but simply an amendment to the tax-laws of any State, making a scale of *graduated taxation* upon accumulated and accumulating fortunes, commencing to tax personal fortunes of over $2,000 the half of one per cent., increasing the scale equably to two per cent. upon fortunes aggregating $300,000, making that sum the limit of a fortune, and commencing by largely increasing the graduated scale, to tax into the treasury of the State the excess over that amount, thus leaving the individual free to acquire wealth in the ordinary channels, and limiting only when he commences unduly to hoard and oppress. Such a law would be well received by the American people, because of its manifest justice, because it does not seek to disrupt or change the groundwork of society or social life, and specially, because it sets bounds to avarice.

When we commence to limit man's avarice, which becomes an insanity, it will bring out the kindlier side of his nature expressed in good deeds toward others, because the liberal limit reached will enable him thereafter to work for others less fortunate than himself, where now with avarice unlimited he often becomes an oppressor.

The wealth of the world in production—past labor and land—will be abundant and ample for all who dwell upon the planet, when we shall have learned to equitably redistribute property through the beneficent law of limitation.

JOHN H. KEYSER.

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THE CONGO CONFERENCE AND THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THE conditions under which commerce should be conducted with Central Africa for all future time, and the securities to be afforded to the persons and institutions of Christian civilization established there, were deemed by fourteen foremost nations of the earth to be of sufficient importance to justify an international consultation on the subject. The resolutions of this assembly were believed by thirteen governments to be so useful as to merit approval. It seems that our Government, or rather its executive officer, holds them of so little importance as not to deserve the consideration of the American senate. So it appears by the following extract from the President's message:

"The action taken by this Government last year in being the first to recognize the flag of the International Association of the Congo has been followed by formal recognition of the new nationality which succeeds to its sovereign powers.

"A conference of delegates of the principal commercial nations was held at Berlin last winter to discuss methods whereby the Congo Basin might be kept open to the world's trade. Delegates attended on behalf of the United States on the understanding that their part should be merely deliberative, without imparting to the results any binding character, so far as the United States were concerned. This reserve was due to the indisposition of this Government to share in any disposal by an international congress of jurisdictional questions in remote foreign territories. The results of the conference were embodied in a formal act of the nature of an international convention, which laid down certain obligations purporting to be binding on the signatories, subject to ratification within one year. Notwithstanding the reservation under which the delegates of the United States attended, their signatures were attached to the general act in the same manner as those of the plenipotentiaries of other governments, *thus making the United States appear, without reserve or qualification, as signatories to a joint international engagement imposing on the signers the conservation of the territorial integrity of distant regions* where we have no established interests or control.

"This Government does not, however, regard its reservation of liberty of action in the premises as at all impaired; and holding that an engagement to share *in the obligation of enforcing neutrality in the remote valley of the Congo would be an alliance* whose responsibilities we are not in a position to assume, I abstain from asking the sanction of the senate to that general act."

Are these official observations justified? Or has the President been ill advised, and his message been made the vehicle of wholly erroneous statements?

A slight inquiry by the Secretary into diplomatic law, or into the text of the document, would have assured him that his implication that the United States delegates had surpassed their instructions in certifying by their signatures the final acts of the conference was wholly gratuitous. That signature did not make the United States appear as signatories "without reserve or qualification." Not only was the reserve and qualification—that the whole was subject to approval by the home government—contained in the acceptance of the invitation itself, but it was embodied in the text of the final Act which provides that it shall only take effect for each power when that power shall have ratified it. (*Il entrera en vigueur pour chaque Puissance à partir de la date où elle l'aura ratifié.*) Even without this express reserve, by general diplomatic usage the conclusions of an international conference can never be binding on governments until they are ratified. Their signatures gave it no "binding character." It is to be regretted that the President has thus seemed to ignore both the text of the document and international usage.

But the more important questions relate to the conclusions themselves of the conference and their importance to American interests, present and future. The President admits the need of regulated relations with that region by submitting recommendations for commercial agencies there, and by having formally recognized its principal nationality, although it occupies only about one-third of the country affected. With this nation, as with nearly all the rest of the region, we have no diplomatic or consular arrangements or securities unless those adopted by the conference are accepted. Certainly then it is worth the trouble to inquire what the delegates of so many nations did actually recommend for the common interest of all in their future relations with one-third of a great continent.

A meeting of the principal governments of the world for the sole purpose of promoting the peace of nations, the interests of international commerce and the progress of Christian civilization is an event so unusual that it deserves more than superficial attention. History records many such meetings of powers in order to restrain or ratify warlike aggressions, to regulate the balance of continental power, to define political jurisdictions, or to divide the fruits of conquest. In late years however, and at the primary invitation of the United States, they have repeatedly assembled for the regulation of postal communications between themselves, and for an agreement on scientific questions. Once they have met to capitalize and apportion the payment of the Scheldt dues, which were a burden on international commerce and in the issue of which our Government participated. An examination of the record of the Berlin Conference of 1884, will show a meeting on a still higher plane, suggested by the discoveries of an American citizen, and by the political action of the United States in recognizing a new-born State.

Within the last two decades travelers had forced their way up the Nile, and from Mozambique westward, until the great lakes of Central Africa and the thickly populated country around them had been discovered and partially explored, and a great river found whose destination and commercial utility were unknown. To the task of solving this doubt an American devoted himself with rare sagacity, intrepidity, and pluck. Undeterred by savage nature and more savage man, he, during nine hundred and ninety-nine days, traversed a continent which had been dark during all historic ages, and displayed the flag of the newest great nation of time to the most unknown people of the earth. From a line less than one hundred miles from the eastern coast of Africa, until he saw the rise and fall of the Atlantic tide in the Lower Congo, Stanley saw neither fortress, nor flag of any civilized nation, save that of the United States, which he carried along the arterial watercourse of a region inhabited by a people estimated at more than forty millions in number.

Thus was opened up a vast field for the operations of Christianity, of civilization, and of commerce. The American Government claimed nothing from the right of discovery. The enlightened King of the Belgians, mourning the loss of an only heir to his throne, resolved to dedicate a royal fortune to the founding of a free and progressive state in the newly discovered center of a populous continent. Routes were opened, stations established, officers appointed and the work begun. The first appeal for recognition and for moral support was naturally and justly made to the Government whose flag was first carried across the region. The President and Senate responded favorably to the appeal and recognized the occupation as lawful, being founded on treaties having the consent of the native authority, and promising equal and just treatment to all American interests.

But European commercial interests were also involved. European consent was needed. Europe embraced all the colonizing powers. Two of them were already pushing forward their colonial claims to this region. Both of these governments had, for generations, adopted the policy of colonial monopolies, excluding other commercial nations from access to their colonies except on terms of great inequality. Should this region fall under such control, not only the trade and influence of the country which claimed its discovery, but of all other non-occupying governments, would be practically excluded from its benefits. All these nations had a common interest in establishing there the liberty and equality of trade, and in the contribution of civilizing influences. The missionaries of the United States churches were there. Some American manufacturers were making their way there. Six millions of the African races now in America might yet contribute a useful emigration in aid of its civilization. We were already the principal consumers of one of its chief products. In much less time than our own Mississippi valley was opened and settled after discovery we might expect the opening up of a profitable trade with the Congo valley and the Lake region of Central Africa, if we could have free access to it from the east and west. The first steps are always doubtful, sluggish, expensive. Later, modern nations march with rapidity and security. How should the United States and other non-possessory nations obtain their equal rights of intercourse with this vast region? How should they be treated among its present and rival occupants? And how should it be known which colonial power really and rightfully controlled the oceanic gateways to this region?

These comprehensive international questions presented themselves to the far-seeing mind of Germany's great statesman—not only Germany's but the world's foremost statesman. They must be settled before indefinite claims had crystallized into rights of unquestioned possession and before the old regime of colonial exclusiveness should be established never to be uprooted. France was already pushing her colonial adventures to the northern bank of the Congo. Portugal was claiming the south bank and indefinitely eastward, claiming indeed both banks by right of prior discovery of only the mouth of this great river. Other European powers were founding establishments and interests there.

The German Chancelor decided to invite a Conference of the commercial nations to consider the questions of, first: Liberty of trade in the Congo basin; second: Freedom of navigation in the Congo and Niger rivers on the basis of that established on the Danube and other international rivers; and, third: What formalities should be observed in order to further effective occupations of territory on the African coasts. In connection with the Government of the French Republic invitations were issued to and accepted by, twelve national governments, which with the inviting powers, constituted a Conference of fourteen nations, in which the minor countries like Denmark and Holland had a voice and veto equal to that of the Great Powers. All questions of forms of government and of territorial right or jurisdiction were excluded from the consideration of the Conference. No dynastic question could be considered. The only non-commercial question before them, if indeed this were not also one, was that which affected the government intending hereafter to occupy parts of the African coasts. To them was addressed the inquiry, what will you agree to do to make certain your occupation of any part of the coast? Every government represented was left absolutely free to agree or disagree to the results of the Conference.

The United States very wisely participated in its deliberations for the protection of its own commercial interests, present and future, against colonial exclusiveness and for the promotion of those views which had already induced the President and Senate to recognize the first free government established in Central Africa. The assembled delegates naturally divided themselves into two groups: those whose governments had colonized or intended to colonize that region, and would therefore like to control its trade, like France and Portugal; and those who, like the United States, only wished for their people liberty of access and equal rights of trade, and the free exercise of their religion and civilizing influences in that newly discovered country. The only essential differences arose from this conflict of interests which at one time threatened to be serious. Under the wise guidance of the German delegates and with the aid of discreet and temperate diplomatists like those representing Italy, England, and Belgium, accord was finally established. It would be an agreeable task to the writer of this article, and not without public interest, to give a sketch of all the accomplished ambassadors and ministers representing the civilized world whose wisdom and moderation contributed to this result. But that description must give place here to the more important definition of their work.

I.

The first of the declarations of the Conference relates to the "liberty of commerce in the basin of the Congo, its embouchures and neighboring countries, together with certain dispositions connected therewith."

This declaration constitutes an agreement on the part of all the governments adhering to it that the commerce of each of their nations shall enjoy complete liberty in all the region drained by the Congo and its affluents, including therewith Lake Tanganyika and its eastern tributaries: also in the Atlantic zone lying on both sides of the Congo basin proper between latitude 2° 30′ south, and the river Logé, prolonging these lines eastward from the Atlantic until they reach the Congo basin: *also*, in the zone lying eastward of the Congo basin and situate between the 5th degree of north latitude and the river Zambesi on the south and extending to the Indian Ocean on the east. But it was expressly understood that the provisions should only apply to the territories of any independent power in this eastward zone (like Zanzibar) after such Government should give its assent; and the Conference powers agreed to use their influence to obtain this consent.

It was also agreed that all flags without distinction of nationality shall have free access to all the shores of the above territories; to all their rivers flowing into the sea; to all the waters of the Congo and its affluents, and to the lakes, and all connecting canals which shall be made and to all the ports on their borders; with liberty of coasting trade and boating by sea and river. No other taxes should be imposed than as an equivalent for the expenses incurred for the benefit of commerce itself. And every sort of differential treatment of ships and merchandise is prohibited. All kinds of commercial monopoly and exceptional privilege are agreed to be forbidden. Absolute equality among nations is established and their commercial rights are to be the same as those of the possessory government. Strangers shall have the same personal rights as the allegiants for pursuing their professions, for acquiring and transmitting property, both personal and real, and generally shall enjoy the same protection and the same treatment.

Not only do the possessory powers agree to all this. They further pledge themselves to care for the preservation of the native races and for the amelioration of their moral and material condition, and to strive for the suppression of slavery, and especially of the slave trade. They pledge themselves to protect and favor, without distinction of nationality or forms of worship, all religious, scientific and charitable enterprises tending to the instruction and civilization of the natives. The possessory powers further guarantee liberty of conscience and religious toleration to natives and strangers and citizens, together with the right of all to erect places of worship and to organize missions without any restriction. (Article 1–6.)

To what of all this does the Secretary of State object? What is there in it that is not profoundly acceptable to the American People? Is it not the very substance of the American Constitution extended to the heart of Africa?

II.

The regions to be covered by the declarations of the Conference contain the great fields from which the odious slave trade is recruited, and where its horrors continue and its routes are marked by human bones and blood. The governments represented, therefore, recognizing this horrible traffic and the operations by which slaves were furnished for it as interdicted by the law of nations, on the demand of the British ambassador excluded it from the commerce to which liberty was to be secured; and on the demand of the American minister, who reminded the conference of six millions of emancipated blacks in the United States, the possessory powers pledged themselves that their territory should afford neither routes of transit for the slave trade nor markets for it; and that they would employ all the means in their power to put an end to this commerce and to punish those engaged in it. This was a most important step forward in the progress of humanity. (Article 9.)

Does Mr. Bayard object to this second declaration? Is he unwilling to receive this engagement made by the African powers? Do not the American People approve it?

III.

"In order"—says the third declaration of the Conference—"to give a new guaranty of security to commerce and industry, and by the maintenance of peace to favor the development of civilization in the countries mentioned in the first article and placed under the regime of commercial liberty, the high signatory parties of the present act, and those who shall hereafter adhere to it, engage themselves to respect the neutrality (*s'engagent a respecter la neutralité*) of the territories or parts of territories depending on the said countries, including therein the territorial waters, so long as the powers who exercise or shall exercise sovereignty or protectorate over these territories, making use of their option to proclaim themselves neutral shall fulfill the duties which belong to neutrality. (Art. 10.)

This is the precise translation of the declaration on which Mr. Bayard seems to rest the objection of the President to even present the conclusions of the Conference to the Senate. In the message he calls it—for there is absolutely nothing else in the whole act of the Conference to which the wildest imagination could apply his phraseology—he calls this, "a joint international engagement imposing on the signers the conservation of the territorial integrity of distant regions where we have no established interests or control !" He further uses, with special reference to the neutrality clause, the following language : "Holding that an engagement to share in the obligation of enforcing neutrality in the remote valley of the Congo would be an alliance whose responsibilities we are not in a position to assume, I abstain from asking the sanction of the Senate to that general act."

The State Department should really invoke the forbearing judgment of our countrymen. There really are people enjoying salaries in the State Department who, if sufficient time had been allowed, could have translated the words *s'engagent a respecter la neutralité.* Most schoolboys reading English would inevitably have stumbled on its meaning. It is only by a very high flight of imagination that these simple words can be converted into an "obligation of enforcing neutrality," and "an alliance whose responsibility we are not in a position to assume." Surely the Secretary of State is not ignorant that, by international law, we are always bound to "respect the neutrality" of another independent country which itself performs the duties of a neutral toward us. So far, therefore, as the Congo free state is concerned the declaration was only a promise by each government for itself to observe the existing law of nations. But there were included in this broad zone dedicated to free commerce colonies, or parts of colonies, of European powers. There might be many more to come, as well as commercial establishments without colonies. These powers might be at war in Europe on merely European questions. If such alien wars were carried into this part of Africa and among their barbarian subjects they would revive all savage instincts, with the lusts of rapine and slaughter. Thus, in a few months, would be ruined the commercial enterprises, the religious institutions and the civilizing influences of many years. The American minister reminded the Conference of this danger, and referred to the bloody massacres in American colonies at the time of the Franco-English wars preceding our Revolution. France, which already had colonies here, at first objected to any agreement limiting her option to make war from or to carry war into these colonial regions where the Conference had already agreed to the dominant principles of commercial liberty and Christian civilization. But the proposition was finally agreed to in the conditional form above quoted.

Even France accepted it as a partial concession to the future peace and good order of this vast barbaric region. Thus, each government engaged itself to respect the neutrality of all this region, even while war raged between the possessory powers elsewhere, provided the duties of neutrality were observed in this region itself. Thus came the recognition of a rule of existing law to be applied to an African colony of a belligerent, provided the colony was proclaimed neutral, and should take no part in the war ; and it was also applied in the interest of the neutrals themselves, such as the United States are and are likely to remain. All this could have been learned, and more fully, by a simple reading of the protocols. But how should they be read at the State Department when even the principal text was not read ?

In this spirit of peace and progress, as well as in the line of our own treaty agreements with England for the encouragement of peace by arbitration, the Conference advanced a further step. In another clause of this declaration it is said, if a power exercising sovereignty or protectorate in these regions of free commercial liberty should be involved in war, the government agreeing to the resolutions of the Conference promise "their good offices" that the territories of such power, situate in this free zone, may be, with consent of both belligerents, placed for the duration of such war under the regime of neutrality and considered as belonging to a non-belligerent state ; the belligerents may thenceforth renounce the extension of hostilities to these territories, as well as renounce the use of them as a base for the operations of war. (Art. 11.)

In case a serious dissension on the subject of or within the limits of these free territories should arise between the powers agreeing to the acts of the Conference, these dissentient powers, before appealing to arms, promise to have recourse to the mediation of one or more friendly powers ; or may take their option to refer the difference to arbitration. (Art. 12.)

Where in all these arrangements for the peace and good order of this region does the Secretary find "a joint international engagement imposing on the signers the conservation of the territorial integrity of distant regions ?" Where does he find "the obligation of enforcing neutrality in the remote valley of the Congo ?" Can a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs find no distinction between a simple promise of a government to respect an existing neutrality, and an alliance to enforce neutrality on a warring state ?

The blunder put into the President's mouth is so stupendous as to be incredible, except to those who have the original text before them. Thirteen governments of the world will read the misstatement of the message with amazement. In no other country could such an error in so high a document pass without surprise on the part of the people, and regret on the part of the authorities responsible for it. The error is less excusable because the protocols show how many clauses were changed on the suggestion of the American minister, to avoid every appearance of joint liability or joint guaranty, or any other like obligation on the part of the United States. The obligation of this Government is for itself to respect the principle to which it agrees.

I challenge the Secretary of State after the closest scrutiny of the act to quote a single clause in the entire text of the General Act of the Conference, which imposes any obligation whatever on the United States to employ a soldier or sailor or to expend a dollar to enforce neutrality or territorial integrity or any other condition or action on any other government or territory whatever. I further invite him to quote a single phrase in that text which creates an alliance with any other government on the earth for or against any other nation or territory in the world. Until such article of the text is shown the American people may well believe that their minister at that Conference—whose experience in public affairs has been cotemporaneous with that of the Secretary of State, and whose fidelity to American principles and traditions of policy is certainly equal to his—has faithfully guarded these principles and traditions throughout the action of the Conference. So marked was the acceptance by the Conference of the views presented on the part of the United States that Herr Von Bunsen, reviewing the action of the Conference, assigns after Germany the first place of influence in the Conference to the United States.

IV. AND V.

The fourth and fifth of the resolutions of the Conference establish an agreement that the two greatest commercial rivers of Western Africa, the Niger and Congo, as well as all artificial waterways or railroads connecting their waters respectively, shall forever remain open to the navigation and commercial use of all nations, on terms of perfect equality. No embarrassing or discriminating regulations shall be applied; and other national interests shall have the same liberty and rights on these rivers as those of the possessory powers. No nation may create a monopoly on either river. This navigation is to remain forever free and open to neutral commerce, even in time of war.

The Secretary must remember numerous negotiations on our part in the past, in order to secure less complete privileges in other great international rivers opening from the sea to the interior of continents. Never before have the principles of anti-monopoly been so largely applied and so sweeping, as in the General Act of this Conference. Is there nothing of value in these permanent concessions made by England and France on the Niger, where regular lines of steam navigation now exist, and by all the nations on the Congo, also now occupied by steamers? Or, does the Secretary think so poorly of the spirit and enterprise of Americans as to believe we shall never more have ships and an ocean trade? The late administration looked to an early time when American enterprise should again display the American flag on all Atlantic waters, covering both vessel and cargo with its protection; and they deemed it a duty to prepare the way for the restoration of its prosperity.

Has the present Government no such hope, no such desire? Will not the American people gladly accept these concessions, freely made and made forever?

VI.

The sixth and last of its declarations of policy chiefly concerns the possessory powers. It requires them, if they make new occupations on the coast of Africa, to notify the other governments of the fact, that they may be in a position to make reclamation if required. They also recognize the obligation to assure, in such territories occupied by them on the coast, an authority sufficient to make acquired rights respected, as well as the liberty of commerce and of transit where that is stipulated. So far as this interests non-occupying governments it adds a new security for the commerce and enterprise of their people on the coasts of Africa.

Finally, in all the act under review there is not a clause touching "conservation of territorial integrity" or "enforcing neutrality." There never was a "jurisdictional question" presented for consideration. The reserve touching the "binding character" of the act was the same on the part of all the governments. None were bound until the reserved ratification was effected. The Department of State should have remembered that the same act was signed by Belgium, itself a neutralized state under protection. It certainly would not by a possible pledge of war expose itself to a loss of its neutral advantages. The signatures to the act were the same as to the protocols of each of our deliberations, which certified to the several declarations concessively adopted. They simply certified the ensemble of the conclusions to which the Conference had unanimously come. Different ministers made reserves throughout the Conference. All delegates, however, signed the final instrument which set forth only the resolutions which were finally and unanimously accepted, and this was styled "A General Act." Had the State Department taken the precaution to read the General Act before intimating that the United States minister had, in signing, exceeded his authority, it would have found in the very opening language that the act was a simple certificate of the propositions which the delegates "have successively discussed and adopted;" —*ont successivement discuté et adopté* is the precise recital of the text. It further certified that they thought it useful to assemble their declarations in one instrument which they styled "The General Act." Every separate declaration had been promptly reported to the American Government—not one had been disapproved. A neutrality proposition going still further had been specially approved by the administration then in office. The form of this act was adopted by the Conference, instead of the form of treaty, expressly to meet the objections made to the latter form by the American minister; and in order to obviate all just scruple touching the mere form of the instrument. The Conference was expressly notified that we would undertake no joint obligation of any kind. It went further at our request, and provided (Art. 37) that powers not signing might "adhere to its dispositions by a separate act." The General Act was thus certified to be correct by the signatures of the delegates on the 26th of February last, and before the accession to office of the present administration.

With great personal respect for the present Secretary of State, I hold it a duty, not only to myself and to the Government whose agent I was, but to the truth of history itself, to correct the misinformation touching this international instrument which has found place in so grave a document as the annual message of a President of the United States.

There remains only the question, what do we gain by this act of the Conference?

We secure freedom and equality for our vessels and our commerce in all time and through all progressive developments to come, in an area broader than the United States and extending from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, together with all its interior waters, and over the canals and railroads connecting them. We secure the abolition of all monopolies, private or corporate. This is to continue, whatever the present sovereign jurisdiction, or the changes of governments to come, and whether they be independent states or colonial dependencies, and in time of war as well as peace. We secure freedom and equal protection for the persons of Americans whether traveling or resident there, for their property, and for the pursuit of their professions and enterprises of every sort. We gain security for the American missionaries, churches, and schools, now or hereafter to be established, and absolute liberty of commerce and freedom of worship. We gain pledges for the extinction of the hateful slave trade. In a word, we gain everything which we could gain by owning the country, except the expense of governing it. What we gain here by adhering to this act is what elsewhere we have been for a hundred years unable to gain by special negotiations with each individual government, from whose colonial possessions we are until this day either excluded or only admitted upon ruinous terms of discrimination.

On the other hand, what do we yield in exchange for this? Neither land, nor soldiers; neither money nor liability to expenditure; neither jurisdiction nor revenue. We simply agree to recognize in other nations the same rights in Central Africa which are conceded to us; and we agree to use our "good offices" with the governments on the eastern coast to obtain their consent to apply the liberal provisions of the act to their territories: in other words, to further our own interests. We further agree to lend our "good offices"—*bons offices,* says the text and only that—to persuade a belligerent having possessions in this free zone, and with the consent of both belligerents, to adopt neutrality for these possessions during any war. These are the engagements, and the only engagements for action, which we assume toward other governments. But this pledge of our "good offices" is hardly startling enough to shock the timidity of an administration which represents the spirit of the American people.

The only grounds upon which the President is made to rest his objections to the work of the Conference *do not exist*. If they existed the work ought not to be and would not be ratified by the Senate. Being non-existent the act should be approved by both President and Senate in justice to the present and future interests of the United States, and in the interest of civilization itself. If too late to adopt it by simple ratification, it should be accepted by a "separate act," for which it makes provision.

JOHN A. KASSON.

RACE AND THE SOLID SOUTH.

THE discussion of the Race issue and the Solid South has fallen into the hands of ingenious speculators, with many assumed facts and imaginary sequences. So great and complicated a question above all requires common sense, a close observation of facts, and unobscured logic.

The present status shows the supremacy of the whites in social and political rule: while the blacks have all the legal equality that written constitutions can secure. Does intimidation, corruption, force, and fraud on the part of the whites override all legal enfranchisement? And if so, is there any remedy, if desirable, but time? This antagonism of races, whether arising from "previous servitude" or the natural antipathies of race, thus exhibited, makes the black race of the South, for all practical purposes, of no force in the state and national elections. And the white republicans of the South allied to the blacks share the same fate. Thus, as parties now stand, the Democrats rule the South against black and white Republicans with autocratic power. Is this the best thing possible?

Thus the Solid South, united to a few Northern States, by a minority-vote of the whole people, rule. Is this the best for the nation? Will not a toleration of a minority-rule debauch the public conscience, bring the rule of the majority into contempt, and thus self-government be lost? If the "government of the people by the people for the people" is not desirable or possible, would it not be better to come to the rule of an autocracy by more direct methods at once and forever?

If we are not prepared to go back into the old worn-out slums of despotism, what can save us?

Will the superior increase by birth of the blacks do it?

Some years ago I had occasion to compile a comparative table, running for a long term of years, showing that, as a matter of fact, the whites of the slave states increased at a greater ratio than the blacks. Has that ratio been changed by the freedom of the slaves? I think not. I know, of my own knowledge, from unquestionable testimony, of three children being killed after birth by their black parents, in my own neighborhood. So I have reason to believe that, by abortion before and by homicide after birth, the increase of the blacks in all the South has been retarded. Immigration to the South is all in favor of the whites. Again, the Solid South has great temptation to make false returns of the black voters—seeing that increased numbers give increased political power. But, admitting the assumption that the blacks are increasing faster than the whites in spite of the influx of whites and the emigration of blacks, how long will that state of affairs exist? Now, the law of population and subsistence applies alike to man and other animals—that is, population depends upon the food. But, in the artificial civilized life of man, the willful destruction of offspring, want of shelter, clothing, medicine, and proper nourishment and nursing, to say nothing of epidemic diseases, falling mostly upon the blacks, the despotic rule of the South will forever keep them in the supremacy. For it is the substratum of every people that perishes first for want of subsistence.

Will education be the remedy?

Education, of course, gives power. But who is to put the "salt upon the bird's tail?" The "Memphis Avalanche," one of the most intelligent of Southern editors, answers that: the South rules from above, and the North from below. That is, in other words, the whites of the South have the ascendency, though the blacks may increase ever so much, and they intend to keep the supremacy. They will oppose the education of the blacks, as before in slavery. Nevertheless the friends of equality before the law must use all the means—and education is one of them—with or without the co-operation of the oligarchy, as in Berea, in Kentucky, where blacks and whites are educated and protected by the mountain people.

Will force succeed?

I think not. Force has been tried, and, like the storm in Æsop's fable of the sun and the winds, caused the traveler to bind his cloak the more closely around him—it was the chief cause of southern solidity. If this was a central despotism, then force by arms would be the remedy, certainly. But the disease is too great and widespread for such remedy, and not suited to a republican form of government. The ten years of such attempt should warn our statesmen not to attempt that remedy again for the dissolving of the Solid South.

What is the true solution?

The North has the numerical majority, the superior education, and greatest wealth. She, too, must become *solid.* She must hold the government with no equivocal intent. Having given the South full legal equality with the North, she must show that she is determined to stand by and enforce all the penalties of the bond. The South is now very well content to bury, nationally, "the bloody shirt." *She is in power.* It is not the rider of the horse who cries out, "ride and tie," "now dismount, and let the footman take the saddle." The ambitious men of the South, seeing the national honors and emoluments impossible so long as the South usurps undue power and tramples upon the vital principle of self-government—the sacred ballot, one vote and a fair count—will themselves break up the solid South. The blacks must be divided between the northern and southern parties: that will break up the caste of race. That, and time, will make us one people, and blot out the old Mason's and Dixon's line, and all will be equal before the law.

Social equality hardly enters into the political discussion of the race-issue. Nevertheless it does disturb legal rights and the normal relations of the races.*

A word as to the legal right of intermarriage.

Admit that there is a natural antipathy between the black and white races, for argument's sake, is that a reason why marriage should by law be forbidden? The right of unrestrained marriage is denied to the whites and blacks in the South by law. But does not every one see that the law is intended to protect the white, and not the black race, and therefore is unequal in its force, and, so far, works in favor of caste and the destruction of real "equality before the law?" The objections to such a law is: that it destroys the self-respect of and degrades the whole black race. A wise statesman should do all things to cultivate the race, not to degrade it. But I deny the right of society or the state to say whom I shall or will not marry. In this sacred relation no one can justly forbid the inalienable elements of human happiness. But, admit that there is an instinctive repugnance between whites and blacks sufficient to warrant a restraining law of intermarriage, then such repugnance is also sufficient without law, and therefore such law is needless in the main issues, while in its degradation of a whole race, it is *per se* criminal. I conclude, then, all laws recognizing inequality between the races in marriage, in public functions, in churches, in places of travel, in schools, may be safely omitted. As a matter of taste or judgment, if you please, I am in favor of pure breeds in domestic animals, and among the races of men, and even among the white varieties of the race there is reason to believe that those varieties are happiest where intermarriage is confined to the nearest type and closest affinities of rank, education, and sentiment. But as a matter of *right*, and the great principles of human civilization, I would here, as in political power, let all stand "EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW."

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* There are two facts which, generally unknown or overlooked, are of great importance in the consideration of the race-issue. First, the races or nations of blacks in Africa are as distinct in form and intelligence as the whites of Europe. Consider the Moors of ancient times and the Arabs of the late conflict in the Soudan, running down to the lowest type of Africans—Bushmen. These varieties of race by the slave trade has become more or less mingled in American blacks. I have known, myself, Africans of Caucasian face and craniums as far removed from the ordinary Congo as the first of the white race is from the lowest.

The other fact is, that in a little over a half century I have remarked great improvement in the craniums and facial angles in the same families of blacks. So, under favorable surroundings, the progress of races is rapidly advanced—centuries crowding into years. These indisputable facts, as I believe, cannot be ignored in the discussion and solution of the race-issue.

I might add that in Europe, where I saw several blacks and whites intermarried, such alliance being there everywhere admitted by law, it created no sensation whatever; as such unions are so few as to cause no fear of any serious amalgamation of races.

Beyond all these data, and in a wider circle, lies the capital assumption that the South is the superior people in that highest development of intellect and moral qualities—*fitness to rule.* They say that the Roundhead, or Puritan civilization of the North, where so much weight is given to wealth as well as narrow views of religion and life, caused the South here, as in England, to rise to political supremacy; and that, after a quarter of a century in a minority and "exile," "the King has come to his own again," and "come to stay." Some of the South's ancient supremacy was due, no doubt, to a broader and truer view of religion and human life, making this earth the arena of development and happiness, rather than the uncertain and perhaps untrue substratum and relations of a future and unknown state. Thus the Puritan ideas (like the exclusiveness of the Jewish hierarchy, while, perhaps, it gave certain force of character to that nation, repelled the sympathy of other peoples) excited antipathy in more liberal minds, and give the South allies to a large extent in the North itself.

But the main cause of the South's political ascendency was due, no doubt, to slavery, which, providing for economical wants, allowed the best intellects to concentrate in politics. This was well enough in such an Union as ours—the North playing the part of the belly, and the South the brain. But where, as shown by the late war, the "belly" was withdrawn, the "brain" perished.

The first—Puritanism—is being more and more eradicated by a wider thought in the New Englanders themselves, and, by the large immigration from other nations, especially the Germans, whose views of life are more liberal, and, as I think, more in accordance with natural law. Slavery is gone forever, and the North and South stand at equal vantage in the future race for supremacy. Here, as elsewhere, we rest upon the survival of the fittest, and we shall see what we shall see.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

SOME FALLACIES OF SCIENCE.*

"Le génie fait les philosophes et les poëtes : le temps ne fait que les savants."—FONTENELLE.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR read to the assembled members of the British Association, when they met at Aberdeen, in the early autumn of last year, a discourse both eloquent and well suited to excite the enthusiasm of his audience, already disposed by taste and bias to salute its propositions as gospel. That there were truths in it, no one would dispute; that it was exclusively composed of truth is not so evident to minds unswayed by scientific prejudice. It, at all events, was a curious and complete *résumé* of the scientific mind, of its views, conclusions, and expectations, and is therefore interesting in itself, if not as overwhelming in its persuasions to the dispassionate reader as it was to the sympathetic and selected audience to which it was addressed. Scientific persons usually never address themselves to any other audience than one thus paneled and prepared. They like to see a crowd of their own disciples in their halls ere they let fall their pearls of wisdom. The novelist does not demand that he shall be only read by novelists. The painter does not think that none but painters can be permitted to judge a painting. The sculptor does not ask that every critic of his work shall be a Phidias. The historian does not insist that none but a Tacitus shall pass judgment on him. But the scientist does exact that no opinion shall be formed of him and of his works except by his own brethren, and sweeps aside all independent criticism on a principle which, if carried out into other matters, would forbid John Ruskin ever to give an opinion on painting, and would prohibit Francisque Sareey from making any critical observations on actors. Sir Lyon Playfair's address satisfied his audience, because that audience was composed of persons already willing to be satisfied; but if we can imagine some listener altogether without such bias, if we can suppose some one amongst the auditors with mind altogether unprejudiced, such an one might without effort have found many weak places in this fine discourse, and would have been sorely tempted to cry "Question, Question!" at more than one point in it.

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* Suggested by an Address to the British Association, at Aberdeen, 1885

Taken as a whole, the address was an admirable piece of special pleading in favor of science, and of her superior claims upon the resources of all states and the minds of all men. But special pleading has always this disadvantage: that it seeks to prove too much; and the special pleading of the President of the Aberdeen meeting is not free from this defect. We know, of course, that in his position, he could hardly say less; that with his antecedents and reputation, he would not have wished to say less; but those who are removed from the spell of his eloquence, and peruse his arguments in the serene air of their studies, may be pardoned if they be more critical than an audience of fellow-workers, and mutual admirers, if they lay down the pages of his admirably worded praises of science, and ask themselves dispassionately: How much of this is true?

The main object of the discourse was to prove that science is the great benefactress of the world. But is it proved? To the mind of the scientist the doubt will seem as impious as the doubt of the sceptic always does seem to the true believer. Yet it is a doubt which must be entertained by those who are not led away by that bigotry of science, which has so much and so grievously in common with the bigotry of religions.

Let us see what are the statements which the President of the British Association brings forward in support of the position which he gives to Science as the goddess and the benefactress of mankind. First, to do this he casts down the Humanities beneath his feet, as the professors of science always do; and, as an illustration of the uselessness which he assigns to them, he asserts that were a Chrysoloras to teach Greek in the Italian universities he would not hasten perceptibly the onward march of Italy.

What does this mean? It is a statement, but the statement of an opinion, not of a fact.

What is comprised under the vague term "the onward march of Italy"? Does it mean the return of Italy to her pristine excellence in all arts, her love of learning, her grace of living? or does it mean the effort of Italy to aggrandize herself at all cost, and to engage in foreign and colonial wars whilst her cities groan under taxation and her peasantry perish of pellagra? In the one case the teaching of Chrysoloras would be of infinite value; in the other it would, no doubt, not harmonize with the vulgar greeds and dangerous ambitions of the hour. If the "onward march of Italy" means that she is to kneel to a steam-mill, submit to a standing army, wait slavishly on Germany, and scramble for the sands of Africa, the teachings of Chrysoloras would be wasted; but if it mean that she is to husband her strength, cultivate her fertile fields, merit her gift of beauty, and hold a high place in the true civilization of the world, then I beg leave to submit that Chrysoloras, or what his name is here taken to symbolize, would do more for her than any other teacher she could have. Could the classic knowledge and all which is begotten by it of serenity, grace, trained eloquence, and dispassionate meditation, be diffused once more through the mind of Italian youth it would, I think, produce a generation which would not madly rush to Tripoli, nor accept the veiled tyrannies of State-appointed Prefects.

The scientists take for granted that the education of the schools creates intelligence: very often it does no such thing. It creates a superficial appearance of knowledge, indeed; but knowledge is like food, unless it be thoroughly assimilated when absorbed, and thoroughly digested, it can give no nourishment; it lies useless, a heavy and unleavened mass. It is the fashion in these times to despise husbandmen and husbandry, but it is much to be questioned if the city cad, with his smattering of education, his dabbling in politics, his crude, conceited opinions upon matters on which he is absolutely ignorant, be not a far more ignorant, as he is undoubtedly a far more useless person, than the peasant, who may never have opened a book or heard of arithmetic, but thoroughly understands the soil he works on, the signs of the weather, the rearing of plants and of animals, and the fruits of the earth which he cultivates. The man of genius may be many-sided; nature has given him the power to be so; but the mass of men do not and cannot obtain this Protean power; to do one thing well is the utmost that the vast majority can well hope to do; many never do so much, nor a quarter so much. To this vast majority science would say: you may be as indifferent weavers, plowmen, carpenters, shop-men, what you will, but you must know where the spermatic nerves are situated in the ichneumon, and you must describe the difference of microzoaires and miraphytes, and you must understand the solidification of nitric acid. Nor is the temper which science and its teachers seem likely thus to give the human race, one of fair promise. How much have not the men of science added to the popular dread of cholera, which in its manifestation of cowardice and selfishness has so grossly disgraced the Continent of Europe in the past and present year? Their real or imaginary creation, the microbe, has invested cholera with a fanciful horror so new and hideous in the popular mind, that popular terror of it grows ungovernable, and will, in great likelihood, revolt beyond all restraint, municipal or imperial, whenever the disease should again revisit Europe with violence. Again, how many nervous illnesses, how many imaginary diseases, have sprung into existence since science, popularized, attracted the attention of mankind to the mechanism of its own construction? It is a familiar truth that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and of no knowledge is it truer than of physiological knowledge. It has been said, that every one at forty should be a fool or a physician, and so far as knowing what to eat, drink, and avoid, every one should be so; but, unhappily, those who become the latter, *i. e.*, those who become capable of controlling their own constitutional ailments and weaknesses, are apt to contract in their study of themselves an overweening tendency to think about themselves. The generalization of physiology amongst the masses means the generalization of this form of egotism. A child who was told and shown something of anatomy, said, naïvely: "Oh, dear me! now that I know how I am made, I shall be always thinking that I am coming to pieces." In a less innocent way the effect of the popularization of physiology is the same on the multitude as on this child: it increases valetudinarianism, nervousness, and the diseases which spring from morbid fears and morbid desires. Those nervous illnesses which are the peculiar privilege of modern times, are largely due to the exaggerated attention to themselves which science has taught to humankind. The Greek and the Latin said: "Let us eat and drink and enjoy, for to-morrow we die." Modern science says: "Let us concentrate our whole mind on ourselves and our body, although our mind like our body is only a conglomeration of gases which will go out in the dark." The classic injunction and conclusion are the more healthy and the more logical, and produced a race of men more manly, more vigorous, and more consistent with themselves.

To return to the assertions contained in this address which we now consider: in the address it is stated as a fact which all must rejoice over, that in Boston one shoe factory, by its machines, does the work of 30,000 shoemakers in Paris, who have still to go through the weary drudgery of hand-labor. Now, why is the "drudgery" of sewing a shoe in any way more "weary" than the drudgery of oiling, feeding, and attending to a machine? Machine-work is on the contrary of all work the most mechanical, the most absolute, drudgery. There is no kind of proof that, because the work of 30,000 shoemakers is done by a machine, mankind at large is any the happier for this. We know that all machine-made work is inferior to hand-work; inferior in durability, in excellence of quality, and in its inevitable lack of that kind of individuality and originality which hand-work takes from the fingers which form it. In the "Seven Lamps of Architecture," there is an admirable exposition of this immeasurable difference in quality which characterizes hand-labor and machine-made work; of the stone cut by steam and the stone cut by hand. Let us only consider what ruin to the arts of India has been brought about by the introduction of machinery. The exquisite beauty of Oriental work is due to the individuality which is put into it; the worker, sitting beneath his grove of date-trees, puts original feeling, individual character, into each line graven on the metal, each thread woven in the woof, each turn given to the ivory. Machines destroy all this. They make machines of the men who tend them, and give a soulless and hateful monotony to everything which they produce.

Despite the vaunt of Sir Lyon Playfair, the cobbler who sits on the village green, doing sound, if simple work, honestly, giving a personality to the shoe he labors on, and knowing on what foot it will be worn and whether it will go, is a man, and may be in his own humble way a good artist; but the attendant who feeds the shoe-machine with oil, or takes from it its thousands of machine-cut leathers, is no better than a machine himself; so far from being "set free," he is in servitude. The cobbler on the village green knows far more of freedom than he. This curious statement that hand-work, with its scope for originality and individual interest is slavery, whilst the work of factories, mechanical, monotonous, and done in ugly chambers and unwholesome air, is liberty, is surely the oddest delusion with which the fanatical and biased mind of science ever delighted itself. Who can compare the freedom of the native child in a village of Benares, shaping an ebony or cocoanut toy under the palm-fronds of his home, with the green paroquets swinging, and the monkies chattering in the sunlit bamboos above his head, with the servitude of the poor little sickly and weary Hindoos, thronging in patient flocks the noisome factory-chambers of Bombay?

The president of the British Association seems to expect that all men whom machines "set free" from the drudgery of their daily calling, will all at once do something infinitely better than they did before they were free. But this seems to me a very rash conclusion. If the 30,000 shoemakers are all "set free" in Paris, by the introduction of the Boston machine, is it so certain that their freedom will produce anything better than a good pair of shoes? What greater freedom is there in attending to the machine if they select to do that, or in entering into another trade? —one thing or the other no doubt they must do, if they want to earn their bread? What have they gained by being "set free, and passed from one kind of occupation to another?" I fail to see what they have gained. Have the public gained? It is open to doubt. Where will be the gain to their contemporaries, or to themselves, if these 30,000 shoemakers "set free" become telegraph clerks or bookkeepers? Something they must become, unless they are to live as paupers or mendicants. Where is their freedom? "Set free" is a seductive and resonant expression, but analyzed it simply means nothing in this instance. And, before quitting this subject, let me also remark that if Sir Lyon Playfair knew as much about shoes as he does about science, he would know that a machine to make shoes is a most unwelcome invention, because every shoe or boot which is not made *expressly* for the foot which is to wear it, is an ill-made shoe, and will cause suffering and deformity to the unwise wearer. The vast mass of the population of every "civilized" nation has deformed feet, because they buy and wear ready-made shoes, thrusting their extremities into houses of leather never designed for them. Machines which make shoes by the thousand can only increase this evil. As it is, we never see by any chance any one walk well, unless it be some one whose shoes are made with great care and skill, adjusted to his feet alone, or peasants who have never shod their feet at all and step out, with the bare sole set firmly and lightly on their mother earth. Science can, no doubt, turn out millions of cheap shoes, all exactly alike, but nature will not consent to adopt such monotony of contour in the feet which will wear them.

The President of the British Association speaks of science always as of a Demeter, with blessings in her hands, creating the fullness of the fields and the joys of mankind. But if we resist the charm of his eloquence and look more closely at the tissue of it, we shall not be so content to accept his declarations. What does the expression mean—to benefit mankind? I conclude that it must mean to increase its happiness and its health ; all the wisdom of the ages will avail it nothing if it pule in discontent and fret in nervous sickness. Now does science increase the sum of human happiness? It is very doubtful.

Let us take the electric telegraph as an instance of the benevolence of science. Can it be said to make men happier ? I think not. Politicians and diplomatists agree that the hasty judgments and conflicting orders which it favors and renders possible, double the chances of internecine quarrels, and stimulate to irritation and haste, which banish statesmanship. In business the same defects are due to it, and many a rash speculation or unconsidered reply, an acceptance or refusal, forced on men without there being time for any mature consideration, have led to disastrous engagements and as disastrous failures. Even in private life its conveniences may have a certain value, but the many troubles and excitements brought by it are incalculable. Niobe hearing of the death of her children by a printed line on a yellow sheet of paper, has her grief robbed of all dignity and privacy, and intensified by a shock which deals her its fatal blow without any preparation of the mind to receive it. The telegraph, bridging space, may be, and is, no doubt, a wonderful invention, but that it has contributed to the happiness or wisdom of humanity is not so certain. Men cannot do without it now, no doubt ; neither can they do without alcohol. The telegraph, like nearly all the inventions of the modern age, tends to shorten time but to harass it, to make it possible to do much more in an hour, a day, a year, than was done of old, but to make it impossible to do any of this without agitation, brain-pressure, and hurry. It has impaired language and manners, it has vulgarized death, and it has increased the great evils of immature choice and hasty action; these drawbacks weighed against its uses must at the time prevent us from regarding its invention as an unmixed blessing.

Sir Lyon Playfair, proceeding in his enumeration of the benefits which science confers on man, turns to that most familiar matter, air, and that equally familiar element, water. He speaks with pride of all which science has discovered concerning their component parts, and their uses and effects upon the world. His pride no doubt may be justified in much, but he passes over one great fact in connection with air and water, *i. e.*, that both have been polluted through the inventions of science in a degree which may well be held to outweigh the value of the discoveries of science.

Were we to awake an Athenian of the time of Phidias from his mausoleum, and take him with eyes to see and ears to hear and nostrils to smell, into Blackpool or Belfast, even into Zurich or Munich, he would ask us, in stupefaction, under what curse of the gods had the earth fallen that mankind should dwell in such hideous clamor, such sooty darkness, such foul stenches, such defiled and imprisoned air. He would survey the begrimed toilers of the mills and looms, the pallid women, the stunted offspring, the long lines of hideous houses, the soil ankle-deep with cinder-dust, the skies a pall of lurid smoke, the country scorched and blackened and accursed; he would survey all this, I say, asking by what malediction of heaven and what madness of mankind the sweetest and chief joys of nature had been ruined and forgotten thus? He would behold the dwarfed trees dying under the fume of poisonous gases, the clear river changed to a slimy, crawling, stinking, putrid flood of filth; the buoyant air, once sweet as the scent of cowslips or clover-grass, made by the greed of man into a sickly, noxious, loathsome thing, loaded with the stench of chemicals and the vapors of engine-belched steam. He would stand amidst this hell of discordant sounds between these walls of blackened brick, under this sky of heavy-hanging soot; and he would remember the world as it was; and if at his ears any prated of science, he would smile in their faces, and say: "If these be the fruits of Science let me rather dwell with the forest beast and the untaught barbarian."

Yes; no doubt science can study air in her spectrum, and analyze water in her retorts; she can tell why the green tree dies in the evil gas, and the rose will not bloom where the blast-furnace roars; she can tell you the why and the wherefore, and can give you a learned treatise on the calcined dust which chokes up your lungs; but she cannot make the green tree and the wild rose live in the hell she has created for men, and she cannot make the skies she has blackened lighter, nor the rivers she has poisoned run clean. Even we who dwell where the air is pure, and the southern sun lights the smiling waves and the vine-clad hills, even we cannot tell how beautiful was the earth in the days of the Greek anthologists; when the silvery blue of wood-smoke alone rose from the hearth fires; when the flame of the vegetable oils alone illumined the fragrant night; when the white sails alone skimmed the violet seas; when the hand alone threw the shuttle and wove the web; and when the vast virgin forests filled the unpolluted air with their odorous breath. Even we cannot tell what the radiance of the atmosphere, of the horizons, of the sunrise and sunset, were when the world was young. Our loss is terrible and hopeless, like the loss of all youth. It may be useless to lament it, but in God's name let us not be such purblind fools that we call our loss our gain.

Repose, leisure, silence, peace, and sleep are all menaced and scattered by the inventions of the last and present century; they are the greatest though the simplest blessings that mankind has ever had; their banishment may be welcomed by men greedy only of gold; but, meantime, the mad-houses are crowded, spinal and cerebral diseases are in alarming increase, heart-disease in divers shapes is the same, and all the various forms of bodily and mental paralysis multiply and crown the triumphs of the age.

Let us turn for a moment to the consideration of politics and of war as these are affected by the influence of science. Sir Lyon Playfair speaks much of the superior wisdom, the superior education, the superior devotion to science, of Germany as contrasted with those of any other nation; he lauds to the skies her enormous grants to laboratories and professors of physiology and chemistry and "original research" (called by the vulgar vivisection); but the only result of all this expenditure and instruction is a military despotism so colossal that, whilst it overawes and paralyzes both German liberty and European peace, it yet may fall over from its own weight any day, like the giant of clay which it resembles. Are we not then justified in objecting to such praises of

Germany, and refusing to render such homage to her? "By your fruits ye shall be judged," is a just saying; and the fruits of Germany, in the concert of Europe and the sum of political life, are dissension, apprehension, absolutism, and the sacrifice of all other nations to the pressure of the military Juggernaut which rolls before her; whilst in her own national life the outcome of the sanguinary lessons given by the government is little better than the barbarism of the middle ages without its redeeming law of chivalry. The incessant and senseless duels which maim and disfigure German youth are a disgrace to civilization, and a duelist may fire three times at an adversary who *never returns the fire* and, killing him at the last, will only be punished by a slight imprisonment, whilst he will be admired and deified by his comrades.* Such barbarous brutality, such insensibility to generous feeling, such universal resort to the arbitration of every trifling dispute by the pistol or the saber, is the chief characteristic of the nation in which science rules supreme! Conscription, that curse of nations, is forced on all weaklier powers by the enormous armed forces of Germany; art suffers, trades suffer, families suffer; and we are called on by a "scientific" mind to admire as a model the nation which is the cause of this suffering, as we are bidden to admire as models also her mutilated and bandaged students, and her blue-spectacled and blear-eyed school-children!

Sir Lyon Playfair traces the defeat of France in 1870 to the inferiority of her university teaching, and gives the opinion of the Institut de France as his authority. It seems a singularly illogical and unphilosophical decision for such an august body to have given forth publicly. The causes of the defeat of France stretch farther back and have deeper roots than can be accounted for by the omission of the state to create more professors and laboratories. The whole teachings of history show that all states after reaching their perihelion, gradually decline and sink into an inferior place amongst the nations. The day of France, as of England, is already past its noon. Neither will ever be what they have been. Neither will ever again give law to Europe, as they gave it once. But so many causes, some near, some remote, have all contributed to bring about that decline which is as inevitable to nations as to individuals, that it is surely most unphilosophic to contend that such decay could have been averted by the creation of some hundred or thousand more professors of natural or other science. It may be natural for such a professor to consider such professorships the one universal panacea for all ills; but it is not an opinion in which those who know France best and most intimately would be inclined to coincide. They would conclude that, on the contrary, she has too many professors already; that the grace, and wit, and courtesy, and wisdom, and chivalry have gone out of her since she was reeled from the desks of the school-master, the physiologist, and the notary, and the whole system of French colleges is calculated to emasculate and injure the character of the school-boy before he goes up for his baccalaureate.

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* See "Times," of September 19, 1885: account of duel in Munich.

The German invasion of France was supported by all which science could do, yet most military judges are agreed that unless the carelessness of her foe had afforded her a fortnight's preparation, she would have been hopelessly beaten on her own territory; whilst, look at the campaign how we may, it cannot stand a moment's comparison with the Eastern marches of Alexander, or the conquests of Roman generals. With none of the resources of modern warfare, these great conquerors carried fire and sword through the whole of the regions known to them, from the sands of Africa to the ice-plains of the Baltic. What is there in modern war, which can compare with the campaigns of Hannibal, the amazing victories of Julius Cæsar, the deeds of the young Pompeiies, the story of every Legion? In the course of last year, with every aid which modern science can invent, and assisted by every facility which modern modes of transit lend to the transport of multitudes, an army was dispatched from Great Britain with orders to reach a city on the Nile: the errand was too difficult to be accomplished; the generals returned with their mission unfulfilled; the country received them with honor. This is the height to which the assistance of modern science has brought the would-be Cæsars of the age.

What child's play would the expedition to Khartoum have seemed to Scipio Africanus or to Lucius Sylla! Yet all the "resources of science" did not save the modern expedition from failure, and, in the face of Europe and Asia, it retreated in ignominy before the barbaric and untrained followers of a half-mad prophet after an enormous expenditure of stores and treasure, and a perfectly useless waste of human life!

War has been almost incessant since the empire of science, but it has been characterized neither by magnanimity nor true triumph. Europe, armed to the teeth, is like a muzzled pack of blood-hounds; every nation lives in terror of the others; to such a pass has scientific warfare brought the world. The multiplication of engines of destruction is one of the chief occupations and boasts of a scientific age, and it can claim a melancholy pre-eminence in the discovery of the means to inflict the most agonizing of all wounds through the medium of conical bullets and shells of nitro-glycerine. To have added unspeakable horror to death, and to have placed the power of secret and wholesale assassination in the hands of ignorant and envious men, is one of the benefits which this Egeria has brought to her eager pupil. And when her worshipers laud her to the skies, as does the president of the Aberdeen meeting, their silence on this side of her teaching is at once significant and ominous.

Sir Lyon Playfair is obviously afraid that the Humanities will always obtain, in England at least, a larger place in public teaching and in public subsidies than pure science will be able to do. I wish his fear may be justified. My own fears are on the other side. Science offers prizes to the prurient curiosities and the nascent cruelties of youth with which literature can never compete. To study all the mysteries of sex in anatomy and to indulge the power of Nero in little when watching the agonies of a scientifically tortured or poisoned dog, are enjoyments appealing to instincts in the frame of the school-boy, with which not even the most indecent passage in his Greek or Latin authors can ever pretend to measure attraction. The professors of science need have no fear as to the potency of the charm which their curriculum will exercise over the juvenile mind. Teaching which offers at once the penetration into corporeal secrets and the power of torture over animals, possesses a fascination for the minds of youth which it will never lose, because its appeals are addressed to those coarsest and cruelest impulses which are strongest of all in the child and in the adolescent.

What science is preparing for the future of man, in thus putting the scalpel and the lens into the hands of children, is a darker and wider question. One thing is certain, that in the future, as in the streets and temples of ancient Rome, there will be no alter to Pity.

The acknowledged doctrine of the professors of "research," that all knowledge is valuable because it is, or appears to be knowledge, and that all ways and methods of obtaining it are justified and sanctified, bears so curious a likeness to the self-worship of the Papal dominion and of the Spanish Inquisition that we see, with a sense of despair, that bigotry and despotism in some form or another are fated to reappear so long as human life shall last.

It is significant of the political immorality and readiness to tyrannize over others in the pursuit of their aims, which characterize the scientific classes, that they are willing to admire and support any government which is willing in return to endow their scholarships and erect their laboratories. They are inclined to surrender all political liberty, if by so doing they can obtain a ruler who will build them a number of new colleges, with every new instrument ready to their hands for animal torture and physiological or chemical experiment.

A Lorenzo di Medici, devoted exclusively to the sciences instead of to the arts, would be their ideal sovereign. Public liberties might perish under him as they should; he would give science her free scope, her desired endowments, her million living victims; he would be even too enlightened to refuse her human subjects for the physiological laboratory.

This curious willingness of the pursuers of science to join hands with tyranny, so long as tyranny helps themselves, is the darkest menace of the world's future. In time to come it may assume dimensions and aspects which are undreamed of now. The demand of biologists and chemists to be provided for out of the funds of the state, is a demand which has never been made by literature or art, and would not be tolerated from them. The exorbitant sums insisted on for the establishment of laboratories and professorships, rob science of that character of disinterested devotion which alone makes it worthy of esteem. "Give me a thousand or fifteen hundred a year," says the physiologist to the State; "give me money-grants also for experiments which I may spend at my good option and for which I need return no account, and leave me to cut up dogs and cats and horses at leisure. In return I will give you some new facts about internal hydrocephalus or the length of time a new poison takes to kill a guinea-pig." The agreement may, or may not be worth the State's entering into with the physiologist, but in any case the physiologist cannot deny that he makes a good income out of his science, and cannot pretend to any disinterested or philanthropic selection of it. The moment that any man accepts a salary for intellectual work, he must submit to resign all claim to purely intellectual devotion to it. The claims of scientists to be paid and provided for out of national funds has many equivocal aspects, and will have many unwholesome results; whilst the rapacity and insistence with which they are put forward are as unbecoming as they are undisguised. The high priests of modern science are not likely to shed tears like the Greek philosopher Isocrates because they are compelled to take money. On the contrary, they clamor loudly for their maintenance by their nation, with a cupidity which has happily never disgraced either literature or art.

As modern socialism aspires to make the world into one vast allotment-ground, with every man's half-acre meted out to him on which to build his hut and hive his store, so science would change it into one vast class-room and laboratory, wherein all humanity (paying very large fees) should sit at the feet of its professors, whom it would clothe with purple and fine linen, and whom it would never presume to oppose or to contradict.

The world will gain nothing by delivering itself, as it is gradually doing, from the bondage of the various churches and their priesthoods, if in their stead it puts its neck under the yoke of a despotism, more intellectual perhaps, but as bigoted, as arrogant, and as cruel. That this danger lies before it from its submission to the demands of science, no dispassionate student of humanity can doubt.

OUIDA.

AMERICA'S LAND QUESTION.

THE growth and prosperity of the United States have been explained as simply due to a wealth of emigration and a wealth of public domain. We have had labor and land in abundance. Imported brawn and natural resources have been the raw material transmuted by time into the present general welfare.

The people have not readily listened to the suggestion that out of that which has been so largely the means of our prosperity, may spring one of the worst dangers to our social and political well being. Rome fell by reason of great landed estates. "*Latifundia perdidere Italian,*" says Pliny. An American land question is already assuming shape as well as scope; and its bearings can not too speedily challenge public attention and treatment.

The number of great farms is doubling every three years; the renters are gaining on the land owners; private corporations own swaths of territory equal to a dozen States; and, what seems most to have touched the national pride, foreign landlords have possessed themselves of millions of our best acres.

A brief statement of these matters in detail is the best presentation of the American land question.

The growth of large farms will be made to appear from a comparison of statistics gathered in 1870 and in 1880:

	1870.	1880.	Increase.
Farms under 100 acres............	2,075,338	2,208,374	10 per cent.
Farms 100 acres or over, and under 500 acres.....................	565,054	1,695,983	200 "
Farms 500 acres or over and under 1000 acres.....................	15,000	75,000	500 "
Farms over 1000 acres.............	3,400	28,600	800 "

Large farms invariably carry with them, as necessary auxiliaries, tenants and farm laborers. The increase and permanence of the one imply the increase and permanence of the other. An American tenant class doing the drudgery of agriculture, but owning not a foot of American soil, is not a pleasing prospect for those who have at heart the continuance of our social and political equality. Yet the census of 1880 tells us that there are more than a million American tenant farmers (1,024,000)—two hundred thousand more than Ireland had in the palmiest day of Irish landlordism.

The kernel of the evil is reached when we come to consider the lavishness with which the public domain has been granted away to railroad corporations. In a large sense these grants have been premiums and largesses offered by Congress for the establishment upon our soil of the landed system that prevailed in feudal Europe. So, at least, they have operated. Behind every land grant to a railroad has stood, as the real beneficiary, some native or foreign landlord.

The first grant was made September 20, 1850, to the State of Illinois in aid of the Illinois Central Railroad. The total number of acres conveyed was 2,595,000. Up to 1861, the railroads received in this manner nearly twelve million acres — Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, being the States chiefly benefited. The land thus disposed of could not have been valued at over two dollars per acre. The national debt during the years intervening from 1850 to 1860 did not, during any year, exceed $70,000,000. At times it was below $40,000,000. The annual revenue from customs during the same years varied from forty to sixty-five millions. If it were expedient to aid railroad building, this aid should have been voted in money and not in land. The country was rich enough and prosperous enough to tax itself two and a half millions per annum, rather than show itself liberal with the lands reserved by nature for a future generation.

The progress of the evil during the decade 1850–60 was mild compared to what it became in the years intervening from 1861–7. Up to July 1, 1862, Congress had followed the Democratic notion of granting the lands to the States in the first instance. It was a mere fiction, but it operated well in restraining the greed of corporations and in placing them under more local and systematic supervision. With the grant of 12,000,000 acres, direct, to the Union Pacific, by act of July 1, 1862, a new policy was begun. Then, and in the subsequent years, the nation was undergoing the supreme trial of its existence. It was the dark hour of distress and danger. The debt rose from $564,000,000 in 1862, to $1,120,-

000,000 in 1863, and to $2,681,000,000 in 1864. The great corporations at this juncture seem like harpies rushing in to divide the estate of the dying republic. It became a matter of competition between them to see how much of the public domain they could grasp during this supreme opportunity.

More than a hundred million acres—twice the extent of all the New England States—were fleeced from the people by the corporations during the years of the civil conflict. Thus, while fighting to retain eleven refractory States, the nation permitted itself to be cozened out of territory sufficient to form twelve new republics. The following table, arranged from the figures furnished in Spofford's *American Almanac* for 1885 will show the magnitude of the nation's loss :

Land given by Congress to different States, in aid of railways	36,000,000 acres.
Land given by Congress direct to railway corporations,	136,000,000 "
Total	172,000,000 acres.

Here is an expanse of territory only a little less in extent than the thirteen original colonies, and larger than France and England combined !

The grants, direct, to corporations are thus enumerated by the Librarian of Congress :

			Acres.
July 1, 1862	To the	Union Pacific	12,000,000
July 1, 1862	"	Central Br. Union Pacific	187,000
July 1, 1862	"	Kansas Pacific	6,000,000
M'ch 3, 1869	"	Union Pacific (successor to the Denver Pacific)	1,000,000
July 1, 1862	"	Central Pacific	8,000,000
July 1, 1862 " 2, 1864 M'ch 3, 1855 May 21, 1866	"	Central Pacific (successor to the Western Pacific)	1,100,000
1864	"	Burlington & Mo	2,441,000
1864	"	Sioux City & Pacific	60,000
1864	"	Northern Pacific	47,000,000
1866	"	Oregon Br. Central Pacific	3,000,000
1866	"	Oregon and Cal	3,500,000
1866	"	Atlantic & Pacific	42,000,000
1868 1871	"	Southern Pacific	3,520,000 6,000,000
		Total	135,808,000

The number of miles of railroad in operation in 1860 was 30,000; in 1870, 52,000; in 1880, 84,000, and in 1885, 120,000. Without land appropriations the growth of railroads has been more rapid in these late years, even relatively, than at any time in the epoch of lavish State aid. The wisdom as well as the honesty of the Congresses of 1861–7 is impugned by these figures.

With a list of the locations of the largest farms and ranches of the United States in one hand, and a map indicating the ranges of territory granted to railway corporations, in the other, it will readily appear how the estates of our future landed gentry have been carved out of the domain lavished on railroads. The following table of foreign and non-resident land-holders in the United States is from the Congressional Record :

	Acres.
An English syndicate No. 3, own in Texas	3,000,000
The Holland Land Company, New Mexico	4,500,000
Sir Edward Reid and a syndicate, in Florida	2,000,000
English syndicate in Mississppi	1,800,000
Marquis of Tweeddale	1,750,000
Phillips, Marshall & Co., London	1,300,000
German syndicate	1,000,000
Anglo-American syndicate, London	750,000
Byron H. Evans, of London	700,000
Duke of Sutherland	425,000
British Land Company, in Kansas	320,000
William Whalley, M.P., Peterborough, England	310,000
Missouri Land Company, Edinburg, Scotland	300,000
Robert Tennant, of London	230,000
Dundee Land Company, Scotland	247,000
Lord Dunmore	120,000
Benjamin Newgas, Liverpool	100,000
Lord Houghton, in Florida	60,000
Lord Dunraven, in Colorado	60,000
English Land Company, in Florida	60,000
English Land Company, in Arkansas	50,000
Albert Peel, M.P., Leicestershire, England	10,000
Sir J. L. Kay, Yorkshire, England	5,000
Alexander Grant, of London, in Kansas	35,000
English syndicate, Wisconsin	110,000
M. Ellerhausen, of Halifax, in West Virginia	600,000
A Scotch syndicate, in Florida	500,000
A. Boysen, Danish Consul, in Milwaukee	50,000
Missouri Land Company, of Edinburgh	165,000
Total	20,647,000

Here we have an expanse of territory as large as Ireland in the possession of twenty-nine alien absentee landlords. How long will we retain our proud pre-eminence as the consoler of the downtrodden tenantry of other lands when we are nurturing a more gigantic landlordism at home? The native land-holders make an equally formidable array. The late Colonel Murphy left an estate of more than 4,000,000 acres; the Standard Oil Company owns 1,000,000 acres; ex-Senator Dorsey has 500,000 acres in New Mexico, and Disston has over 2,000,000 acres in Florida. We need scarcely recall the Glenn, Vanderbilt and Dalrymple wheat farms or the great cattle ranches of Texas. In New York—the Empire State—there are landlords "full blown" like Mr. Clark and Colonel Church—the latter of whom collects his rents from 180 farms, some of them 500 acres in size, and all made valuable by the increasing density of population.

The landed property of the following three railroads is suggestive of the material still left to be elaborated into landlordism:

The Texas Pacific Railroad owns.................	18,000,000 acres.
The Northern Pacific " "	47,000,000 "
The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad owns...........	42,000,000 "
A total of......................	107,000,000 "

Considering the great wealth of public domain which Uncle Sam had at the outset it is amazing to contemplate the brief period in which he has squandered his estate.

Exclusive of the thirteen colonies and of Texas, which by the treaty of annexation retained the ownership of all the land within its borders, the public domain was made up as follows:

Cessions from the original States................	229,987,187 acres.
Louisiana purchase	756,961,280 "
Florida "	37,931,520 "
Mexican treaty	334,443,520 "
Texas purchase	65,130,880 "
Gadsden "	29,142,400 "
Alaska "	369,529,600 "
	1,823,180,387 "

We must deduct from these as acres "not available:"

Alaska, with	369,529,600 acres.
The Indian and Military Reservation, with.......	157,000,000 "
Mountain and untillable lands (estimated)	400,000,000 "
A total of......................	926,529,600 "

This would leave as available, nearly	900,000,000	Acres.
Of this domain, there have passed into the possession of private parties and actual settlers, over	300,000,000	"
Congress has given to the States................	161,000,000	"
(79,000,000 acres being devoted to schools and 70,000,000 being granted as swamp land).		
For land bounties for military and naval service ..	61,000,000	"
For canals and wagon roads	6,000,000	"
A total average of...............	525,000,000	"

If to this we add the 172,000,000 acres previously enumerated as granted to railroads, it will be seen that 700,000,000 acres of the 900,000,000 available in the public domain have been disposed of and but 200,000,000 remain. There are private and State land claims amounting to 85,000,000 acres that we have not considered in these figures. Perhaps it may not be overstating the truth to say that the public domain has fewer arable acres to-day than the number granted away so lavishly to railway corporations during the epoch 1861–7.

Certainly, in view of the fact that the number of acres disposed of under the Homestead and Lumber Culture Acts, has averaged 10,000,000 acres per annum during the past five years, its seems clear that by the end of the century we shall have no public lands open for cultivation and that the words of the song:

> "Uncle Sam has land enough to give us all a farm,"

will suggest nothing but a sorrowful reminiscence.

A. J. DESMOND.

THE SHILOH CAMPAIGN.

PART II.

EARLY the next morning I sent for Colonel Jordan, and gave him the notes I had prepared in the night, as to the order of march from Corinth to Pittsburg Landing, and as to the manner in which our attack should be made. These notes served as the basis of the General Order of march and battle, issued on the 3d, as Special Orders No. 8. General Johnston signed the same, as is certified to by General (then Colonel) Jordan, "without modification in a single particular." The fact is, it was agreed between General Johnston and myself, the day after his arrival at Corinth, that all orders relative to preparations for the intended movement against the enemy, as well as for all details of organization, should be left entirely to me. And it was to facilitate the carrying out of this agreement, that Colonel Jordan, my Chief of Staff, became, upon my own recommendation, the Adjutant-General of our united forces.

To dwell upon the contents of the elaborate order of march and battle, referred to above, and upon the preliminary steps taken in compliance with it, would consume more space than I can command in the pages of this Review. Should more minute information on the subject be desired, it can be obtained by examining the original papers prepared at that time, and which are given in full in "The War of the Rebellion; a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," Series 1, Vol. X, Part I, p. 392; and also in "The Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. 1, Chap. XIX, pp. 270, *et seq.*

At the request of General Johnston, and before Special Orders No. 8 were published and copies thereof forwarded to the Corps Commanders and to General Breckinridge, I explained, verbally, to Generals Bragg, Polk, and Hardie, in the presence of General Johnston, at my own head-quarters, the general plan of operations as suggested by me, and the details of the whole forward movement to be executed in accordance therewith. It was well understood then, that the troops would be marched from Corinth, at the hour appointed—12 meridian—before reception by the Corps Commanders of Special Orders No. 8, and that copies of the same would be distributed to them on their way to the front.

It may "seem evident" to a few friends of General Johnston, that he also had prepared a plan for the projected battle against the Federals at Pittsburg Landing, and that his purpose was that the Confederate assault should be "by columns of corps,"—not, as was the case,—by "an array in three parallel lines of battle."* If such a plan was ever devised by General Johnston, he expressed it to no one; gave no instructions to carry it out; and has left no document—not a written line—to prove that such a thought had ever occurred to him. What purports to be "his plan" of battle, as "summed up" in a telegram forwarded by him to President Davis, on the 3d of April, 1862, is but a synopsis of the strength of General Buell's army; of the position of the three Confederate Corps in their line of march to the front, and of the names of their Commanders. It is clearly no plan at all. The plan that eventually became his, is the plan contained in Special Orders No. 8, and in the Circular entitled, "Memorandum for Officers," which bore the same date, namely, April 3d, 1862. I suggested both of them, and caused both to be written. General Johnston merely adopted them, as Commander-in-Chief of our united armies. It is evident that, though suggested by me, neither of them would have issued from Department head-quarters, had General Johnston not given them his sanction. To that extent, therefore, General Johnston did have a plan of battle, namely, the plan of battle conceived by his second in command, and adopted and endorsed by him.

Our forces should have been ready to move, on the 3d of April, at 12 meridian, at the latest. Such, however, was not the case. Orders had been misconstrued, owing to which delays had occurred that caused the rear columns of the First Corps to file out of Corinth at nearly dark on that day. Fully six hours had thus been lost. The march, on the 4th, was unsteady, irregular, and slow; and when the troops bivouacked that evening, they were not more than ten miles from their starting point. True, the roads followed were extremely narrow, and traversed a very thickly-wooded country; and it had rained abundantly, which materially increased the difficulties on the way. There was another rain-fall on the morning of the 5th ; and most of the men, unused to marching, even on good roads, were all the more retarded by it. Added to those drawbacks, so serious under the circumstances, it had also happened, on the 4th, that part of the cavalry attached to General Bragg's corps, had made a reconnoissance, without authority, it was said, from its immediate commanders—with none, assuredly, from the Commanding General—which assumed such proportions, and created such a disturbance on the way, as to render it next to impossible that the enemy should not have been apprised of the advance of our army.

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* See Col. W. P. Johnston's article in "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 620.

The formation of our lines of battle was not completed until late on the afternoon of the 5th. It had actually taken us upwards of two days to go over a distance of less than eighteen miles.

As soon as it became certain that no engagement on our part could begin that evening, General Johnston invited his Corps Commanders, and the Commander of the Reserves, as well as myself, to an informal conference, near his head-quarters, which were, at that moment, less than two miles from the enemy's line of encampments. There it was ascertained that most of our men were already without rations; and that the transportation wagons, with the extra rations and extra ammunition, were still far in the rear, with no certainty of their soon coming up with the troops.

When I understood the true condition of affairs, which, it will be admitted, was far from promising, I told General Johnston and the other officers present, that, anxious as I was to carry out the aggressive movement, I had, with their co-operation, striven so hard to bring about, I was not certain but that the delays we had met with on our march, and the lack of food threatening the army, and, added to these, the boisterous and regretful conduct of some of our cavalry the day before, had not already frustrated the object we had in view upon marching our forces from Corinth, namely, to reach our present position, take the enemy by surprise, and especially and above all, give him battle before General Buell's junction with General Grant. I plainly stated that, in my opinion, it were hardly possible to believe the enemy ignorant of our presence so near his lines. That vigilance on our part should be taken as proof of vigilance on his. That such being the case, we would likely find the enemy intrenched and ready to meet, with troops flushed with recent victories, the gallant but as yet undisciplined forces we had marched against him. That none could be more sorely disappointed than I was, at seeing the great purpose we were about to execute probably lost to us through accident and mismanagement. But, that prudence, and a due regard to the safety of the army for future operations, compelled me to say, that I no longer favored an attack, but now preferred inviting one from the enemy, and thus change our offensive movement into a reconnoissance in force; the result of which might bring him nearer to our base and, therefore, farther from his own, and give us, eventually, the chance of retrieving the present lost opportunity.

My remarks were listened to with much attention both by the Corps Commanders and by General Johnston. He admitted the correctness of my views, but said that he still hoped the enemy would be unprepared to meet our onset, and that we could accomplish our end before the arrival of General Buell's army. That our troops were in line of battle at last, and it were better "to make the venture." The order was therefore given to begin the attack at dawn, the next day, according to the plan already agreed upon.

In adopting this course, General Johnston did what he had the unquestioned right to do. I will only say, that he thereby assumed a responsibility which, under the circumstances, I would not have assumed.

It has been stated, in an article published in the "Century Magazine" of February last, to which I have already had occasion to recur in these pages, that, upon leaving the conference just spoken of, General Johnston, turning to one of his staff-officers, said: "I would fight them if they were a million." It is also stated, in the same article, that my proposition then "suddenly" given, was "that the army should be withdrawn and retreat to Corinth;" * * "that General Johnston seemed to be much surprised at the suggestion;" that "Polk and Bragg differed with Beauregard (me), and a warm discussion ensued between him (meaning me) and Polk, in which General Johnston took little part," etc.* These statements I pronounce entirely erroneous. First, General Johnston was too wise a man and too good a soldier, to make the foolhardy remark attributed to him. On the other hand, his whole conduct prior to his arrival at Corinth, and his reason for yielding to my suggestion of an immediate advance on Pittsburg Landing, namely, to take advantage of General Buell's absence at the time, showed most unmistakably that the fact of attacking one army alone, or two armies combined, was, by no means, immaterial to him. Next, what I said during that conference led to no discussion among the officers there assembled, and to no surprise. The eventualities of war are too great and too numerous to give rise to any such feeling among educated soldiers. Nor was I acting without precedent: "Somewhat similar strategy had been resorted to by Wellington in 1810, when, advancing to attack Massena at Santarem, he unexpectedly found that able officer on his guard, ready for battle, on ground of his own choosing and much stronger than he had anticipated. After making some demonstration in front of his wily adversary, to draw him away from his stronghold, Wellington did not hesitate to retire without giving battle."* And it must be borne in mind that my proposition never was "to withdraw and retreat to Corinth;" but to convert the movement I had myself inaugurated and so strenuously supported up to this moment into "a reconnoissance in force," so as to bring on an attack upon us from the enemy, instead of attacking him as projected, and thus to endeavor, by appropriate manœuvres, to draw him from his base, as already stated, and produce, or try to produce, some compensating result. It was clear that I only proposed this alternative because I deemed my first plan unsafe at this particular juncture, too much time having been lost by us to justify a fair hope of success. To assert that General Johnston had prepared a plan of battle, the main feature of which was to put his army "face to face with the enemy, knowing that the *chief strategy* of the battle was in the decision to fight;"† and that the plan I had formed was merely to appear before the enemy and then retreat to Corinth, is, when set up against existing documentary evidence, a palpable subversion of facts, scarcely deserving more than a passing rebuke.

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* Col. W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 622.

On the evening of the 5th of April, the Confederate forces, at a distance of less than two miles from the small log structure known as the "Shiloh Meeting-House," occupied three distinct lines of battle. General Hardee's Corps formed the first line, extending, somewhat obliquely, over a space of nearly three miles, from Owl Creek, on the left, to Lick Creek, on the right, but without actually reaching either. It had been necessary, in order to cover the whole front, to place General Gladden's brigade, of General Bragg's Corps, at the extreme right of this line. The artillery attached to the Corps occupied a position in its immediate rear, with cavalry protecting both flanks. Nine thousand and twenty-four men, infantry and artillery, constituted its effective strength. The second line, under General Bragg, was some five hundred yards in rear of the first, arranged in similar order. Its strength was of ten thousand seven hundred and thirty-one men, including artillery, but to the exclusion of cavalry. General Polk's Corps, of nine thousand one hundred and thirty-six men, exclusive of cavalry, held the third line, and was deployed in columns of brigade, on the left of the Pittsburg road, its front being about eight hundred yards rearwards of General Bragg's left wing. Each brigade had its own battery; and there was cavalry protecting the extreme left of this line. General Breckinridge's command, in rear of General Bragg's right wing, occupied a position somewhat similar to that of General Polk's Corps behind General Bragg's left wing, between the Pittsburg road and Lick Creek, with cavalry supporting his right flank. It consisted of seven thousand and sixty-two men, not including cavalry. Generals Polk's and Breckinridge's commands constituted the reserve, and were to be thrown forward, as exigencies required, in support of the two front lines of battle. This gave a total of thirty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-three, infantry and artillery; to which should be added four thousand three hundred and eighty-two cavalry; making an aggregate, of all arms, of forty thousand three hundred and thirty-five men. The cavalry, it must be said, notwithstanding the good element it was made of, could only be used for such outpost duty as involved no skirmishing.

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. 1, chap. xix, page 278.

† Col. W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 620.

We had pickets far in advance of our first line of battle, but nowhere could those of the enemy be seen; as if his lines were not guarded by outposts of any kind. Such, however, was not the case, as we discovered next morning.

As encamped, so near our forces, the Federals, on that day, occupied a position forming "a continuous line from Lick Creek, on the left, to Owl Creek, a branch of Snake Creek, on the right, facing nearly south, and possibly a little west."* Their first line was held by Generals Sherman's and Prentiss's Divisions, extending from the bridge on Owl Creek to the Lick Creek Ford. General Sherman's first brigade formed the extreme right; his fourth was west of the Shiloh Meeting-House and rested on it; his third brigade was east of the Meeting-House and also rested on it. Then began the line of General Prentiss's Division; and afterwards, at a long interval, was posted General Sherman's second brigade, in close proximity to Lick Creek. Some half a mile from this line, in its rear, was McClernand's Division, between Sherman and Prentiss. Then came Smith's Division (now W. H. L. Wallace's), two miles in the rear and toward the Tennessee River. On its left laid Hurlbut's Division, on the road leading to Hamburg, a mile and a half behind Sherman's second brigade, under Stuart.

Darkness disappeared at last before the early brightness of the morning of the 6th of April. A little before 5 o'clock A.M., on that eventful Sabbath, where the purest heaven I had seen for months, was soon to witness perhaps the bloodiest and hardest fought battle of the war, General Hardee's pickets came against those of the enemy and, driving them in, met the main body of the advanced guard of Prentiss's Division, when immediately began a scattering fire between the two outposts. General Hardee, thereupon, ordered forward his entire line; and General Prentiss, hurriedly informing Wallace and Hurlbut of the attack made upon him, threw forth, first, a few regiments, and then his whole force, to resist this unexpected onslaught upon his lines. He had to give way, however, so impetuous was the shock he received, and our line, still advancing, next struck against General Sherman's pickets, which immediately fell back toward their encampment. General Sherman now called Generals McClernand, Prentiss, and Hurlbut to his assistance; and Veatch's Brigade, of Hurlbut's Division, was rapidly sent out to protect General Sherman's left. Presently the firing increased on both sides, and continued very brisk for fully half an hour, when it gradually slackened and, before seven o'clock A.M., had almost entirely died out. But our assailing line was still moving onward, and the enemy still losing ground before it.

It is singular that notwithstanding the evidence furnished by all Confederate and many Federal authorities, some northern writers and northern generals persevere in the idle assertion—idle because it has been proven groundless—that the Federal forces were not taken by surprise at Shiloh on the 6th of April, 1862. I, myself, for reasons already referred to in this paper, had deemed a surprise improbable; but that it was effected is, nevertheless, a fact. I will merely say this:

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* General Grant's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 597.

On the evening of the 5th of April, our army, amounting to some forty thousand men, was within a mile and a half of the Federal encampments. We had formed our lines of battle in the woods fronting these encampments. We had remained there a whole night, using but few precautionary measures to conceal our presence. We had moved on the next morning within easy sight of the enemy, without encountering any obstacle worthy of notice. When the first encampments were taken, many Federal officers and soldiers were yet lying in bed. Bread was being baked and was taken hot from the ovens by our men. Sutlers' stores were left wide open. Whole companies ran from their quarters, without having time to take their muskets or rifles with them. Our first columns of attack entered the first Federal lines as freely and as unimpeded as if by invitation. This alone is sufficient to prove a surprise in the fullest sense of the word. But this is not all. In Van Horne's "History of the Army of the Cumberland,"* the following passage occurs:

> "A variety of facts support the assumption that neither General Halleck, General Grant, nor the division commanders on the field beyond Pittsburg Landing, had the remotest expectation that the enemy would advance in offence from Corinth with full strength. General Halleck proposed to command the united armies in their advance at Corinth, and yet was not to leave his headquarters at St. Louis, Missouri, until the 7th."

On the 5th General Sherman sent this telegram to General Grant at Savannah:

> . . . "I do not apprehend anything like an attack upon our position."

General Grant on the same day telegraphs General Halleck as follows:

> . . . "I have scarcely the faintest idea of an attack (general) being made upon us, but will be prepared should such a thing take place. . . . It is my present intention to send them (meaning Buell's three foremost divisions) to Hamburg, some few miles above Pittsburg, when they all get here."

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* Vol. I, pp. 102 et seq.

And on the same evening (April 5th) General Grant, being then at Savannah, and addressing Colonel Ammen, who commanded a brigade of Nelson's Division, Buell's Army, said :

> "You cannot march through the swamps ; make the troops comfortable ; I will send boats for you Monday or Tuesday (7th or 8th), or some time next week. There will be no fight at Pittsburg Landing ; we will have to go to Corinth, where the rebels are fortified. If they come to attack us, we can whip them, as I have more than twice as many troops as I had at Fort Donelson." *

Further evidence to the same effect can be found in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. I, chap. xxii, pp. 331, et seq.

At dawn of day I had ridden to General Johnston's head-quarters, to advise with him about our respective action in the impending battle. It was agreed between us that he would lead the attack on our right, and that I would supervise the movements of the field and direct the reserves.† When the firing became heavier he mounted his horse and rode forward. This was our last meeting.

By that time the battle had fairly opened. To study its progress and follow its phases, I took the position which General Johnston had requested me to take, and which, as first in command, he should have occupied himself, near the center and in rear of our line ; and, from the spot he had just left—which was called by me "Head-Quarters No. 1"—I sent instructions and orders to various portions of the field, as, in my opinion, the exigencies required. Thus, at 7:30 A. M., I ordered Generals Polk and Breckinridge to deploy in columns of brigades, the former on the left, the latter on the right, and to be ready to move at a moment's notice, to assist either General Hardee's or General Bragg's line, or both, if it became necessary. And I freely availed myself of the services of every member of my personal and general staff all through the day, to convey messages and orders to corps commanders and others, and to keep me well informed of the precise conditions of affairs in our front.‡ Adjutant General Jordan I sent forward,

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* See Col. Jacob Ammen's Diary, in "War of the Rebellion," Series I, vol. x, Part I (Reports), page 330.

† In "The Life of A. S. Johnston," p. 570, is given the following statement of Col. Jacob Thompson, formerly a volunteer A. D. C. to General Beauregard: "General Johnston determined to lead the attack in person, and leave General Beauregard to direct the movements of troops in the rear."

‡ See, in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Appendix to vol. I, chap. xx, pages 524 et seq., reports of Colonels Brent, Ferguson, Augustin, Jacob Thompson, Major Waddell and Lieutenant A. R. Chisolm.

with instructions to inspect our lines of battle, "secure the massing of the troops for unity of attack and prompt reinforcements to weakened points; also with impressive directions to the corps commanders to mass their batteries in action, and fight them twelve guns on a point." *

To fill the space between Lick Creek and the right of General Hardee's line, Chalmers' brigade was ordered from the second line of battle and, with a battery, brought on the right of General Gladden, as prescribed by the order of march and battle. A very hot contest followed, during which General Gladden was mortally wounded, and died on the same day. His services had been invaluable; his conduct on the field worthy of the highest praise. Colonel Adams succeeded him, and, with General Chalmers, made so gallant a charge on the right, that Prentiss' whole line broke and retired in confusion. Just then came up, through a previous order of mine, Johnston's brigade, of General Polk's corps, as additional reinforcement to General Hardee's right. This being done, at about 9:30, I moved to another position, near the Pittsburg road, "about a quarter of a mile in advance of the Shiloh Meeting-House," † which was called "Head-Quarters No. 2."

The pillaging of the enemy's abandoned camps, and, therefore, the straggling of our men, had already begun. ‡ Upon being informed of the fact, I ordered members of my staff, aided by Captain Dreux, of my escort, to clear the camps thus invaded, collect the stragglers found in them, and send them on to their respective commands in front. There was much difficulty in executing these orders. This alarming feature was a source of great trouble to me, and brought back to my mind the remarks I had made at our Conference the evening previous: "Nature has claims that cannot be disregarded. The best disciplined troops do not fight well on empty stomachs. And this is all the more true of raw troops, unaccustomed to the hardships of war."

General Ruggles's command, composed of Gibson's, Anderson's and Pond's brigades, had formed on General Hardee's left, to contend with General Sherman, who had not yet been dislodged from

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* Same work, vol. I, chap. xx, p. 285.

† Major Waddell's Report—"Operations of General Beauregard," vol. I, chap. xx, p. 531.

‡ Reports of members of General Beauregard's staff, in Appendix to vol. I, chap. xx of same work, pp. 527–530, 534.

his position at Shiloh, and who was striving hard to maintain it, aided by McClernand's entire division, and a regiment belonging to one of Wallace's brigades. An interval had occurred between Gibson's brigade and the two others, which was filled by the opportune arrival of one of General Polk's brigades—Russell's—ordered forward by me, some short time previous. He supported Hindman's assault upon McClernand and Veatch; and greatly contributed, with Hodgson's battery and, later on, with two sections of Ketchum's, to force General Sherman to fall back to the Purdy and Hamburg roads, and, by ten o'clock, to abandon the entire line of his camps.*

The battle now raged with renewed fury on W. H. L. Wallace's and Hurlbut's front. Colonel Adams, with Gladden's brigade, had been sent to feel the enemy's strength. At this moment, and while Adams, for want of ammunition, was unable to move forward, Breckinridge's division was led into position by Colonel Augustin, of my Staff; and Cheatham's division, which I had ordered to the same quarter, came up also, and took a stand on the left.† Both engaged the enemy at the same time and with equal impetus. But the forces under Wallace and Hurlbut showed much stubborn resistance, and did not, just then, lose their ground. They were well handled and behaved in a manner highly creditable to themselves and to their Commanders.

All the opposing forces were now engaged. Our front line had been extended, right and left, and the troops of our second line, and those composing the reserve, occupied it at different intervening points. General Johnston, changing his position in rear of Withers's division, came over, at about eleven o'clock, to the rear of Breckinridge's Division. A little before this, by agreement between Generals Bragg and Polk, the former took his stand near the right center of our line, the latter near the left center, and General Hardee remained near the extreme left. I continued to occupy a medial position on the line, towards the rear, in order to follow the general movements of our troops, in accordance with General Johnston's desire.

Learning, at about one o'clock P.M., that the forces under Sherman and McClernand showed signs of weakness and were about to give way, I ordered General Hardee to push on the cavalry against their retreating regiments, and to endeavor to cut them off from their line of encampment. This was done with great dash, and General (then Captain) Morgan, gave proof, on that occasion, of what could be expected of him in the future. By my order, another vigorous assault was made by General Hardee, upon Sherman's and McClernand's commands, which were rapidly driven back, the larger portion of them toward Snake Creek, and the other in the direction of Wallace's camps. My Head-quarters had again been advanced by this time, and were now beyond General Wallace's captured camps.*

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* Col. Buckland's Report, Rebellion Record, Vol. IV., p, 372.

† General Cheatham's Report.

The Confederate left was next engaged with General Wallace's division, now become the advanced Federal right, which had resolutely held its own and repulsed all assaults made upon it. General Bragg had spent more than three hours in a stubborn yet powerless endeavor to force it to give way. There was Gibson's brigade repulsed, after making four unavailing assaults, insisted upon by General Bragg, who now passed further to the right, leaving the responsibility of this portion of the field to a Staff Officer, with authority to act in his name.† General Johnston had been, for nearly three-quarters of an hour, in rear of General Breckinridge's division, which was, at that time, the advanced right of the main Confederate line. The firing was unusually heavy in that quarter; and General Johnston was astonished at the resolute resistance encountered there. After causing General Breckinridge to "appeal to the soldiers," and after doing so himself,‡ he ordered a charge, which he led, in person, with his well known valor, and during which he was wounded in the leg, without at first realizing the extent of his injury. The Federal line thus charged had slowly and reluctantly given way, retiring to the next ridge beyond; but the temporary advantage we had gained was dearly bought by the death of the General-in-Chief, a gallant soldier and noble citizen, whose life, had it been spared, would have been of inestimable value to his country. General Johnston died in the arms of Governor Harris, of Tennessee, one of his volunteer aids, at about 2.30 o'clock P.M.

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* Major Waddel's Report, in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. I., Appendix to chap. xx., p. 531.

† General Bragg's Report. "Rebellion Record," Vol. X., Chap. XXII., p. 466.

‡ Col. W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885.

Immediately after General Johnston had been wounded, and before being apprised of it, Ajutant-General Jordan, who had just arrived in that quarter of the field and had found General Breckinringe's division not in action, ordered it, in General Johnston's name, to charge the Federal forces in its front, which were screened by a fence at the entrance of a wood. The movement was successfully effected, after a hard struggle on both sides, and the enemy at last fell back, abandoning the position he had held.

Meanwhile, my attention being turned to that portion of our line near the center, where General Bragg had vainly endeavored to dislodge the enemy about an hour before, I ordered General Hardee to gather what force he could dispose of, for another advance in that quarter. I was not yet aware of the death of General Johnston. General Hardee obeyed, and sent forward the remnants of Anderson's and Gibson's brigades, with two batteries of artillery, and several battalions organized as such by members of my Staff, who had collected them from stragglers, and commands which had lost their proper positions in line. Colonel Smith's Crescent Regiment, of New Orleans, was added to these troops; and, as it passed me to join in the movement, was urged on by me with the following words: "Go forward, men, and drive them into the Tennessee!" A serious and well disputed contest ensued. The enemy finally yielded, losing ground more and more. But Prentiss and Hurlbut, further to the right, were still successful in their resistance to the forces under Breckinridge and Cheatham. Jackson's and Chalmers' commands were called, and came to their assistance, under a raking fire from Lanman's brigade. I was, at that time, in advance of McClernand's camps, directing operations at that point. There it was that, shortly after three o'clock P.M., Governor Harris came up and informed me of General Johnston's death.* However deeply grieved I was at this distressing news, the struggle just then was too hot and the result as yet too undecided, to allow me either time or opportunity to express all my regret. Messengers were hurriedly sent by me to the Corps Commanders, to inform them of what had occurred, and to urge upon them the necessity of concealing the fact from the troops; and, feeling all the more the weighty responsibility resting upon me, I gave orders that the attack be continued and pushed forward with the utmost vigor.

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* Col. Wickliffe, of Gen. Johnston's Staff, brought the same news. I cannot now say whether he came before or after Governor Harris.—G. T. B.

It is but true to state here, that never from the opening of the battle up to the hour of his death, had General Johnston occupied on the field the position which was properly his own, as Commander-in-Chief of our forces. From the place he had himself selected on our line, and where he remained to the last, he was but acting the part of a Corps or Division Commander, and as such, uselessly exposing his person. From where he was, he could not—nor in fact did he ever attempt to—direct the general movements of our forces. That most important trust devolved upon me, the second in command, and I performed it throughout the whole day, before, as well as after, the death of General Johnston.

What troops remained of Hindman's and Gladden's brigades, with the forces under Breckinridge and Cheatham, were now pressing Wallace's left. General Bragg was hotly assailing Prentiss's and Hurlbut's commands. Jackson and Chalmers were engaged with Hurlbut's front and left flank. Hurlbut now fell back, and the course he followed allowed Jackson and Chalmers to strike in flank the line held by Prentiss and Wallace. The space occupied by the two latter was being narrowed, more and more, around them. At that time, General Hardee, on the left, was confronting the remnants of McClernand's and Sherman's commands. Here also, and in spite of the resistance shown, the enemy was gradually falling back, in conformity with the retreating movements of the other Federal forces. Wallace was now mortally wounded. He died that day. The Federals lost in him one of their ablest and most gallant commanders. Prentiss alone, it appears, did not follow in time the rearward movement of Wallace's division. He was not warned in season and clung to his position, until surrounded from all sides, he was compelled to surrender, with all that was left of his command, an aggregate of some 2,500 men, and among them General Prentiss himself. This took place at 5.30 o'clock P.M., about three hours after General Johnston's death.

The continuous fighting, marching, countermarching and manœuvring of the troops all day long—and that mostly without food—finally produced the most telling effect upon them. Almost every position of the enemy was carried. His lines of encampments were taken. The Tennessee River was in sight, on several points of our line. We had captured small arms, guns, flags, and upwards of three thousand prisoners; but the victory, none the less, was not wholly ours. It was far from being gained when General

Johnston fell; it was not completely gained in spite of all that was accomplished after his death. Straggling among the men, which had begun before noon, had now assumed fearful proportions. And worse even than straggling, was the fact that the men in front, who had never been out of action, were absolutely outdone by the need of food and by fatigue. To deny this is either to confess utter ignorance of what took place on the battle field of Shiloh, or to show wanton intent to subvert the truth.

Notwithstanding this state of things, I determined to again deploy our forces into line for a concerted onslaught, before it were too late, and did my utmost, with the assistance of the corps commanders, to successfully carry it out. The attack was made; but it was desultory, without spirit or ardor, and failed in effect.

There was an additional reason for our failure in this last advance upon the enemy; it was the massing of Colonel Webster's "reserve artilery," consisting of some sixty guns (among them several 24-pounder siege guns), which had been placed along a ridge overlooking Pittsburg Landing, and were powerfully assisted by the two gunboats "Tyler" and "Lexington." Supported by the remnants of Wallace's, McClernand's, and Hurlbut's divisions, and by Colonel Ammen's brigade, of Nelson's division (Buell's army), which had arrived on the field a little after 5 o'clock P. M., these guns and gunboats enfiladed the limited stretch of broken and thickly wooded ground over which our troops had to pass in their assault, and did much to impair the success of their efforts.*

It was 6 o'clock P. M., just before sunset, when I ordered the cessation of hostilities, so that our forces could be withdrawn for rest, and thus avoid confusion in their rearward march. But, before that order was received by the corps commanders—and in many cases before it was issued—the contest had already virtually ceased on the greater portion of the field. It is absolutely erroneous to state that some of the subordinate commanders were preparing another concerted movement, and that it was prevented by my order to stop the fight. No one on the hard-fought field of Shiloh had the hope of victory more at heart than I had. The entire conception of the campaign had been mine ; and I had directed the general movements of the troops throughout the day. But human endurance has its limits ; and to quote the language of General Bragg, not as found in his Report, written more than three months after the battle of Shiloh, but as used by him while leaving the front on the 6th of April with his exhausted men :

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* . . . "We were immediately in the rear of our line, the enemy had fallen back to Pittsburg Landing, and their gunboats were keeping up a furious shelling. Our men, immediately in front of where we we were standing, were much demoralized, and indisposed to advance in the face of the shells which were bursting over us in every direction; and my impression was (this was also the conclusion of General Bragg) that our troops had done all that they would do and had better be withdrawn."—Extract from a letter written by Dr. Nott, of General Bragg's staff, to General Beauregard. See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. I, Appendix to chap. xx, page 535.

> " *They had done all that they would do and had better be withdrawn.*" *

It was dusk when the troops began to leave the front to bivouac for the night. Many of them left after darkness had set in, and, on that account, got separated from their commands. General Chalmers, in his official report, says :

> " Our men . . . continued to fight until night closed the hostilities on both sides. . . . They were too much exhausted to storm the batteries on the hill " . . . .

Colonel Urquhart, one of the members of General Bragg's personal staff, in a letter to General Jordan on this point, says :

> When . . . "this order was given, the plain truth must be told, that our troops at the front were a thin line of exhausted men, who were making no further headway, and were glad to receive orders to fall back."

A mass of evidence, collected with care from Federal and Confederate reports, could be accumulated here to sustain what I have just stated. I refrain from lack of space. †

Later in the evening, some of the corps and division commanders visited my head-quarters, established in what had been one of General Sherman's tents, near the Shiloh Meeting-House. General Bragg was among them. They showed and expressed much satisfaction over the triumph of the day. No one intimated, directly or indirectly, within my hearing or that of my staff, that the order to cease firing and fall back to the captured camps of the enemy had been given too soon, or that it should not have been given at all. They were well aware that, though masters of the field, our victory had been incomplete ; but acknowledged that the troops had done all that could be expected of them. The hope was entertained by all present, that, upon resuming the offensive the next day, we would complete our work, and accomplish the end we were striving for. I handed to General Bragg and to the other officers there a dispatch I had just received, to the effect that some of the divisions of Buell's army were marching toward Florence and not to Pittsburg Landing. Unfortunately this news proved to be false. The troops referred to were of Mitchell's Division, not then with Buell's army.

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* Dr. Nott's letter already quoted. The whole of it can be found in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. I, Appendix to chap. xxii, page 535.

† See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. I, Appendix to chap. xxii, pp. 547 et seq.

Having now instructed the corps commanders present, and sent orders to the others, to look to the comfort of their jaded troops and reorganize them for the next day's events, we separated for the night, and I retired to my temporary quarters to seek some rest, of which I was greatly in need.

I do not propose to give more than a cursory description of the second day's fight at Shiloh. "Monday," it has been said, "was General Beauregard's battle."* It was, unquestionably ; but not more than the battle of Sunday ; for the reason that I directed the general movements of the army on both days.

Skirmishing began early on the morning of the 7th. Gathering the forces that were at hand, Generals Hardee, Bragg, and Breckinridge hurried to the front to meet the enemy's onset. On the extreme right of our line was General Hardee, with Chalmers' and Jackson's brigades, of Bragg's Corps. General Bragg was at the left, with the remainder of his command, and Clark's Division, of Polk's Corps, and, shortly afterwards, Trabue's Kentucky brigade. General Breckinridge was on the left of General Hardee. Between the former and General Bragg was a vacant space, assigned to General Polk, who had not yet made his appearance on the field. He arrived later in the morning, to my great relief, and promptly falling into line, led his men under fire with his wonted coolness and gallantry.

On the other hand, Nelson's division, next to the river, formed the left of the enemy's front line. On his right came Crittenden ; then McCook, whose division was the extreme right of General Buell's command. General Lew Wallace, with his fresh troops which had arrived late the evening before, was on the extreme right, near Snake Creek. The other Federal forces, gathered from the broken commands of the first day's battle,—namely, Sherman's, McClernand's and Hurlbut's—were on the center.

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* Col. W. P. Johnston's article in the "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 628.

The first Confederate pickets that came in contact with the enemy, that morning, were from Forrest's cavalry. They retired in good order toward General Hardee's line, and sought, and found, shelter behind it. Nelson's advancing columns were soon confronted by Chalmers' brigade, with Colonel Moore's regiment, and a mixed command made up of troops from Jackson's and Gladden's brigades; added to which were the Crescent Regiment, of New Orleans, and the 26th Alabama, with batteries to support them. Nelson's forces were compelled to fall back, but, at about eight o'clock, advanced a second time, being now reinforced by Hazen's brigade. Our troops began to give way and, while doing so, lost one of their batteries. They soon rallied, however, and, at nine o'clock, again took the offensive, with the assistance of other batteries, and of reinforcements opportunely sent by me. Their first position was finally recovered, and the lost battery was theirs once more. Hazen's brigade suffered considerably in that encounter, and came very near falling into our hands. Ammen's brigade was also closely pressed, and would have been turned on its left, had it not been for the timely arrival of Terrell's battery, of McCook's Division.

After Nelson's, Crittenden's Division was engaged with General Hardee's forces and a part of General Breckinridge's. A hot contest ensued, in which, at about 10 o'clock, some of General Grant's forces, under McClernand and Hurlbut, took an active part. This whole Federal force was kept at bay, for several hours, and until two brigades of McCook's Division were sent to reinforce it. It then began to gain ground, our troops slowly giving way;—not, however, before I had resolved to retire from the field, and thus put an end to a useless loss of life and material.

It was evident that General Buell's arrival, with three divisions of his army, was an accomplished fact; and that my depleted forces were now confronting some twenty thousand fresh troops, exclusive of Lew Wallace's Division, aggregating about seven thousand men, and exclusive also of what remained of General Grant's troops of the day before, which amounted to not less than twenty thousand men;—though it is doubtful whether much more than half that number actively participated in the battle of Monday. Deducting our losses of the previous day, and the stragglers, amounting to thousands, I never had, ready for duty, and with musket in hand, on the 7th of April, more than twenty thousand men—and at one o'clock P.M., not even sixteen thousand, exclusive of cavalry; which, owing to the nature of the ground, and as General Grant himself admitted, "could not be used in front."*

Our left had been seriously threatened, at about one o'clock P.M. General Bragg's forces at that point, weakened by the withdrawal of three brigades to reinforce our right and center, were closely pressed and unable any longer to hold their ground. He called on me for aid. I ordered the 18th Louisiana and the Orleans Guard Battalion—now blended into one command—and remnants of an Alabama and a Tennessee regiment to be immediately sent to him, and, going on with them as they passed, led them myself in the charge. General Bragg thereupon resumed the offensive, and the enemy fell back some distance beyond the Shiloh Meeting-House. I had established my head-quarters, early in the morning, at that central point of our lines, where I remained, undisturbed, until nearly 2.30 o'clock P. M.

All the Confederate troops confronting, on the 7th of April, the forty thousand Federals arrayed against them—about twenty-seven thousand of whom were composed of fresh troops—had fought hard, from early dawn to late in the the evening of Sunday. Exhausted as they were, they fought again on the 7th, with such spirit and endurance, as to justify me in saying of them in my preliminary report to the War Department: "From the outset our troops, notwithstanding our fatigue and losses from the battle of the day before, exhibited the most cheering, veteran-like steadiness."

There was now but one course to pursue. It was, while inducing the enemy to believe in a determination on my part to continue the contest, to quietly prepare for a timely and honorable retreat. I acted with much caution and abstained from communicating my intention to the corps commanders and, even, at first, to my Chief of Staff. Since nine o'clock in the morning, however, I had sent messengers to Corinth, to inquire as to the arrival of General Van

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* General Grant's article in "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 600.

Dorn. I knew it was problematical, but was loath to begin any retrograde movement, before that last hope of relief had failed me. Meanwhile I caused reinforcements, made up of stragglers and disjointed commands gathered from the rear, to be hastened to the front, as fast as they could be found; and, strange though it may seem, these became the only *reserves* I could dispose of to strengthen my thinned ranks, and with which the unequal contest then going on was prolonged for more than four hours, with no sign of decisive advantage on the part of the enemy.

When, at last the news was brought back that Van Dorn and his forces had not arrived, and that not even his whereabouts could be ascertained, I began seriously the difficult work before me; difficult, because it had to be done without weakness or hesitancy, so as neither to make it appear a defeat in the eye of the enemy, nor a cause of discouragement to our overwrought troops. I despatched an aid to the rear, with a squadron of cavalry, for the purpose of clearing and preparing the roads for the passage of the army. I also instructed Adjutant-General Jordan to select, at once, a convenient spot across the first ravine, toward the rear, and there to station infantry and artillery, to protect our line of march, as the troops would be leaving the field. The corps commanders were then made aware of my plan; and, while taking the necessary measures to carry it out, were ordered to resume the offensive on divers points of the line, with a view to keep our adversary in ignorance of the true motive of our movement. They very ably executed the orders given them; and the retreat was begun by 2.30 P. M. and effected leisurely, quietly, and with much regularity.

General Breckinridge's command was the first to retire; the troops, right and left of his position, closing up the space it had just occupied. It was marched to the rear of the force collected by Colonel Jordan, and there halted, as agreed upon, to act as a rear guard. General Polk's corp came next; then General Hardee's; and lastly, General Bragg's. There was no flurry, no useless haste, among men or officers; and even the stragglers dropped into line and rejoined their commands as they passed. No pursuit whatsoever was attempted by the enemy. In fact, the Federal troops that had fought the day before were as much outdone as our own. Generals Grant and Sherman acknowledge it in their reports. The former even stated, later on, and caused it to be published, that, though desirous of pursuing the retreating army, he "had not the heart to order it to men who had fought desperately for two days, lying in mud and rain, whenever not fighting." * Such was not the case, however, with the three divisions of General Buell's army. These were made up of fresh troops, though it is well to state that they had done most, if not all, of the fighting on Monday. But no order to pursue was given to General Buell. General Grant seems to have been diffident about it, and had not yet acquired the habit of giving orders to General Buell. †

General Breckinridge, in command of the rear guard, bivouacked on the night of the 7th at a distance of not more than a mile and a half from the battle-field. No hostile force of any kind, not the crack of a rifle, nor the sound of a bugle, disturbed his rest. On the morning of the 8th he moved his force three miles further to the rear, and remained in that position for several days without being attacked or even annoyed in any manner whatever.

General Sherman, however, on the lower Corinth road, and General Wood (of Buell's army), on the upper road, with two brigades each, did venture on a reconnoissance on the morning of the 8th, which was far from being a success. They came across our cavalry pickets, posted where General Breckinridge had bivouacked the previous night, and, being in such number, easily drove them back, sending two regiments, one of infantry and one of cavalry, to press them further rearward, and capture them, if possible. It so happened that the pursuers struck against Colonel Forrest, with a fraction of his own cavalry and a few companies under Captain Morgan, in all, three hundred and fifty men. The Federal raiders fell back in the greatest hurry, leaving on the ground some fifteen men killed, and twenty-five wounded. But Colonel Forrest followed them too far, and finally met the four reconnoitering brigades which barred his way and forced him to fall back. Colonel Forrest was very seriously wounded on that occasion, and had to leave the service for more than two months.

Our loss on both days was heavy; but it must be borne in mind that we were the assailants during the whole of Sunday, and also, very frequently on Monday. The list of casualties stood as follows:

Killed	1,728
Wounded	8,012
Missing	959
In all	10,699

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* "Century Magazine" of February, 1885, page 605. † Idem, page 605.

or an average "of twenty-four and one-third per cent. of those present on the field."

We carried back with us some twenty-six stands of colors, and about thirty pieces of artillery, leaving behind many more, for lack of horses to remove them to the rear. We took, besides, a large number of small arms, and, as before stated, more than three thousand prisoners.

Our forces, with the exception of Breckinridge's and Chalmers' commands, resumed the positions they occupied at Corinth on the 3d of April. The work of recruitment and reorganization was immediately begun. I applied to the War Department for two major-generals, four brigadier-generals, and a chief of artillery. I also recommended General Bragg for promotion.

During the comparative lull that followed, I was desirous of preparing a correct, final report of the battle of Shiloh, and of substituting it to the hastily written—and in many respects imperfect—preliminary report I had forwarded to Richmond. This, however, I was debarred from doing, as none of the corps commanders were ready with their own reports. These, in fact, were only prepared months after the events they described; General Polk's not until nearly one year after; General Bragg's, though apparently written on the 30th of April, was not completed before the 25th of July; that is, more than three months after the battle.* Contrary to all military usage, these reports were sent direct to the War Department, instead of being forwarded through me. Hence the errors, discrepancies and misinterpretations to be found in certain portions of them. They are not sustained by actual facts, nor by what was stated in the official reports of brigade and regiment commanders, upon which they purported to have been based.

On the 11th of April General Van Dorn's forces arrived at Memphis. I sent General Rust's brigade to Fort Pillow, and General Little's to Rienzi, some twelve miles from Corinth, for the purpose of reconnoitering, and also of selecting a good defensive position for a retrograde movement, in case of need.

Shortly after the battle of Shiloh, General Halleck took command of the Federal forces at Pittsburg Landing. They soon began to increase by the arrival of reinforcements, and, later on, of General Pope's army, estimated at twenty-five thousand men.

* I have never been able to procure that of General Breckinridge.

General Halleck must have had, then, under him, at least one hundred and twenty-five thousand men of all arms. Whereas the Confederate forces, under me, including Van Dorn's seventeen thousand men, numbered not more than fifty thousand; "daily decreasing on account of sickness," and with no hope of being reinforced.

When General Van Dorn reached Corinth, he was assigned to a position on the south side of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, on the right and in rear of our defensive lines. These extended some three miles in advance of the town, on high grounds in rear of a creek, and had been established by General Bragg, while I was still at Jackson. They were defective, especially toward the left. I corrected them afterward, but not to the extent I would have wished.

"General Hardee's corps extended along and from the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, in front of General Van Dorn's position, to the left, where it rested on the right of General Bragg, whose left in turn rested on the right of General Polk's corps, stretching across the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. The left of this command occupied some woods protected by abattis and rifle-pits, each corps holding a few brigades in reserve." *

Directly behind Corinth was General Breckinridge's command, which now, as before the battle of Shiloh, constituted the reserve.

Sickness among the troops began to be so prevalent that the eventuality of a change of strategic position, to insure the health and safety of the army, soon forced itself upon me. Such a position was not easy to find; for, while from it the enemy had to be held in check, and the country in his rear protected, including Fort Pillow, a salubrious locality and a supply of good water, so much needed at Corinth, had also to be taken into serious consideration. Grand Junction, on that account, had been discarded. But the fear of losing Fort Pillow, which was still so essential to the safety of Vicksburg, around which, by my orders, defensive works were already in process of construction, caused me, for the time being, to waive all thought of a change, until compelled to revert to it anew, by the mode of approach of the enemy in my front.

It was hard to say just when my position would be seriously

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Vol. 1, Chap. xxiv., p. 382.

threatened by the advance of General Halleck upon it. That he was closing in upon Corinth, more and more, every day, was an undoubted fact; but so extremely cautious were all his movements, that one less acquainted with our respective strength might have supposed he commanded my force of fifty thousand men, and I his large army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand. Nevertheless, I dispatched several officers of trust with special instructions to look for and report upon, a good defensive position, healthy in every respect, and where an abundance of water could readily be procured. Tupelo was the place finally designated and recommended.

On the 8th of May, General Pope, whose line of encampments was near Hamburg, on the Tennessee, advanced with his entire force on Farmington, a small village, four miles from Corinth. He had undertaken this aggressive movement, it was believed, without consultation with General Halleck. Between him and General Buell, ran Seven Miles Creek, now filled by recent rains, and which completely separated him from his base. Seizing upon this opportunity, and desirous of cutting off his line of retreat, I ordered a concerted attack in full force upon his position. It was only partially successful, and failed through the inefficiency of General Van Dorn's guide, and the tardiness of one of his division commanders. As it was, however, two of General Pope's brigades barely escaped falling into our hands. Their casualities, in killed and wounded, were heavy. They also lost a large number of small arms and accoutrements.

I prepared, a few days later, another concerted movement somewhat similar to the one just mentioned, and for the same purpose; but a series of rain storms baffled the attempt, and the troops were ordered back to their former positions. This was on the 18th of May. General Halleck was still advancing upon us, slowly but safely, and the effectiveness of our troops was daily decreasing owing to the prevalence of disease among them.

It was now clear to me that the withdrawal of the army from Corinth should no longer be delayed. That by so doing we would lose a strategic point of the greatest value, none appreciated more than I did; but there could be no hesitation between the holding of Corinth and the safety of our forces. I called the corps commanders together, and, after fully expressing my views to them, asked that each should give his individual opinion upon the important question under advisement. The conclusion arrived at was unanimous: the evacuation of Corinth was a military necessity.

Orders were immediately given for the removal to Baldwin, Tupelo, and other localities in the rear, of the heavy guns, ammunition, camp equipage and also of the sick. Very minute instructions were given by me to the corps commanders. They were enjoined not to speak of the projected movement; but to spread the rumor that we were preparing for a general engagement.

The evacuation began on the 30th of May, at one o'clock A. M. The main obstacles in the way had been removed; all the wagon-trains and all the rearmost troops were sent on ahead.

In order to impress the enemy with the belief that we were about to take the offensive and were receiving reinforcements, I caused empty trains to be run at stated times, during the night, and ordered the troops stationed near them to cheer vociferously as they arrived. The effect desired was produced, as is shown by the following telegram of General Pope to General Halleck:

> "The enemy are reinforcing in my front and left. The cars are running constantly, and the cheering is immense every time they unload in front of me. I have no doubt, from all appearances, that I shall be attacked in heavy force at daylight."

It is an undisputed fact that our last files were quietly marching out of Corinth when the above was forwarded. A thin line of skirmishers and some few cavalry had been left to keep up appearances.

It was only in the morning of the 30th, long after dawn, that the enemy, who had made vast preparations to meet the anticipated attack, at last discovered the entire withdrawal of the Confederate Army from Corinth.

The retreat was orderly, in every respect, and was effected as it had been planned. An army of fifty thousand men disappeared from the immediate front of an army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand, and brought away with it its munitions of war, its stores, its sick; and suffered no material loss of any kind. No pursuit was attempted by General Halleck. It is even doubtful whether he was aware of the direction taken by our forces, on their line of retreat. That line was, from Corinth to Rienzi, Booneville, Baldwin and, finally, to Tupelo (fifty miles south), which latter place was reached on the 9th of June. I had caused several halts to be made on the march; the first, six miles from Corinth, behind the

Tuscumbia River; the second, at Rienzi, and the third at Baldwin, to be ready to meet the enemy had he shown any willingness to follow; but he did not.

The evacuation of Corinth, if not an absolute Confederate victory, was unquestionably a barren triumph for the Federals. Such was, at the time, the conclusion reached by all unbiased minds. Such is the verdict of history to-day. It saved the army from incalculable disasters. It foiled the plans and preparations of the enemy, and prolonged the contest in the South-west for more than a year.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

Now that the impossibility of longer continuing to treat Ireland as a conquered province is becoming apparent, the true nature of the Irish question is beginning to make itself clear. The difficulty British statesmen find in agreeing to any measure of self-government that would satisfy the demands of the Irish people is as to what would become of the Irish landlords.

Americans generally have regarded the difficulty between Ireland and England as essentially political, for that is the phase of which they have heard most. But the truth is, that, beneath the political question, lies the social question. The long and cruel misgovernment of Ireland has not been wanton in the sense of having been without motive. From the landing of Strongbow to the suspension of jury trial, English outrage and oppression in Ireland have been prompted by the desire of greedy adventurers to obtain possession of Irish soil, or of their descendants and successors to keep possession. This has been the motive of massacres and proscriptions, of religious persecutions and penal laws, of castle government and coercion acts. It is for this that the Royal Irish Constabulary is maintained and that Ireland is garrisoned by English troops.

It is true that the miserable vanity that so often passes for patriotism, and race prejudice and religious bigotry have been utilized to the utmost in securing British support of this class government of Ireland, just as such feelings were utilized in popularizing wars undertaken to maintain the right divine of kings. The magic of the possessive pronoun, which enables paupers and serfs to glory in the greatness of "*our* country," has made down-trodden Englishmen ready to tread down Irishmen just as, a century ago, they were ready to war against the liberties of their kinsmen in America, to put down a revolt in "*our* colonies." The English laborer, driven by the deprivation of his birthright to deem employment at starvation wages a boon, has learned to dread and hate the Irish laborers forced by the same cause into competition with him, just as laborers in California have learned to dread and hate the Chinese, and laborers in Pennsylvania, the Poles and Hungarians. And in the same way that vain pride of opinion—always strongest among those who have had least to do in providing themselves with opinions—which manifests itself in religious bigotry, has been powerful in closing the eyes of Englishmen to the wrongs of Ireland, and disposing them to lend their power in crushing Irish aspirations.

Yet these are but the means of which the Irish landlord interest has availed itself, not the motives of the oppression of Ireland. The purpose of that oppression has been to enable the landlord to extort his rents, and to shield the "exterminator" from that wild justice which, whether called by the name of "Captain Moonlight" or "Judge Lynch," always springs up when legal justice is denied.

Irish landlordism is not merely a British interest in the sense that its spoils are largely drawn to Great Britain by Irish landlords residing there, or to pay interest on mortgages held by British capitalists—but it is part and parcel of the system which enables the dominant class in Great Britain to live in idleness on the labor of their own countrymen, and they have the same direct concern in maintaining Irish landlordism as the slave-holders of South Carolina would have had in preventing a successful insurrection of slaves in North Carolina.

That Irish landlordism, to maintain itself, has had to rely upon British power, and to resort to measures of repression that British landlords have not found necessary, is due, not to any difference in its nature, but partly to differences in historical development, and partly to differences in industrial development. Ireland was never conquered by the Romans; it attained under the Celtic institutions a comparatively high degree of civilization; instead of succumbing to Norman invaders, they were so assimilated that they became "more Irish than the Irish themselves," nor did final subjugation take place until the Reformation had brought about a distinction of religion between conquerors and conquered. This, being seized upon by the spoliators as the most convenient and certain designation under which the despoiled could be prevented from regaining power, had the effect of keeping the Irish priest close to the peasant and of preventing religion from being used, as it has elsewhere been used, to destroy the idea of natural rights. Thus the spirit and traditions of the people have been better preserved, and the Irish peasant, hard as may have been his lot, has never been so completely crushed as the corresponding class in Great Britain. Ireland is not only at an earlier point of historical development than England, since for English parallels of struggles which are in Ireland matters of yesterday and to-day, we must go back to the times of Robin Hood, to those popular risings as to which tradition is silent and history gives us only imperfect glimpses, and to the clearances and hangings that went on under the Tudors—but it is also at an earlier point of industrial development. Being in the main an agricultural country, and the organization of agriculture being yet in large part so simple that the laborer is the direct tenant of the landlord, the relations that must always exist between land and labor are not obscured in the popular mind by the capitalistic intermediary.

The national feeling that has done so much to keep alive the spirit of the Irish people is of course political in its primary aims. But the present Irish movement is far more than a movement having for its object the restoration to the Irish people of such rights of self-government as are enjoyed by the American people. And it is from this fact that it derives its strength.

The Home Rule movement of Isaac Butt was a political movement from what may be called the aristocratic side. The Fenian movement was a political movement from the democratic side. But neither the one, nor yet even the other, aroused the strength which the Land League movement has shown. The reason is that this movement is essentially a social movement. It not only appeals as directly to the humblest of the disinherited as did the agitation of O'Connell for the repeal of religious disabilities, but even more powerfully, for it appeals to what the English press calls the "cupidity" of the Irish peasant—that is to say to his indisposition to be robbed of his hard earnings, to be despoiled of the food without which wife and children must starve or go to the poorhouse. It not only promises to give him political rights, but a right far more important—the right to live.

The two currents which unite in the Irish revolt are well represented in its two foremost leaders. Charles Stewart Parnell is a landlord of the "English Pale," educated in one of the great educational centers of the British aristocracy, belonging by birth to that privileged circle in which it was, until recent years, alone possible to look forward to a political career, and with the personal tastes and feelings of the dominant class. His character and powers are those of the typical Englishman rather than the typical Irishman. He is an astute politician,* and in disciplining and handling his forces, and in mastering difficult situations has shown qualities of the highest order. But, though raised to power on the crest of the Land League movement, he represents its political, not its social aim. Though he has been led at times into radical utterances on the land question, and was induced to sign the no-rent manifesto, his own policy is evidently the conservation rather than the destruction of landlordism; and his ideas of agrarian reform go no further than reductions of rents and the purchase by tenants of their holdings. While he might go upon social questions as far as the most radical, it would be as forced by the current, not as leading and urging it on.

Michael Davitt, on the other hand, is by birth a Mayo peasant who learned to lisp in Gallic, a typical representative of the race who, swept from their lands "to Connaught or to hell," have preserved among the bogs and rocks of the west the traditions of a freer life. Carried to England by an evicted mother, who begged her way from door to door rather than suffer the degradation of the poorhouse, his school was an English factory where, while yet a child, his right arm was torn from his shoulder, and his university the English penal prison to which his love for his country and his desire to win her political independence consigned him. With all the warm and generous qualities of the typical Irishman he has also the impulsiveness that is associated with them. With great "magnetism" and capacity as a popular organizer, he is a born leader of men, but his leadership is rather that of the Irish chief who headed the wild charge than that of the cautious tactician who moves his forces with the coolness of a chess player. With the self-abnegation that has led him to refuse all testimonials and pecuniary rewards, he has suffered those who were fighting its Parliamentary battle to assume the management and direction of the movement which he began. But he has the strength of the man who stands for a great principle, who, as Emerson phrased it, has "hitched his wagon to a star." What he represents is more than the desire for mere political freedom. It is the aspiration for that full freedom that can only be secured where every human creature has an equal right to the land on which and from which all must live.

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* I use the word of course in its original sense.

And this is the core of the Irish movement. The political struggle that goes on in the British Parliament is but a part of the social struggle which is going on all over Ireland—that passive war that has for its inevitable end the restoration to the Irish people of their natural rights in their native soil.

It is a mistake to suppose that the idea that land should be treated as the common property of the whole people involves anything new or strange to the Irish mind. Four years ago, when I first visited in Ireland, I received a request from one of the most venerable and best loved of the Irish bishops that I should visit him, as he wished to have a long talk with me. I went, and he put to me, one after another, all the arguments that are usually made for private property in land, and all the objections that are usually urged to its treatment as the property of the community. I answered his questions, and met his objections, till finally, his face lighting up, he exclaimed: "God bless you, my son! I have been questioning you, because I wanted to see if you could defend your faith. You have been expressing my firm convictions. And though it may not seem so yet, no human power can stop the movement that has begun in Ireland short of what you contend for. Nor in what you say to me, is there anything new. It is the same doctrine, that, when a little boy sitting in the evening by the turf fire, I have heard from the lips of old men who could not speak an English word. Our people have bowed to might, but they have never forgotten their national rights. Where the Irish tongue is spoken you will find what you are saying understood."

And so I found it. "What is he saying?" I have asked on wind-swept hillsides of the Hebrides, as the crowd of crofters and fishermen swayed with answering emotion to the burst of Gallic oratory. "He is saying what you say," would come the reply. "He is saying that all men have the same right to land, and that this is what our fathers have always said; and he is repeating from the old poetry and from the Bible, that God made the land for all His children, and that He is no respecter of persons."

It was among Irishmen, who have preserved the old traditions, that the Land League movement had its inception. Patrick Ford, to whom more than any other Irish-American, it owes the support that enabled it to gather strength, has from the first proclaimed the truth that the rights of men to land are equal, and scouted the idea of any truce or compromise with landlordism. Michael Davitt, who founded the Land League, raised at the first the standard of "the Land for the People," and has never faltered.

Nor does the truth that human rights to the use of land are equal and unalienable lack in the Irish mind the force of a religious truth. These are the words of Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, in a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese five years ago :

> "The land, therefore, of every country, is the *common property* of the people of that country ; because its real Owner—the Creator who made it—has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. 'The earth He hath given to the children of men.' Now, as every individual in every country is a creature and a child of God, and as all His creatures are equal in His sight, any settlement of the land of this or any other country that would exclude the humblest man in this or that country from his share of the common inheritance would not only be an injustice and a wrong to that man, but would, moreover, be an impious resistance to the benevolent intentions of his Creator."

At nothing short of the acknowledgment of this equal right can the Irish movement stop.

The political element in the Irish movement is, of course, the largest, since it includes all who desire more than political rights, as well as those who desire only political rights ; but the social element is the more intense, and it must come to the front just in proportion as political demands are satisfied. This is the dilemma in which the governing class of Great Britain find themselves. Something must be granted to the Irish determination to secure self-government ; but the more that is conceded, the more will the agitation of the land question increase, and the less will be the power of resisting it.

If "Grattan's Parliament," as it really was, could satisfy Irish demands to-day, there is no question that the dominant class in Great Britain will be willing enough to see it instituted. But Grattan's Parliament—a corrupt conclave of the ruling oligarchy, in which the masses of the people had no representation—could no more be resuscitated in Ireland to-day than slavery could be re-established in America. An Irish Parliament now must mean a parliament in which the landless, not the landlords, shall rule—a parliament which would at once address itself to the task of abolishing landlordism. And while nothing less than the full management of their own affairs can satisfy the Irish demand, any concession which falls short of that can only increase the power of demanding more.

The real pinch in the Irish question is seen in the frantic declarations of even such Liberal papers as the "Pall Mall Gazette" that "if the Irish will not pay their landlords twenty shillings in the pound on the fair value of their property, they must not only dispense with any hope of Home Rule, but with any semblance of goverment by consent," and by the assertions of English politicians who concede the justice of self-government, that it must be accompanied by some guarantee that the "property" of the landlords shall not be "confiscated." This is asking for the moon as the condition of agreeing to the inevitable. The Irish masses are past the point of paying anything in the pound any longer than they can help it, and there is no power that can give any such guarantee. Mr. Parnell and the Irish Parliamentary Party could not give it if they would. They may move forward with the tide, but they cannot sweep it back.

The proposition attributed to Mr. Giffen, statistician of the Board of Trade, for the buying out of the Irish landlords and the appropriation of their rents to the support of the Irish Government, is the most statesmanlike proposition which the Irish problem has yet called forth from any Englishman of influence, inasmuch as it recognizes the fact that the land question is the fundamental difficulty. It is, in brief, that the British Government shall buy out the Irish agricultural landlords, or rather, such of them as have been affected by the last Land Act, by giving them three per cent. consols at the rate of twenty years' purchase of the judicial rents, which would amount to about £160,000,000, or $800,000,000 ; the land so ransomed to be made over to the present tenants, on condition that they pay to the local Government of Ireland one-half or one-third of the judicial rents.

This scheme offers the Irish landlords full compensation for what they have been accustomed to consider their property ; to the tenants a large reduction of rent, and to the Irish people a considerable permanent revenue. The parties who would be "out" on this transaction are the imperial tax-payers of the three kingdoms. Yet on Mr. Giffen's theory that such a plan would settle the Irish land question, they would not only be saved large expenditures now necessary to make in Ireland, while the difficulty in the way of permitting the Irish people to manage their own home affairs would be removed. The presentation of such a scheme is gratifying evidence of the rapid progress of British thought toward the only basis on which the land question can be permanently settled, but even if it could be adopted it could not settle the Irish land question. It would only affect a portion of Irish land, and as to that, would not recognize the equality of rights, merely carving up, with some deduction, the estates of the landlords among the tenants, but leaving out the laborers and all other classes. It is, in short, a heroic plan of doing, at the expense of the imperial tax-payer, and with some concession to the principle of land nationalization, what it has been vainly attempted to do by loan of public funds—save the Irish landlords, and interest a much larger number of the people in the further maintenance of landlordism.

Five years ago, a proposal of this kind would have seemed to the English mind too radical to have been dreamed of. But in these five years the world, and especially the English-speaking world, has been moving much faster than many people realize. Not only has the Irish movement passed the point when any such compromise could satisfy it, but the same spirit is awake in England, in Scotland, and in Wales. This is what places British landlordism "between the devil and the deep sea," making it dangerous for it to stand and dangerous for it to try to compromise.

Even the discussion of such a proposition for the settlement of the Irish land question would of itself suffice—if that were needed—to bring the British land question within the sphere of practical politics. If the Imperial tax-payer is to buy out the Irish landlords for the benefit of the Irish tenant, what about the Scottish crofters ? What about the newly enfranchised British agricultural laborer, who already has his representatives in the House of Commons, so long sacred to his betters ? What about the crowded slums of British cities and the thousands upon thousands of unemployed workingmen ? Why not buy out the landlords of the three kingdoms ?

Why not ? The answer will be quick and certain. When it is proposed that the living people of a country shall buy their country from the heirs and assignees of certain dead men, the absurdity and injustice of private property in land must strike the most obtuse. For it is, as Thomas Jefferson said, a self-evident truth that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, and that no right of ownership in it can be derived from the dead. No matter how habit may blind men to it, it must appear self-evident, whenever they come to think of it, that the equal right to life involves the equal right to land.

From whatever cause, the policy of the Irish Parliamentarians up to this time has been such as to repel rather than to attract the co-operation of the British democracy. While in the recent election the Presbyterians of Argyllshire, despite the injunctions of their ministers, returned an Irish Catholic, solely because of his views on the land question, the Irish vote of Glasgow was, by Mr. Parnell's order, thrown against the candidates of the Scottish Land Restoration League, with the result, in one case, of electing an Irish landlord, most virulently opposed to the Irish movement.

But, sooner or later, common aims must unite the masses. The Irish question cannot be settled without the settlement of the land question on both sides of St. George's Channel. Nor can its influence be unfelt across a wider sea. In the right to do as he pleases with his own—in the right to say who shall or who shall not live upon and use his land the American land owner has all the legal rights that the most tyrannical Irish landlord ever exercised. If they do not yet give him the same power over men it is simply that our population is still sparse, and that the competition of the disinherited for the use of the natural element necessary to life and labor is not therefore so intense. But how these powers are being brought out may be seen from the steady rise in the value of land, which means simply that the American laborer must pay more to the American land owner for the privilege of living. And how much more intense is competition, unchecked by tradition or custom, likely to be here than in Ireland may be seen from the fact that while Buckle estimates Irish rents, when about at their highest, at one-fourth of the produce, one-half the crop is already a common rent in our new States.

HENRY GEORGE.

ARISTOCRATIC DRIFT OF AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM.

WHEN the English Church first reared an altar beside the James River in the little settlement which the fortune-hunters of England established with such difficulty, there were no marked differences of rank amongst the men who knelt before it. Few were there who were not of gentle birth when the colony was founded, but, some years later, when the population was less homogeneous, we may be very sure that within the sanctuary walls regard was had for him who could wear the gay clothing and the gold ring, rather than for him whose plain speech and plain garb proclaimed him simple instead of gentle. The men who founded Boston and Plymouth were of a different stamp from their Virginian brethren. Sturdy, hard-headed men of the middle class, one might have expected that in the temples which they should build, no artificial distinctions of rank would be allowed. Yet very soon we find them, in their rude meeting-houses, exalting the Christian who possessed two cloaks and had everything handsome about him, so far as was possible under existing circumstances, above the Christian who did not possess extraneous advantages. A few years later we find a similar state of affairs among the Dutch worshipers at New Amsterdam, the gay clothing and the gold ring once more being rewarded with chief seats in the synagogues.

Two hundred and fifty years have gone by, and the world has made more progress in that time, we are told, than in many cycles of Cathay. Year by year Protestantism has eliminated one harsh feature after another from its statements of belief, and has adapted itself more and more nearly to the needs of humanity, it is claimed. The rude meeting-houses of the colonial period have given place to costly churches, it is true. Inside of these temples the light, passing with difficulty through painted glass, reveals an interior filled with carefully upholstered seats, where the foot falls upon the softest carpets, and where the pealing organ swells the note of self-gratulation.

"The Lord is in His holy temple," says the clergyman, "let all the earth keep silence before Him." But is "all the earth" present, in this house of the Lord's? The wearers of gay clothing and gold rings seem to be in the majority here. How should it be otherwise? Purple and fine linen can readily pay one, two, three, or even four thousand dollars for the privilege of presenting itself before God in what is termed His house, and what fellowship can Christianity in velvet and broadcloth have for Christianity in less seemly garb?

But the plain, unfashionable people would not feel at home amongst us, say the wearers of the gay clothing. They naturally prefer to be by themselves. This is true enough, and so fashionable Christianity builds a mission church for unfashionable Christianity and its Sunday meditations are not therefore disturbed by any Dives and Lazarus contrasts being thrust before it. Of all the Protestant Churches in America, the writer's own church, the Episcopal, is generally styled the most aristocratic, but its Ritualistic wing has done and is doing much to relieve it from this imputation, and the Ritualistic clergy, as a whole, are little disposed to recognize class distinctions. Next after the Episcopal Church the Unitarian is perhaps the most exclusive, the one farthest removed from sympathy with the spiritual needs of the poor. Following this is the Presbyterian Church and about on the same line are the Congregationalist Church and, where the German traditions are fading, the Lutheran Church. In the light of a poor relation the Episcopal Church is disposed to consider the numerically great Methodist Church, and the Unitarian Church regards the Universalist Church in a similar way. Viewed from a social standpoint the Baptist Church is on the same plane as the Methodist, and in many cities the worshiper at either of these churches is socially dead. In a certain village in Western New York, where the writer once lived, the Episcopal and Presbyterian Churches held the balance of social power and the Methodists and Baptists were socially ignored with the exception of one family among the latter. "It must be very trying for the B——s to attend the Baptist Church," was a common saying in the village. It occasionally happens that the dominant church in a town is the Methodist or Baptist, but in the majority of cases social ostracism awaits the man or woman who belongs to either of these respectable bodies. Society practically assumes that all "the nice people" worship at Episcopal, Presbyterian, Unitarian, Congregationalist or Lutheran shrines, and no doubt society has legitimate grounds for its assumption if its standards are to be accepted. But let us see what is the state of affairs in these humbler Protestant Churches. Are there two Baptist Churches in a town? We may be very sure that one of these is more exclusive than the other. Are there two Methodist Churches in a town? We shall hear that "the better class of Methodists" attend one of these churches in preference to the other. The tolerant Presbyterian or Congregationalist will tell you that "really the better class of Methodists are more like ourselves," which he thinks is a very gracious, liberal-minded statement of the case, and "the better class of Methodists" affect to look down upon the preachers of their plainer co-religionists. Should there be several churches of one faith in any community the scale of respectability may have any number of degrees marked upon it, from the Gothic structure in the fashionable quarter to the mission chapel that has for neighbors saloons and squalid tenements.

The whole fabric of American Protestantism is inwrought with the notion that class distinctions must exist, must be intensified in fact, in the houses it erects to the worship of a Divine Being who is supposed to care nothing for such distinctions and whose Son, when on earth, consorted with fishermen and "the lower classes" generally in preference to the company of "nice people." Honorable exceptions exist here and there without doubt, but the great, stubborn fact remains that American Protestantism does foster an exclusive, aristocratic spirit. The humble mission chapel develops in time into a church. Its settees are replaced at length by cushioned pews; a costly carpet covers the floor that once boasted nothing better than a cocoa matting, an imposing organ succeeds the unpretentious melodeon, the sunlight comes at last through many-colored panes. All these things are certainly sweet and commendable in their nature, for it is surely right to beautify and enrich His temple to the best of our ability, but along with them the spirit of exclusiveness invariably creeps in, and after a time, Lazarus is made to feel that his rags are out of keeping in so fine a place and he is assured that he will feel much more at home in the new mission which the church has been so good as to build for him. And, once again, gay clothing and gold rings have it all their own way.

But all this is not the fault of Christianity or of American Protestantism, it is simply a fault inherent in human nature, it may be urged. Is this indeed so ? Let us see.

A stone's-throw from the Protestant church may often be seen a church surpassing it in beauty, a church whose marbles are carved with even more richness of design, whose windows blaze with even deeper coloring, a church whose existence the Protestant would like to ignore even while he emulates its architecture, but which, when forced upon his notice, he characterizes as the church of the housemaids and Irish laborers.

"The housemaids' and laborers' church !" Heaven be praised that there *is* such a church, for Protestantism has little to offer these members of the community. At the door of this despised church is the holy-water stoup, the use of which is common to all the congregation, its presence at the entrance serving to emphasize the fact that worldly distinctions must be left outside the door. The wearer of the gay clothing and he of the tattered sleeve stand on an equal footing in this sanctuary. Dives and Lazarus kneeling side by side in a Roman Catholic temple is a sight that may often be seen, but the Protestant church-goer rarely beholds such a spectacle in his own church. Whatever the relative merits of the two faiths may be, one must admit that the Roman communion, in America at least, has encouraged, in the majority of cases, the idea of the equality of man in the presence of the Maker he has come to worship, while the Protestant communion has from the beginning fostered an aristocratic, exclusive spirit, which has resulted in making its churches but too often religious club-houses, and in deepening the caste distinctions which practically deny the brotherhood of man.

Say what we may, the Protestant Church has no place for the poor man within its pale. The wealthy churches snub him till he leaves them for unfashionable churches or omits to go to church altogether, and the churches which lay no claim to being fashionable are yet not overgracious to the very poor worshiper who ought to be content with the religious cold victuals proffered his kind at the mission chapel. It would not be pleasant to find a ragged, dirty stranger in our cushioned pew next Sunday. He would certainly be out of place there. These comfortable seats be for wellnurtured, well-dressed Christians who have listened approvingly to the Gospel all their lives, and who are very far from hungering and thirsting for the Bread of Life. Away with you, Lazarus, to the mission chapel where you belong! You shall hear a tenth-rate preacher there whom you can better understand, and on Sunday afternoons we will graciously come there ourselves and question you about the Carpenter's Son, who had not where to lay his head, and the probable distance of Jericho from Jerusalem. We say to ourselves that the uncomfortably direct Bible texts relative to the poor and to our kinship with them are not intended to be taken literally. There must first be a careful study of surrounding conditions. What was suitable and proper to be done at the opening of the Christian era, and in Judea, is not at all the right thing to do now in these United States, nineteen hundred years later, and amongst a wholly different people. And, crowning argument of all, an attempt to follow out literally the New Testament teachings respecting those whom we have always with us, would infallibly result in upturning the foundations of society. And no doubt such literalism would bring with it just such a result. And the preservation of society is heaven's first law beyond question. Let us do nothing to violate it. After this manner do "the nice people" argue, and so Lazarus is sent around to Protestantism's back-door, the mission chapel, and Dives leans back in his pew and listens graciously when the clergyman admonishes him never to turn his face away from any poor man in order that the face of the Lord may never be turned away from him. Is it any wonder that Lazarus, his soul filled with the scornful reproof of the wealthy and with the despitefulness of the proud, sometimes fails to perceive the great kindness extended to him, and either turns from religion entirely or enters the church that makes him in his rags as welcome as the sinner who dines sumptuously every day?

American Protestantism has no acknowledged duties to perform to the poor man who is so unfortunate as to be within its pale, if we may judge by its bearing toward him. Judged by its works it is no system of faith for the poor man to cling to, whether he be respectably poor or utterly destitute. Whatever gracious message Protestantism may once have had for him it has none now, to all appearances. For years it has steadily turned its face away from the poor man. Its ears have long been dulled to the voice of the poor man asking to be recognized as an equal before God in its temples. Its eyes are too dim to see aught of Lazarus but his rags.

Woe unto that faith that has no care for the feeble folk for whom Christ died! Woe unto that faith which preaches the gospel of pre-eminence to the rich and of humble submission to the poor! Woe unto that faith which gives to him that hath, and from him that hath not taketh away even that which he hath! And woe unto American Protestantism because of its pride, its hardness of heart, its "civilized heathenism" that wears the mask of Christianity and crucifies afresh the Master it assumes to adore!

OSCAR FAY ADAMS.

SHERMAN'S OPINION OF GRANT.

In the January issue of the North American Review I published an editorial comment on an article that appeared in the preceding number, entitled "An Acquaintance with Grant," by General James B. Fry. In that article General Fry stated that General Sherman had gone so far as to have said since Grant's death that "had C. F. Smith lived Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson."

This statement provoked a private correspondence through me between General Sherman and General Fry, which, after the exchange of two letters, threatened, I feared, to assume an aspect that might forestall any amicable outcome.

Moved by a sincere desire to avert this contingency, I endeavored to comply with the wish of General Sherman by suggesting a seemingly obvious interpretation of the phrase attributed to him. It seemed to me that General Sherman's whole record and relations to Grant proved that he must have meant to use the word "might" instead of "would"—speaking speculatively and not positively. It was not my purpose to discredit the good faith of General Fry, but solely my intention to prevent an undesirable personal discussion. Actuated by this sentiment, I did not feel called upon to transmit to General Fry the words of General Sherman contained in his dispatch of December 16th.

General Fry, in ignorance of my motives, was perhaps not unnaturally annoyed by the omission to state that he had given reasons for his refusal to comply with General Sherman's request, addressed to me a personal letter, the publication of which is not necessary to the history of this correspondence.

Since the appearance of these comments the following letter has been received from General Fry for publication in this issue:

30 E. 63d St., N. Y. City,
January 15, 1886.

To the Editor of the North American Review:

Sir: I have read the editorial remarks in your January issue upon the subject of my statement that General Sherman has said, since Grant's death, that had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson.

Your remarks suggest many reflections, which I deem it unnecessary for me to lay before your readers.

You say General Sherman repudiates the opinion attributed to him. There is a wide difference between repudiating an opinion and denying the expression of it. I have imputed no opinion to Gen. Sherman except such as may be inferred from the language he used. When Gen. Sherman denies that he used the language I have said he used, I shall consider myself called upon to furnish direct proof of the correctness of my statement.

Yours truly,
JAMES B. FRY.

In the meantime General Sherman, as will be seen, had addressed to me a series of communications, some of them written for publication, and others from which he now regretfully removes the seal of confidence.

Up to the 16th of January the publication of the following correspondence in its entirety, as requested by General Sherman, might possibly have been averted. But the appearance, on that day, in many leading journals, of a letter from General Sherman to the Rev. George Morrison, of Baltimore, published below, rendered such a course hopeless, as General Fry has personally expressed his desire to confront the issue at once.

I.

NEW YORK, *Dec.* 3, 1885.

GEN. JAMES B. FRY, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I inclose you a copy of a letter just received from Gen. Sherman.

Yours truly,
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

II.

ST. LOUIS, *Dec.* 1, 1885.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE, ESQ.,
North American Review,
New York City.

DEAR SIR: Will you be kind enough to inquire of General Fry from what paper he made the extract in his article in your December number (An Acquaintance with Grant), "General Sherman goes so far as to have said, since Grant's death, that had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson; but that is conjecture."

Sincerely your friend,
W. T. SHERMAN.

III.

30 E. 63d St., New York City, *Dec.* 5, 1885.

Mr. Allen Thorndike Rice,
Editor North American Review,
30 Lafayette Place, New York City.

Dear Sir: In my article called "An Acquaintance with Grant," published in your December issue, I assert that "General Sherman goes so far as to have said, since Grant's death, that had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson." I have just received your letter of the 3d instant, transmitting copy of a letter from General Sherman to you, dated Dec. 2, asking my authority for the foregoing statement. I do not understand that General Sherman denies the correctness of the statement attributed to him, or disavows the sentiment embodied in it. It, therefore, seems to me best to let the matter rest as it is.

If the correctness of my assertion should be denied, you would have a right to expect me to substantiate it, and I should feel bound to do so.

Yours very truly,
James B. Fry.

IV.

New York City, *Dec.* 7, 1885.

General W. T. Sherman, St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir: As soon as your note asking the authority for General Fry's statement reached me, I sent a copy of it to him, and inclose a copy of his reply.

Very truly yours,
Allen Thorndike Rice.

V.

Dec. 7, 1885.

Gen. James B. Fry,
30 East 63d St., New York City.

Dear General: I sent a copy of your letter to General Sherman as the quickest way of ascertaining whether he proposed to ask you formally for your authority or not.

Very truly yours,
Allen Thorndike Rice.

VI.

New York City, *Dec.* 12, 1885.

General James B. Fry, New York City.

Dear General: I have just received the following letter:—

912 Garrison Avenue,
St. Louis, Mo., *Dec.* 10, 1885.

Allen Thorndike Rice, Esq.,
North American Review,
New York City.

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of Dec. 7, inclosing the copy of one from General Fry, in answer to mine to you of the 1st, containing a simple request that he give me the source of a quotation he imputed to me in his article "Acquaintance with Grant," in your December number.

"The matter cannot rest where it is," as he suggests, nor do I admit his right to call on me to affirm or deny the "sentiment" till I choose to do so in my own way.

In his article he quotes specific words from me. I therefore renew my demand for his authority. With great respect, your friend,

W. T. Sherman.

Kindly notify me what answer I shall make.

Very truly yours,

Allen Thorndike Rice.

VII.

New York City, *Dec.* 12, 1885.

General W. T. Sherman,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear General: I have just received your letter of the 10th instant, and have sent a copy of it to General Fry. It is possible that he may not receive it until Monday, in which case I presume I shall be able to transmit you a copy of his answer so as to reach you by Wednesday.

With great respect, very truly yours,

Allen Thorndike Rice.

VIII.

New York City, *Dec.* 14, 1885.

General W. T. Sherman,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear General: I have just received (Monday, Dec. 14th, 3 p.m.) a letter from General J. B. Fry, of which I subjoin a copy.

Very truly yours,

Allen Thorndike Rice.

30 E. 63d St., New York City, *Dec.* 13, 1885.

Mr. Allen Thorndike Rice,
North American Review,
City.

Dear Sir: I have yours of yesterday, transmitting copy of a letter from Gen. Sherman, dated Dec. 10.

Without intending the slightest discourtesy to Gen. Sherman, I must say that I have no modification to make in my note to yours of the 5th instant.

Very truly yours,

James B. Fry.

IX.

[*Telegram.*]

December 15, 1885.

To Gen. W. T. Sherman,
St. Louis.

Mailed you yesterday General Fry's reply: he writes:—

Without intending the slightest discourtesy to General Sherman, I must say I have no modification to make in my note to you.

James B. Fry.

This is an acknowledgment of copy of yours Dec. 10.

Decisive.

Allen Thorndike Rice.

X.

[*Telegram.*]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *Dec.* 15.

TO ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE,
North American Review,
30 Lafayette Place, N. Y.

Despatch of to-day is received. Will it not be better for me to await General Fry's answer to my letter of Dec. 10. Meantime simply publish the fact, Gen. Sherman has asked Gen. Fry for the source of his quotation, which he has not yet supplied. I shall persevere in this inquiry till I know the truth. Meantime there is no hurry.

W. T. SHERMAN.

XI.

[*Telegram.*]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *Dec.* 16, 1885.

TO ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE,
North American Review,
New York.

Letter of the 14th with Fry's final answer, received. You can do what you please to elucidate the truth, and I would like your January number to contain my denial of the literal truth of Fry's quotation in your own language, not mine. Notify Fry that I believe he purposely and maliciously misrepresented me, and that the end is not yet.

W. T. SHERMAN.

XII.

912 GARRISON AVENUE,
SAINT LOUIS, MO., *Dec.* 17, 1885.

GENERAL R. C. DRUM,
Adjutant-General U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

GENERAL: In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, for December, 1885, is printed an article entitled "An Acquaintance with Grant," by General James B. Fry, in which occurs this paragraph:

"The time has not come for final judgment of Grant. He had great abilities and great opportunities. Chance is undoubtedly an important factor in the race of glory, and perhaps it favored Grant in the war of rebellion. General Sherman goes so far as to have said, since Grant's death, that 'had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson,' but that is conjecture. Grant was one of the 'singular few' who possessed qualities which probably would have gained for him a high place in history, no matter who had lived to compete with him in our great war."

When my attention was called to it I wrote the editor the following letter:

[Here follows the letter from Gen. Sherman dated December 1, and printed above in Section III.]

To this I received by due course of mail a letter from Mr. Rice, of December 7, inclosing a copy of Gen. Fry's answer, as follows:

[Here follows Gen. Fry's letter, dated December 7, printed above in Section III.]

I have never authorized General Fry to speak for me in matters requiring the use of precise language, and I surely take direct issue with him in the modern monstrous newspaper doctrine that a reporter may publish any falsehood or guess, leaving the victim to follow it up with a denial or qualification. I assert moreover that General Fry is an officer of the army, subject to discipline and bound in honor to answer such an inquiry as was addressed to him.

I therefore, with all due respect, lay the matter before the honorable Secretary of War, and invoke his authority to compel General Fry to disclose the source of his information or to qualify his positive assertion that "General Sherman goes so far as to have said since Grant's death that had C. F. Smith lived Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson."

With great respect, your servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,

General.

XIII.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJT. GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *Dec.* 23, 1885.

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN,
U. S. Army,
St. Louis, Mo.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 17th instant, embodying certain letters from you to Mr. Rice, editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and General James B. Fry's letters in answer thereto, on the subject of certain statements made by General Fry in an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

The question how far the unauthorized use, by an officer, of the expressions of another may render the former amenable to discipline, is a difficult one to answer, especially when the language imputed is not offensive or calculated to cast odium on the speaker or writer. If the quotations used by General Fry in his article were false and scandalous, or so garbled as to give a false impression of your utterances, he has laid himself open to grave accusations, but as there is nothing to indicate that the statement is of that character or that his intent was to do you injustice or injury, the Secretary of War instructs me to say he cannot see that it is in his power, under the law, to take in this case the action suggested in your letter. At the same time he is of opinion that the question raised is one of good manners and proper courtesy, rather than of conduct subjecting General Fry to military discipline.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. C. DRUM,

Adjutant-General.

XIV.

912 Garrison Ave.,
St. Louis, Mo., *Jan.* 2, 1886.

Allen Thorndike Rice, Esq.,
North American Review,
New York.

Dear Sir: I have the Review for January, and notice the manner in which you treat the Sherman-Fry matter. It is well and skillfully done, but you do not know Fry as well as Grant and I did. He invented that quotation to set up a man of straw for the honor of knocking it down.

General Grant always regarded him (Fry) as one of the men most active in spreading the lies about us at Shiloh—"surprise," "bayoneted in our beds," "demoralized," "a cowering mass on the river bank," etc., etc.—and his December article shows that Grant listened to him, as he could not help doing, replying little.

Now, for illustration, send to Van Nostrand for a little book, published in 1884, "The Army under Buell." Fry, on page 8: "During the seven months, including the winter season, he (Buell) organized and disciplined an army which had no superior, etc. Moved with the main body of his army to Pittsburg Landing, rescued Grant's army at the battle of Shiloh, and converted the disaster of the first day on that memorable field into a victory on the second day." Again, on page 10: "Pressing their advantage, the Union armies of the Tennessee, under Grant, and of the Ohio, under Buell, concentrated at Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee, when, being attacked on the 6th of April, *they* gained the victory of Shiloh."

Then turn to "Grant's Memoirs," pages 330–331, *et seq.*, and read his plain, truthful narrative. General Buell did not reach the field of battle until the first day was over. He came out to me a mile and a half from the Landing, after dark, with Fry and others, and I talked with both. On that first day we had fought from morning till night short of one division of our own army (Lew Wallace's); had sustained a loss of 8,000 men, and inflicted a like loss to our enemy, holding our ground against superior numbers, and covering every vital point of our position. We of the Army of the Tennessee claimed a victory at night. Lew Wallace having arrived with 6,000 men before Buell appeared, General Grant ordered me in person to assume the offensive the next morning at daylight.

Now, on the morning of the 6th of April, Wallace was only six miles off, and we expected him momentarily; still he did not cross the bridge, which I covered till night. One division of Buell's army (Nelson's), which had marched from Nashville to Savannah most leisurely, was there on the evening of April 5, and General Grant ordered it to march toward Pittsburg Landing. The firing was heard at Savannah early the morning of the 6th, yet the division did not start till after noon of the 6th, and its advance brigade (Ammen's) only reached the "Landing" about dark *after* the day's battle was over, losing, as General Grant describes, two men killed and one wounded. (Official report, one killed, two wounded.)

That night the rebels were as much demoralized and *more* than we. Buell got up two other divisions (Crittenden's and McCook's), and the battle of the 7th was a "walk-over," the losses being not one-fourth of the day before. We were everywhere victorious.

We did not know that we had been surprised and slaughtered in our beds. We believed we had heroically defended our position till reinforcements, *near* and *long* expected, did arrive, until the newspapers came from the North full and complete. Our families mourned us as dead, with the blush of shame that we had set down like a parcel of cowards, to be knocked over with clubs. These accounts were written by cowards, and fugitives who fled from the field and did not stop till they reached Paducah, Cairo, and Cincinnati. Their accounts were verified by men who never commanded even a brigade, and who reached the battle-field from the rear, always presenting a sickening sight, and sent forth their reports damaging to the brave and gallant men of the Army of the Tennessee, who did fight hard and successfully on the 6th of April, 1862. General Grant's account is as near correct and true as any single man who was on the field can make it. I can have no newspaper controversy with General Fry, or anybody else, if avoidable ; but when Fry sent me his volume before referred to, I called his attention to the renewal of his old controversy, sent the letter through General Grant, who, August 4, 1884, wrote me that he, too, had noticed Fry's "assumption," but in his memoirs he would confine himself to the simple statement of facts.

Fry loves notoriety, controversy ; is wordy, but not profound. He wants to be considered as Buell's mouth-piece, and the champion of the Army of the Cumberland. He quotes me ; refuses to give me the source of his quotation, but admits his liability to you. I will be pleased if you call on him to substantiate his quotation.

With respect, yours, etc.,
W. T. SHERMAN.

XV.

912 GARRISON AVENUE,
ST. LOUIS, MO., *Jan.* 10, 1886.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE, ESQ.,
Editor North American Review,
New York City.

DEAR SIR : . . . I approve of your comment wholly. I can have no controversy with General Fry, who, in my judgment, is a man of words, not of deeds ; who, when cornered, will dodge the issue and run off into an entirely different matter.

I write hundreds of letters of which I have no copy. I meet thousands of people with whom I am compelled to converse, and with these I may have speculated as to what *might* have been had General C. F. Smith lived, and had General Grant gone to the rear after the battles of "Henry" and "Donelson" or "Shiloh," but that I ever questioned his peculiar qualities and ability is simply impossible. You know that I asked through you of General Fry to give me the source of his quotation not only once but twice, and he wanted the matter to remain as it was when he knew that I felt aggrieved at what I believed a false quotation. Yet up to this date he has withheld a compliance with this simple request.

Of course, I believe, he invented the quotation for the purpose of questioning it, and showing his friendship after death, for the man whom in life he attempted to malign.

With great respect, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

XVI.

ST. LOUIS, MO., *Jan.* 12, 1886.

THE REV. GEORGE MORRISON,
Baltimore.

DEAR SIR: I received your letter of the 7th, with newspaper slip inclosed. Of course I have read carefully the first volume of "General Grant's Memoirs," and regard it as admirable in every sense, and now await the second volume, which I doubt not will be equally valuable and interesting.

From the day I reported to him from Paducah till his death our relations were as brothers rather than as commander and commanded, and it is utterly impossible that I could have written or spoken the words as quoted in the December number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

I have a very large correspondence, and converse freely with thousands of people, and, as is natural,--we often speculate what might have been had General Grant gone to the rear and C. F. Smith fought the battle of Shiloh; what might have been had Washington accepted his warrant in the English navy, etc., but that I could have written the positive expression that had "C. F. Smith lived General Grant would have disappeared from history," is an impossibility. Personally I want to live in peace, to avoid all controversy, but am confident in good time we shall learn on what authority or hearsay this publication is based. I inclose with this a slip containing my last public utterance about General Grant when I announced his death to his old comrades of the Army of the Tennessee. I don't believe any man, living or dead, has borne more willing testimony to General Grant's great qualities, especially as demonstrated at Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg than myself.

Yours truly, W. T. SHERMAN.

The above correspondence furnishes in chronological sequence all the facts in the case.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

In a recent conversation with Colonel Ingersoll, it was stated that Elizur Wright had written for The North American Review a remarkable article on Life Insurance—his last contribution to the American press. This paper will be published in an early number. I found that Colonel Ingersoll had been a personal friend of Mr. Wright, as, a few days subsequently, I received this touching and eloquent tribute to the dead reformer from the pen of the famous orator:

ELIZUR WRIGHT.

Another hero has fallen asleep—one who enriched the world with an honest life.

Elizur Wright was one of the Titans who attacked the monsters—the gods—of his time—one of the few whose confidence in liberty was never shaken, and who, with undimmed eyes, saw the atrocities and barbarisms of his day and the glories of the future.

When New York was degraded enough to mob Arthur Tappan, the noblest of her citizens; when Boston was sufficiently infamous to howl and hoot at Harriet Martineau, the grandest Englishwoman that ever touched our soil; when the North was dominated by theology and trade, by piety and piracy; when we received our morals from merchants, and made merchandise of our morals, Elizur Wright held principle above profit, and preserved his manhood at the peril of his life.

When the rich, the cultured, and the respectable,—when church members and ministers, who had been "called" to preach the "glad tidings," and when statesmen like Webster, joined with blood-hounds, and in the name of God hunted men and mothers, this man rescued the fugitives and gave asylum to the oppressed.

During those infamous years—years of cruelty and national degradation—years of hypocrisy, and greed, and meanness, beneath the reach of any English word, Elizur Wright became acquainted with the orthodox church. He found that Christians were willing to enslave men and women for whom they said that Christ had died—that they would steal the babe of a Christian mother, although they believed that the mother would be their equal in heaven forever. He found that those who loved their enemies would enslave their friends—that people who, when smitten on one cheek turned the other, were ready, willing, and anxious to mob and murder those who simply said, "The laborer is worthy of his hire." The church was in favor of slavery, not only of the body but of the mind. According to the creeds, God himself was an infinite master and all his children serfs. He ruled with whip and chain, with pestilence and fire. Devils were his blood hounds, and hell his place of eternal torture.

Elizur Wright said to himself, why should we take chains from bodies and enslave minds—why fight to free the cage and leave the bird a prisoner? He became an enemy of orthodox religion—that is to say, a friend of intellectual liberty.

He lived to see the destruction of legalized larceny, to read the Proclamation of Emancipation; to see a country without a slave, a flag without a stain. He lived long enough to reap the reward for having been an honest man—long enough for his "disgrace" to become a crown of glory—long enough to see his views adopted and his course applauded by the civilized world—long enough for the hated word "abolitionist" to become a title of nobility—a certificate of manhood, courage, and true patriotism.

Only a few years ago the heretic was regarded as an enemy of the human race. The man who denied the inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures was looked upon as a moral leper, and the atheist as the worst of criminals. Even in that day Elizur Wright was grand enough to speak his honest thought, to deny the inspiration of the bible—brave enough to defy the God of the orthodox church—the Jehovah of the Old Testament—the Eternal Jailer—the Everlasting Inquisitor.

He contended that a good God would not have upheld slavery and polygamy—that a loving Father would not assist some of his children to enslave or exterminate their brethren—that an infinite Being would not be unjust, irritable, jealous, revengeful, ignorant, and cruel.

And it was his great good fortune to live long enough to find the intellectual world on his side—long enough to know that the greatest naturalists, philosophers, and scientists, agreed with him—long enough to see certain words change places, so that "heretic" was honorable and "orthodox" an epithet. To-day the heretic is known to be a man of principle and courage—one blest with enough mental independence to tell his thought. To-day, the thoroughly orthodox means the thoroughly stupid.

Only a few years ago it was taken for granted that an "unbeliever" could not be a moral man—that one who disputed the inspiration of the legends of Judea could not be sympathetic and humane, and could not really love his fellow-men. Had we no other evidence upon this subject, the noble life of Elizur Wright would demonstrate the utter baselessness of these views.

His life was spent in doing good—in attacking the hurtful—in defending what he believed to be the truth. Generous beyond his means—helping others help themselves—always hopeful, busy, just, cheerful, filled with the spirit of reform—a model citizen, always thinking of the public good—devising ways and means to save something for posterity—feeling that what he had he held in trust—loving nature, familiar with the poetic side of things, touched to enthusiasm by the beautiful thought, the brave word, and the generous deed—friendly in manner, candid and kind in speech—modest but persistent—enjoying leisure as only the industrious can—loving and gentle in his family—hospitable, judging men and women regardless of wealth, position, or public clamor—physically fearless—intellectually honest—thoroughly informed—unselfish, sincere, and reliable as the attraction of gravitation. Such was Elizur Wright—one of the staunchest soldiers that ever faced and braved for freedom's sake the wrath, and scorn, and lies of place and power.

A few days ago I met this genuine man. His interest in all human things was just as deep and keen—his hatred of oppression, his love of freedom, just as intense, just as fervid as on the day I met him first. True, his body was old, but his mind was young; and his heart, like a spring in the desert, bubbled over as joyously as though it had the secret of eternal youth. But it has ceased to beat, and the mysterious veil that hangs where sight and blindness are the same—the veil that revelation has not drawn aside—that science cannot lift, has fallen once again between the living and the dead.

And yet we hope and dream. May be the longing for another life is but the prophecy, forever warm from Nature's lips, that love, disguised as death, alone fulfills. We cannot tell. And yet, perhaps this Hope is but an antic, following the fortunes of an uncrowned king, beguiling grief with jest, and satisfying loss with pictured gain? We do not know.

But, from the Christian's cruel hell, and from his heaven more heartless still, the free and noble soul, if forced to choose, should loathing turn, and cling with rapture to the thought of endless sleep.

But this we know: Good deeds are never childless. A noble life is never lost. A virtuous action does not die. Elizur Wright scattered with generous hand the priceless seeds, and we shall reap the golden grain. His words and acts are ours, and all he nobly did is living still.

Farewell, brave soul! Upon thy grave I lay this tribute of respect and love. When last our hands were joined, I said these parting words: "Long life!" and I repeat them now.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

II.

I wish to make some suggestions as to the articles contributed by Chief-Justice Hargis on "The Law's Delay," and by Judge Learned on "The Tardiness of Justice."

According to the learned chief-justice, the principal sources of the law's delay and defects originate "in the venality, neglect, or incapacity of legislators!" But, if more worthy, what could they do to remove those evils? Could they instruct the courts, or make the course of judicial administration more simple, certain, or direct? No. But the legislature of any State might make the lawyer's work more easy by adopting the "New York Code of Procedure of 1848," every part of which has received judicial construction. The "red tape, or useless technical forms," of which the chief-justice complains, might thus be superseded.

He refers to the bulk and conflict of our laws, to the reports in which law and *dicta* are so commingled as to "render it a physical impossibility for the judges to examine all of them on every question." Did any judge, not a mere 'prentice hand, ever have occasion to do that?

In view of our present condition, the chief-justice thinks that "the codification of American law is a growing and urgent necessity." But such a code could not contain all that law. It follows, that under such a code the cases contested before the courts would fall into several classes. Thus, the class to which the code applies, another to be governed by analogies, other cases which will depend on principles of natural justice, and on old rules of law. A judge might even then find his work as severe as at present. He will yet need the books now in use. He will need the practice reports, which will—often conflicting—give construction to the provisions of that code; also the reports of cases determined on appeals, with the opinions of judges, law, and *dicta*, after the common experience. In a few years his law library will contain thousands of volumes, ever increasing in number, as with the French, after their code, and in less than fifty years another codification may be an urgent necessity.

A few words as to the other article must suffice. Our judicial work is not shown to be tardy by contrasting it with our progress in other relations, nor does the statement that Lord Ellenborough "tried seventeen defended cases" in a single day help the argument. No judge, early or late, ever aspired to such monstrous celerity. Nor is it just or logical to support the charge of tardiness by citing a few cases which have lingered in the courts for years, without regard to the vast number of cases, which, in the same courts and years, have been contested and determined.

It is true that the Supreme Court of the United States, and the New York Court of Appeals, are greatly in arrear in their business. The remedy is not by denying suitors the right of appeal, but by reorganizing those courts. Let the Constitutions of the United States and of New York be so amended, that another co-ordinate branch of each of those courts may be created. Congress, and the New York Legislature, could appoint commissioners competent to classify, once for all, the nature of the business that should come before each of those courts.

JOSEPH NEILSON.

III.

THE following extract is found in the Keily correspondence submitted to the Senate in December, and afterwards published:

"It is to be remembered that one of the most acceptable Ministers ever sent by the United States to Austria, Mr. John A. Kasson, was first nominated for the Madrid mission, and that Spain objected to receive him because of his alleged public sympathy with the separatist movement in Cuba. The political objections to Mr. Keily, namely, want of political tact, and fear of wounding the sensibilities of a friendly State, might have been urged with equal or greater force against Mr. Kasson; but he seems to have been more fortunate than Mr. Keily, and no sinister influence undermined his position and opposed obstacles to the recognition of his personal worth and intellectual merits."

This rumor of an objection by Spain to Mr. Kasson was put in vogue in 1877 by reason of his appointment to Vienna soon after the announcement of his designation for Madrid. In fact he was never appointed to Madrid, but was offered, and had intimated his acceptance of the offer of the Spanish mission, when the post at Vienna became vacant. Then Secretary Evarts gave him his option between the two posts, and Mr. Kasson accepted and was appointed to Vienna. The rumor of an objection by Spain had no foundation in fact, as fully appears from the following note recently addressed to Mr. Kasson by ex-Secretary (now Senator) Evarts:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 5, 1886.

"HON. JOHN A. KASSON, Washington:

"DEAR SIR: In answer to your inquiry touching the statement that the Spanish Government made objection to your appointment as Minister to that country in 1877, and during my term as Secretary of State, I take pleasure in saying that no such question was ever raised. The appointment for Madrid, originally proposed by me, was changed, upon your preference, to Vienna; and for reasons having no connection whatever with, or knowledge of, either government. I am, very truly yours,

[Signed] "WM. M. EVARTS."

IV.

THE disparity of conditions in society springs largely from the privilege one part of society has of taxing the other part. When this privilege of private taxation is destroyed it will be impossible for a few individuals to garner into their coffers the wealth of the world, or to acquire the custody of the land. The remedy should not lie in the direction of limiting the amount of wealth that any individual shall possess, lest it destroy one of the incentives to industry, by prohibiting the acceptance of a legitimate reward for superior skill and foresight.

The governing classes in society would do well to see to it, and that quickly, that no industrious laborer, willing to work, shall be compelled to suffer and see his family suffer because of an enforced idleness; and this they can do by opening the land, which is the common heritage, to the honest settler and to him only. A well directed system of taxation on the land speculator's holdings would result in immediate relief, and ultimate relief would come from the reclamation to common ownership of all the land.

The overcrowding of the professions, the 1,500,000 unemployed laborers in our country, the superinduced deathless competition among those seeking employment—bringing wages down to the starvation point—the tremendous concentration of capital lying idle in bank vaults, are a few of the conditions from which spring Communism, Socialism, and threats of anarchy. Society is daily breeding Jean Valjeans.

What the laboring man wants is not the confiscation or limitation of honestly acquired wealth, but a chance to enter the struggle for existence unhampered by artificial strictures. He only asks that no man or set of men shall be allowed to strangle the demand for his labor. To do him justice, rack rents must be prohibited, quit rents must be instituted. The law must say to the landlord as it does to the usurer: "So far but no farther." In this direction a law of limitation would be both beneficial and operative. Rent acts on our commercial machinery as the governor controls the speed of the engine. When rents are low the mills run night and day, the laborer gets good wages without pressing his claim by a strike, and money flows from the bank vaults into channels of trade at an accelerated speed; but, when rents are high, the commercial machinery slackens, the mills close, failure follows failure, railroad traffic falls off, wages are reduced, strikes become frequent and money again accumulates in vast amounts. The bubble credit bursts, the financial and commercial system is convulsed, and a tremor of horror runs through the community from end to end. We understand how this is possible, when we remember that all legitimate commerce is but an exchange of labor, and that rent, or a charge for the use of the ground, is taken from the product of labor. When the shoemaker completes two pairs of shoes he should be able to purchase, that is exchange them for two pairs of shoes' worth of furniture, or clothing or coal, or any of the necessities or luxuries of life, but when one pair goes for rent he can purchase but half the quantity of these commodities, and can therefore employ but half the labor he otherwise could set in motion. By taking a portion of their labor without giving a return, the landlord prohibits one set of laborers from employing another set, and the intensity of this prohibition or degree of limitation varies with the rise and fall in rents.

A law similar to our usury laws, fixing a rent limit, with reversion of title to the State as the penalty, and allowing the tenant to come into court and petition forfeiture of his landlord's title, would do much and relieve the distress of our laborers, if it did not eradicate or limit man's avarice.

JAMES P. KOHLER.

V.

You will readily judge of the fairness and accuracy of Col. F. D. Grant's article in the REVIEW for December, by noting that the following dispatch should come in at the top of the 514th page, showing, that *before* Halleck's congratulation of Hunter, and *before* he recommended C. F. Smith for promotion—in fact two days before—he had recommended the promotion of Grant:

ST. LOUIS, *Feb.* 17, 1862, 1 P. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN:

Make Buell, Grant, and Pope major-generals of volunteers, and give me command in the West. I ask this in return for Forts Henry and Donelson.

H. W. HALLECK,
Major-General.

Col. Grant knew of this dispatch. It has been public in the "War Records," Vol. VII., page 628, since 1882.

Grant was nominated same day. Halleck asked it, and so *two* days before the dispatches Col. Grant gives about Hunter and C. F. Smith.

GEORGE C. BARTON.

VI.

In a private note accompanying the second part of his article on the campaign of Shiloh, General Beauregard records this interesting fact:

"Just before mounting our horses (on the morning of the second day's fight), it occurred to me to ascertain the pulsations of the human system in the excitement of going into battle. I requested my medical director, Dr. Brodie, to examine the pulses of myself and staff. He found that they varied from ninety to one hundred and thirty."

VII.

THERE is no error more common among the industrial classes than the belief, often expressed in their labor organizations, that capitalists, as a class, are without exception inimical to their interests. While there is often presented plausible evidence for this opinion, yet, both by words and deeds, some of these more fortunate contestants in the battle of life demonstrate their belief that there is need of such legislation or such measures of industrial co-operation as shall tend to distribute more equitably the fruits of our civilization among all classes of society. Among these representative men of wealth there are few more widely known or held in greater honor by their workmen than Pierre Lorrillard. Recently, when congratulated by a workingman for his brave action in the collision of his yacht with a ferry-boat, and warned of an impending conflict between capitalists and labor, he addressed to his correspondent the following letter, which has lately come into my hands, and which, I think, will be read with interest both by employers and employed:

HENRY MARKHAM, Esq.,

DEAR SIR : Your note with inclosure received ; I do not usually answer letters personally as I have so much to attend to, but being at present laid up in the house by an accident which damaged my leg, I thought I would answer your letter.

Allow me to deny any heroic action in looking after my lady guests at the time my yacht collided with the ferry-boat. . . . For a long time I have taken a great and increasing interest in the welfare and happiness of the oppressed of Europe, and also a deep interest in the laboring classes of America, so many of whom I employ. No manufacturer is, I hope, more liked and trusted by his employees than myself, and while never yielding in the least to unjust demands, I have always tried to look after their welfare and happiness, and to gain their confidence and affection.

But the field is broader than my own affairs. I know the irresistible power of the masses, and I sympathize with them in their eternal struggle for existence. I feel for them, well knowing their daily efforts to keep the wolf from the door. Many times have I thought if some plan could not be devised to give them a more equal share in the good things of this life. How to ameliorate their condition is the question. Could not their leaders advise them to look upon the ballot as the most efficient instrumentality to produce for them a more satisfactory state of affairs ? Communism is and always has been a failure. Co-operative works look well in theory, but they have generally failed; and yet I think we must look to them in the near future as the most practicable method of benefiting the laboring classes. When they have honest leaders who consider their welfare as the supreme consideration, we will find them acting with common sense. With communism in operation we would have financial ruin, distress, and want of employment, and it would end in military despotism.

The danger to the people by the accumulation of the enormous fortunes of the present day, and the fact of their being owned by persons who seem to have no respect, love, or common feeling for the people, seems to me a great and important problem. In Europe, princes, kings, and persons of great wealth, use their means in a thousand ways for the gratification, happiness, and refinement of the people around them ; whereas, in this country, they act selfishly, and they are, or appear to be, utterly indifferent to the suffering at their doors. As to your hint of an impending rising among the people, personally I have nothing to fear. Almost all my means are in my factories, and I will always be in the front rank of those who love the people, and shall do all in my power to check them in any madness that bad or ambitious leaders may advocate.

I hold that Labor's remedy is in the BALLOT. It now has a power stronger than armies or navies. By means of it the working classes can so wield the machinery of legislation as to give them all they can ask for in justice. I have no political ambition. I will never willingly enter into political life unless some uprising or concerted action on the part of labor makes it my duty to try to guide this rising tide. For *any* uprising, even if successful, would be of no benefit to the people unless it was directed by capable leaders. Destroy all the wealth and capital of the country, and you would spread financial ruin, deprive labor of employment, and in six months starvation would stare fifty millions of people in the face. When time brought its remedy, we would be the subjects of a modern Bonaparte or Cæsar.

If I should ever be tempted to take a part in public affairs, it shall be simply as a friend of the people. I want no office, and should accept nothing in the gift of the nation; but I should like to see labor organized in such a manner as I could easily suggest, with labor lodges organized on the principle of benevolent associations, and so thoroughly knit together that they would act as one man, thus make their views respected and their influence felt politically and at the election by their ballots. But to do this the Labor Party must not allow itself to be used as a party machine. Its officers must never take office from city, State, or nation. Its committees must be free from all political predilections. It must stand as pure as the Spartans before the world. If these perhaps Utopian ideas could be carried out, we might expect a more equitable division between capital and labor.

You who represent the laboring classes, would do well to consider if you could not find leaders equally true, fair, and honest among those you term "aristocrats"—leaders who would make the interests of labor and their own interests identical—men whose success in this world's affairs is due more to their own business ability and honesty than to the wiles of fate or fortune.

Yours respectfully,

PIERRE LORILLARD.

VIII.

IT makes glad the heart of man to read "Rome and the Inquisitions," in the December number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. History so thoroughly confirms its statements! Mr. Glover tells us, that, yielding to the urgent appeals of Isabella, Sixtus, in 1480, consented to the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain, more for political than religious reasons, and that the pontiffs were ever ready to extend the hand of charity to those who sought protection from the fury of the inquisitors. Turning to the records, we find that the pope issued a bull in November, 1478, authorizing Ferdinand and Isabella to appoint two or three bishops, or other dignitaries of the church, aged at least forty years, and graduates of theology, to seek after and discover all apostates, heretics, and their abettors, with full power to proceed against them. Isabella suspended the execution of the bull for two years. In January, 1481, the court was established in a Dominican convent at Seville. During that year, two hundred and ninety-eight "new Christians" were burnt in Seville alone. Some who were condemned appealed to Rome. The pontiff extended the hand of charity, revoked the authority he had given others to appoint inquisitors, reserving that right for himself. In the kindness of his heart he appointed that eminently just and merciful man, Torquemada, Inquisitor-General of the Kingdom of Castile.

Thus does history demonstrate the truth of Mr. Glover's assertion, that "the atrocities of the Spanish institution were thoroughly Spanish, and the Roman Church may hold herself irresponsible for them." Priests, bishops, cardinals, and popes, may be held responsible, but the Roman Church cannot be held responsible!

EUGENE MANTVERT.

IX.

It is not true, as the author of the Great Psychical Opportunity asserts, that scientists have refused to give attention to such things, or that they have failed to account for the phenomena by recognized laws of matter and mind.

Clairvoyance is only a variety of fortune-telling, and its believers are satisfied with vague shadows, in which an occasional resemblance or coincidence fills their whole mental vision, to the eclipse of all dissimilarity and discrepancy. Mesmerism was thoroughly investigated during the first half of this century by leading European scientists; and, though many for a time were inclined to give more or less credit to its author's claims, the conclusions of Braid and Carpenter are generally accepted by scientific men: that is, the mesmeric state is only artificial sonnambulism. As to dreams, they have the same claim to credibility as fortune-telling, and generally the same believers. The value of presentments is to be judged by the same standard. No note is taken of the failures, which vastly preponderate; while the most trivial fulfillment is magnified by fancy, so that there is no room in the scope of observation for the discrepancies. Apparitions are simply visual hallucinations. Always present in *mania a potu*, generally in other forms of mania, frequently in fevers, prolonged wakefulness, fasting, and prostration, and occasionally with delicate nervous organizations in ordinary health, they require no new principles to explain their occurrence. If truth of tenets be decided by number and honesty of adherents, Christianity must yield to Buddhism.

Spiritualism has been so mixed up with jugglery, that it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to eliminate the latter factor in the phenomena, so as to present a subject for legitimate study. Exposures of its impositions have been made by public lecturers, who performed the usual feats of the mediums and agreed to repeat any others which might be produced. Yet credit must be given to many mediums for honesty and sincerity. Stripped of jugglery and unconscious muscular action, which easily cover all the prodigies of inanimate objects, the performances of the writing and speaking mediums can be explained on grounds already laid down by physiologists. Every well-informed person is aware that muscular actions which are under control of the will, are habitually performed without its exercise and often without consciousness. Fewer persons are aware that mental operations are also carried on without act of will or consciousness, even in waking moments, while the will completely and consciousness mainly are in abeyance during the dreams of sleep. The mind of the writing medium operates without governance of the will, just as his hand does in the writing, but consciousness of the mental and muscular acts is generally preserved, though sometimes only partially so. The same explanation applies to the performances of speaking or trance-mediums. It is quite unnecessary to suppose that either medium is actuated by any force or intelligence exterior to himself. So far as the mental operations are outside his own will, they are essentially dreams, and have no more coherency nor correctness than dreams.

It is a mistake to suppose that spiritualism is capable of any practical and useful application, Its votaries have had about forty years to develop it into a system, and millions of supposed communications from another sphere have been obtained. If such revelations have any value, it must long ago have been realized by speculators of every class, but they have been as fruitless as fortune-telling ; yet no amount of abstract reasoning nor uniform failure can convince credulous minds. Moreover spiritualism, for most of its votaries, has the sanctity of religion. It is received by faith without evidence, or contrary to the best evidence. Such people are not convinced by cold argument, are sensitive, and are best let alone. In a mixed company it is now safer to discuss Christianity and the late civil war than spiritualism.

To sum up, these supposed occult phenomena have received due attention, have been found conformable to established laws, and have been relegated to the realm of witchcraft and other delusions. The extirpation of such belief is a fruitless and hopeless undertaking, and men of science should not be asked to waste their time in useless missionary work. S. S. HERRICK, M. D.

X.

TOWARD the close of his article in the November number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, Dr. Schaff says: " . . we shall probably have a good deal of trouble yet . . . with the public schools, where the civil and ecclesiastical interests come in contact." He then goes on to point out the advantages of the separation of church and state. Permit me to ask if there is one such advantage that might not have its counterpart arising from the separation of *school* and state. Full *educational* liberty ought to be just as highly prized as "full religious liberty." State *schoolism* "makes men rely on the help of the government," just as much as "State churchism" does. In the rapidly increasing capitals of this country, the nominally educated magistrates become more and more indifferent to their duty toward the education that they profess to believe in. In other words, adequate school accommodations are as difficult to obtain in our large cities as are adequate church accommodations in European cities. Are not freedom and independence the best conditions for the growth and prosperity of *schools,* as well as churches ?

H. J. CHASE.

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THE FISHERY QUESTION.

ONCE more, for the seventh time since our history as a nation began, the fishery question is before us for solution. In 1783 the first grant of fishing privileges in Canadian waters was secured, though not without endangering the treaty of peace with Great Britain. After the war of 1812 it was found impossible to obtain the revival of these privileges, and it was not until 1818 that our fishery relations with Great Britain were put on a permanent footing. By the treaty of 1818 the United States consented to a very serious limitation of the rights which they had formerly enjoyed.

Between 1836 and 1851 came the movement of the Provinces to limit the concessions of the treaty of 1818 by a new construction of the three-mile limit, and the passage of certain harassing laws by their legislatures.

In 1854 the Reciprocity Treaty was signed which gave our fishermen the right to fish in waters previously closed to them, but at the price of free entry of Canadian lumber, fish, and certain other products. This arrangement was allowed to terminate in 1865, and, six years later, came a new form of reciprocity under the Treaty of Washington in 1871, the same treaty which provided for the settlement of the Alabama claims. This granted free fishing on the one side and the free entry of fish on the other, but with a provision for striking a balance between the money values of the privileges which each country had received.

In midsummer last this, in turn expired, and after consenting to a temporary extension of the treaty to avoid breaking in upon the fishing season, the administration is now face to face with the fishery question once more.

Is a permanent solution practicable?

For a long time past it has been the policy of maritime states to build up their fisheries in various ways. They were a useful industry, furnishing a cheap and valuable food product, and forming a convenient reservoir for seamen in case of war. Thus by the comity of states, coast fishermen have long been exempted from the operations of naval warfare, from the capture and condemnation as enemy's property to which even yet the mercantile marine is subject. This policy the United States have imitated. Until 1854 they have consistently tried to protect and foster the coast fisheries at the national expense. In the treaty of 1783, for example, the free navigation of the Mississippi was granted as an equivalent for the right to fish in provincial waters. In 1799 a bounty of thirty cents per barrel was granted on all exports of pickled fish. In 1813 the cod-fishermen received a tonnage bounty under conditions. For bankers of over thirty tons this was four dollars per ton. In 1819 this was increased for smaller craft, and in 1846 a duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem* was laid on all imports of fish. Finally, in one of the protocols to the Treaty of Washington, a million dollars were offered for the right to fish in Canadian waters, not otherwise opened, in perpetuity. Under the stimulus of these bounties and duties the tonnage employed in the coast fisheries rapidly increased. On the whole, the thirty or forty years following 1818 were prosperous ones for New England fishermen in spite of somewhat frequent collisions between them and the provincial officials. Our fishermen were often tempted to smuggle; they could not be always kept from fishing in waters not opened to them by treaty; serious misunderstanding arose over the three-mile limit inside which they could not fish, and how it was to be measured. Many American smacks were seized on suspicion, some confiscated, some rescued by their crews, some discharged, but without chance of damages for illegal detention. Both parties to the treaty grew dissatisfied, a new arrangement was desired, and the treaty of 1854 was the result. Then, for the first time, our fishermen paid for enlarged fishery rights, as it were, out of their own pockets. For, though they had a wider range for their fishing, they lost the protected market for their fish. More than this, the Reciprocity Treaty built up formidable competition in Canadian waters. Under the old system the provincial fishermen were in bondage to the traders who supplied their outfits. But, soon, with the American market for their catch, and with a demand on the spot for their provisions, bait, wood, and other articles, they were able to own their boats. We are now told that, under the similar working of the 1871 arrangement, they are outgrowing their boats, and own many fishing-smacks. The treaty of 1854 seems to have been allowed to expire at the wish of our fishermen. Probably the immediate effects of the Reciprocity Treaty outweighed in their minds the possible evils of a return to the basis of the treaty of 1818. For the next four years our experiment was tried by the Canadian Government. A license was charged American smacks of so much per ton, which opened to them the whole inshore fisheries of the Provinces. This was fifty cents the first year, one dollar the next, and two dollars after that. Under the two-dollar arrangement the fourth year but twenty-five vessels were licensed. As the smacks were from fifty to eighty tons burden, this indicates that our fishermen, about 1870, did not consider the Canadian inshore fisheries worth an average of one hundred and fifty dollars apiece to them.

When the license system failed, the Provinces prepared to enforce the rigor of the law, but a new agreement was at hand, and the Home Government moderated their zeal. The new reciprocity treaty of Washington, with its results, is still fresh in our minds.

The most unaccountable and unjust decision of the Halifax Commission awarded a sum of five and one-half millions as the excess of value of the privileges enjoyed by the United States over those granted to Great Britain, in spite of the fact that the entire market value of all fish taken by our fishermen, during the term of the treaty, in treaty-opened waters, did not equal this sum. This again showed the willingness of the Government to aid its fishing interests at the national expense. And this is one point which I wish to emphasize, that except during the first reciprocity treaty, the government has consistently pursued the policy of encouraging the fishing industries in the North-east at the public cost.

An important question now presents itself. Under the working of the reciprocity treaties how have our fishermen fared? As matters are at present situated are they right in wishing to discontinue all reciprocity arrangements—to return to the basis of the treaty of 1818? And what are their rights under the treaty of 1818? This treaty is by its terms perpetual, and is the foundation upon which all other agreements have been built. It granted the right to fish along the northern, the western, and part of the southern coasts of Newfoundland; off the Labrador coast from Anticosti indefinitely northward, and along the shores of the Magdalen Islands. For shelter and the purchase of wood and water only, were American fishermen to have access elsewhere. Certain rights of landing and drying fish were also granted, but these are no longer valuable, as fish are now differently cured and handled. Besides this they have, of course, the high-sea fisheries, which are free to all men, and which include the greater portion of the cod and halibut and two-thirds of the mackerel catch. Some few herring have been caught off Grand Manan, some cod-fish bait like capelin in the bays of Newfoundland, and a few cod and halibut there and in other places. But it is principally the mackerel inshore fishing in the autumn along the coasts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, and this alone, that the reciprocity treaties have opened to us. This was once of considerable value. The mackerel men met the incoming shoals off the Atlantic coast from New Jersey to the capes, in the spring. A little later they followed them up to Block Island, Cape Cod, and the Massachusetts Bay. The Maine coast was a favorite ground, and many vessels went no farther eastward. But the majority sailed past the Nova Scotia coast, through the Gut of Canso, and spent the late summer in the Bay of St. Lawrence, fishing broad. Not until autumn did they avail themselves of the treaty-opened waters, particularly in the bight of the bay of Prince Edward Island and off Margaree, where mackerel were found close in, in large quantities.

But now two things have combined to make this late inshore mackerel fishing of little value. For a number of years, after 1876, the mackerel seem to have deserted those waters. They are a capricious fish, very uncertain in their appearance and movements, sometimes swarming in vast numbers along certain coasts, and then for years deserting them almost altogether. Now they are frequenting the Bay of St. Lawrence again but, during 1878, '79, '80 and '81, the bay fishing was a failure. And, secondly, the introduction of the purse-seine has completely changed the fishermen's programme. All attempts to use the purse-seine in the gulfs have proved failures, with few exceptions, so that, since 1870, our mackerel men have confined their operations more and more to our own shores.

In 1873, 254 fishing vessels caught 77,011 barrels of packed mackerel in Canadian waters, of which 25,670 came from within the three mile limit.

In 1877, 60 vessels caught 7,319 barrels, and in 1882 one vessel caught 275 barrels, of which not over 100 barrels came from waters opened by the Reciprocity Treaty. The value of these 100 barrels was $2,337.50. The amount paid for the privilege of catching them $458,333, besides the remission of duty at one cent per pound on many million pounds of Canadian fish. These striking figures * prove how little use our fishermen make of the privileges bought for them by the Treaty of Washington. They show sufficiently one reason why they believe a further resort to reciprocity undesirable. But, in their view, there is another and a stronger reason. The remission of duty on Canadian fish has built up a powerful competition in the Provinces, and lowers the profits on their own catch.

In 1869, during the interval between the reciprocity treaties, the "Halifax Chronicle" said: "From the making of the reciprocity treaty until the abrogation, Nova Scotia increased in wealth and population at a most extraordinary rate ; from its abrogation until the present, we have retrograded with the most frightful rapidity. Want of a good market has depreciated the value of our coal mines ; has nearly pauperized our fishermen, farmers and miners, and should this want not be supplied in the only way it can be, by a new treaty with the United States, Nova Scotia will in five years be one of the least desirable countries to live in on this continent." †

Between 1850 and 1870, for example, the settlements along the Gut of Canso were greatly prospered; the small traders made their fortunes ; the farmer-fishermen flourished. When, owing to the introduction of the purse-seine, Americans no longer resorted there, the settlements became deserted. The traders moved away and the wharves are rotting down. This is a single illustration of the value to the Provinces of the American trade at their own doors,

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* "Report of U. S. Fish Commission, 1881," page 520.

† Quoted in Cape Ann "Advertiser" of July 2, 1869.

and of the free American market for their fish. Their mackerel fishery was created by the treaty of 1854, and since 1873 their exports of pickled mackerel to the United States have averaged 75,000 barrels, about one-quarter of our entire consumption. Their fishing capital in boats and vessels, their enterprise, and their power of competition, have all largely increased in the mackerel and in other fisheries.

The articles in provincial newspapers, the speeches of Canadian politicians, the demands of their diplomacy, all prove the same thing: the vast importance to them of a free American market for fish. That Canadian competition and the removal of the duty lowered the price of fish and the profits of our fishermen hardly needs demonstration. Canadian competition means larger imports; shortly after the treaty of 1871 took effect, one-quarter larger; in 1880 more than twice as large as the average during the interval between the reciprocity treaties when duty was on. This larger supply means lower prices than would otherwise have obtained.

The remission of a duty of one cent per pound also lowers prices; not by one cent but by a fraction of a cent, according to the amount imported. Mackerel averaged fifty-five cents per barrel lower during the reciprocity treaties than during the interval between them.* In view of facts such as these, can there be any reasonable doubt that, with the fisheries conducted as at present, reciprocity inflicts a serious pecuniary damage upon our fishing industries? Can there be any doubt that the Canadians are deriving great profit from it? Our fishermen naturally protest against the renewal of a reciprocity arrangement. The Canadian fishermen are eagerly desirous of one.

Now, does it follow from all this that no fishery arrangement with Great Britain is desirable? Can we simply fall back upon the treaty of 1818, and declare that we want nothing more? I do not think so.

The uncertain nature and habits of the mackerel have been already alluded to. They have completely deserted the Bay of Fundy. For years they were scarce throughout the whole Gulf of Newfoundland; meanwhile, they became plentiful off the coast of Maine. But no one can predict how long this state of things will continue. In a few years the situation may be entirely changed.

* Documents, Halifax Commission Award.

The mackerel may abandon our own shores and swarm again in the Gulf. Already they are growing more plentiful there. Five years hence our fishermen may clamor for the privileges which they now despise. And again, there are signs that the purse-seine may be discarded. The mackerel-men may return to the old-fashioned hook fishing, or to jigging. The purse-seine is vastly destructive of fish; large and small of all qualities being captured together. Not a year has gone by since 1870 without protests against its use. Thus, in 1878, a delegation of fishermen from Portland and Gloucester went to Washington to secure the passage of a law prohibiting the use of the purse-seine in the mackerel fishery. If this should take place, we must again resort to Canadian waters, for hook fishing works there better than on our own coast.

What *does* follow, is that reciprocity is no longer wise or admissible. It is reciprocity only in name. What we grant the Canadians is of constant and great value. What they grant us is of fluctuating and doubtful value. And this is the third point upon which I should insist: that free fishing and the free entry of fish should no longer be coupled together. They have no necessary relation. The one was taken simply as the most convenient diplomatic equivalent for the other. With our present knowledge, to balance one against the other is a sheer speculation and likely to be a losing one. Let each question be argued on its own merits. Shall we secure the opening of all Canadian waters for our fishermen? I believe that a wise and statesman-like foresight demands this. Nothing is more foolish than to argue that because we do not need it now, we shall never need it. A change in the habits of the fish, or a change in the methods of the fishermen, would make it indispensable; and both are possible. If we rely on the treaty of 1818 alone, when our smacks resort again to the Gulf, we shall at once have a repetition of the difficulties and controversies which marked the old order of things. Arbitrary arrests; armed resistance; the question of the three-mile limit; the right to navigate the Gut of Canso; the right of transshipment; bitter feeling; cruisers confronting each other; unpleasant diplomatic struggles; all these rise up from the past to witness against it. How shall we secure the opening of Canadian waters? I reply, *by the payment of a lump sum for the right to fish in perpetuity.* This was tried in 1871. It is in accordance with the precedents of our past history. It would open forever privileges which may become of very great value. It would solve the fishery question finally. It would heal a long open sore. This is a good time to buy, when what our neighbors have to sell seems worthless. They need the trade of our fishermen. It is a wise policy for them to encourage this without equivalent. They could well afford to open to us their waters simply for the traffic our vessels would bring. Matters have changed since 1871. The refusal of a million for this privilege then does not imply the refusal of half that sum now.

With all waters opened to our fishermen, they can compete on favorable terms with all rivals, and enable us to approach our second inquiry with less restraint.

Hitherto we have regarded solely the interests of our fisheries. When we ask if a duty shall be laid on foreign fish, however, it affects the nation at large. This is purely an internal question, and our inquiry might properly end here. But the statement of this second question may be of interest. It is this—Shall we protect the fishermen's market by a duty on all foreign fish, and raise the average value of their catch at the expense of the fish-eating population? This is a tax on the food of the poor. It is not a heavy tax. Duty free, Canadian imports of fish bear a comparatively small proportion to our whole consumption; of mackerel, one-fourth, of other fish, less. Our lake fisheries, and those along the Southern coast, are growing, free from competition. The consumption of fresh fish has largely increased, owing to quicker transportation and better packing, so that salted fish is relatively less valuable. This modifies but does not change the question.

Having bought for our fishermen enlarged fishery rights, is it necessary to maintain for them a protected market? The conditions of this problem may change, and, if we leave ourselves free, we may change our policy from time to time, but may leave it a purely internal question. But with reciprocity—giving free entry of fish for the free rights of fishing—we make it an affair of foreign policy; we give up our liberty of action, and tie our hands for years.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPHY.

It appears to me that the time has arrived when the Government of the United States should purchase, in the interest of the people, all the telegraph lines in the country. There are many practical business reasons for such a course, a few of which I will specify.

Glancing, in the first place, at all the precedents, it must be remembered that all the telegraph lines of the Old World belong to the governments of the countries in which they are located. Communication by telegraph has become almost as common, and quite as necessary, as communication by letter. Why should not the two branches of what is really one service to the public be brought together in this country, as in other countries, and placed under one management? It would certainly be a great convenience to the people if every telegraph office were a post-office, and every post-office a telegraph office. As letters are sent to all parts of the United States for two cents, and papers and magazines at one cent for every four ounces, so, I think, a telegraph message should be sent to any part of the United States at the lowest price at which experience has shown it possible that the transmission can be effected. The Press, which sends long messages, and these partly for the general information of the people, if partly also for private business gain, should be charged half the usual rates.

In regard to the method of conveying the property of the telegraph companies to the Government, a law should, in my judgment, be passed by Congress, regulating all the purchases in such a way that every company should be bound by a principle. Each telegraph company should select an arbitrator, and the Government should choose another. In case of disagreement between these two, they should choose a third, who ought to be a man thoroughly experienced, and regarded as an expert in the business. These arbitrators should have power to examine all reports and accounts, so as to arrive at the fact as to the actual net profits which the line or lines had earned during any given year—say 1885, inasmuch as the transfer of the telegraph property from private hands to the public should be made at once—the sooner the better—if the public benefits to which I have pointed demand it. The Government should then establish, as a principle, that the stock of a company which had earned five per cent., clear profit, must be rated at par in making the purchase, and rated in the same ratio if earning either more or less. Thus, if five per cent. gave par, four per cent. would give eighty ; three per cent. sixty ; and so on.

It will be asked, of course, where the United States Government is to procure the money to make the purchases. It can be done very easily and satisfactorily. Let there be, for the purpose, an issue of three per cent. bonds. The Government will thus be enabled to reap the profit on the investment, as between three and five per cent., and also gain on the constantly increasing business and by the great saving in rent of offices. This two per cent. surplus would form a sinking fund for the redemption and payment of the bonds. These bonds should have fifty years to run. No difficulty would be experienced in raising the money, as individuals and estates would be glad to invest in such securities. Under this arrangement, the United States Government would, in much less than fifty years, own all the telegraph lines in the country, and actually without cost to the Government or people. This principle was adopted by the English Government, and was found to be just to all.

It is imagined by some persons that danger would arise from the ownership of the telegraph lines by the United States, on account of our frequent changes in the administration of the government. But I believe this apprehension is entirely without foundation. The measure would be for the good of all political parties, as well as of all the people. The Government telegraph lines would be in no greater danger than the post-office. The overturn or change in the Government does not destroy the administration of the post-office, but often helps to improve it.

Is it asked, how long a time would elapse before the people would enjoy the benefits of reduced telegraph rates ? No doubt exists in my mind that if the United States Government should enter into the business, the reduction of expense in running the telegraph lines would begin at once. There would be no necessity for so many telegraph offices—often in the same building—with their attendant expense for rent and attachés. The post-office would also be the telegraph office. The reduction in cost alone would be one of the means of enabling messages to be sent at a far lower price than at the present time. It would therefore be only a short time before the public would be reaping the advantages of the change in the system. As I have already explained, the United States Government would have possession and complete control over the telegraph systems of the country, and actually without cost to the people.

It may be objected, however, that not all telegraph companies are successful. Some of them do not pay. But why? For the simple reason that the expenses are too great in operating the lines. Often two or three offices belonging to different companies are located in a small place. There is not business enough for all of them to live upon. They contend with each other for business, and, in the strife, rates are cut so as not to pay operating expenses, in that district, for either of them. This result is of no permanent benefit to the public at large, and the companies are unable to maintain themselves during the conduct of the useless warfare.

And now the final question arises: Would the telegraph companies agree to sell their lines to the Government? As a practical answer to this question it may be sufficient to say that the plan was found to be a good one in England, and that it proved to be fair and acceptable to all parties.

CYRUS W. FIELD.

WHY AM I A UNITARIAN?

THE Unitarian Church of America is a body small in comparison with most of the other churches. It has no creed, imposed by authority, and the single statement, which all its members would agree to, is the statement that they would have no such formal dogmatic statement. Every member of this church is free to make his own formula of belief or conviction, or to make none.

Practically, however, the Unitarians are people who lay great stress on character. They would say that the essentials of religion are Faith, Hope and Love. This is what all communions say. But, while other communions have to spend much money and time, in maintaining against each other their ritual, their dogma, or their method of government, this Unitarian Church, having no special ritual, no distinctive doctrine, and no authorized form of government, exists only to proclaim its gospel, and to bring in the kingdom of God, in the world. Ask what this gospel is,—and you find it is simply Faith, Hope, and Love, the elements of Eternal Life, as Paul described them. They are the Unitarian's religion. Faith in a Father above himself,—Hope in an Eternal Future, and Love for all the children of that Father. He organizes with others, that he may quicken his own Faith, Hope, and Love, and may extend Faith, Hope, and Love over the world, and he has no other object in his organization.

I have been asked by the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to say in a short article why I am a Unitarian. This means, why am I a member of the Unitarian Church of America, for there are many Unitarians, who have not connected themselves with it. There is a sense in which all Christians are Unitarians. Dr. Hook, who was called the "high and dry" doctor of the Anglican Church, says in his Dictionary : "UNITARIANS. A title which certain heretics who do not worship the true God assume most unfairly, to convey the impression that those who worship the one and only God do not hold the doctrine of the Divine Unity. Christians worship the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity." Dr. Hook is entirely mistaken in his historical statement, as in some others. In fact, the name Unitarian seems to have been first applied to the people in Hungary, who wished to harmonize all confessions, and held by the decrees for toleration formulated by the Convention at Thorde in 1563. It would be interesting to know whether the word "Unitarius" occurs earlier in history. The Unitarian communion is as old as Christianity.

The Unitarian Church believes in the present work of God in the world. The words, "Our Father" of the Lord's Prayer, "Children of God," "Sons of God," in the New Testament, are not poetical phrases to these people, but expressions of the real divinity of human nature, to which all its improvement in the past is due, and from which indefinite improvement in the future may be expected. The Unitarian Church has been called in ecclesiastical language, "the Church of the Holy Spirit," so resolute are its writers to admit no authority in the past, which shall overrule the right of the present to examine every opinion, and to determine, in the present moment, the value of every law. This does not imply any disrespect to the mission of Christ, or the instruction of the Gospels, or the historic Church. The Unitarians are constantly charged with such disrespect. It is supposed that they will be "Antinomians," or lawless people. But in truth, as has been said, they lay very great stress on character, and, in practice, regard character as the test of religion. Having no formula of creed to offer as such a test, they have no way to judge of men but by their fruits, and they seek no other.

It ought not be difficult to understand, philosphically, the position of such a communion regarding Christian history, or the Christian records. The Church of the Holy Spirit believes in God's presence with man. As he is present "now," he was present "then." Respect for his present love does not involve disrespect for his older revelations, for if he was present "then," he is present "now." If, indeed, men were not quite besotted in their determination to make God into a larger man, and to bind him with the restraints of time and place, it would be simply impossible for them to conceive of him as making one Revelation at one "*time*," and another at another "*time*"—or to make more Revelation at one "*time*" than at another. There is no "time" to the Infinite God. The creeds, even, are willing to admit this. If man would admit it, in their own common sense and common language, we should be spared many of the annoyances of men-made theologies.

First, then, the Unitarian Church exists for the worship of God. But faith in God is not the only element of religious life. And, like all other Christian people, the Unitarian Church believes in the immortality of man. It undertakes to manage life here on the plan and scale in which immortal beings can and should live. It is not enough to believe in immortality. Man must live as immortals live.

And such faith in God and such expectation of immortality involve of course personal duty, and define man's personal relation to other men. The Unitarian Church is seeking the coming of God's kingdom. His kingdom will come, as men all recognize God as father. Their own brotherhood follows, of necessity. The Scripture texts therefore, again, are, for us, not exaggerated.

"God has made of one blood all nations of men." "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ." These texts state for the Unitarian Church the relation of man with man.

And, indeed, here is the whole of the Unitarian religion, and, as Unitarians believe, the whole religion of Jesus Christ: Faith in God, Hope of Heaven, Love of Man. When Paul named "Faith, Hope and Love," as the abiding and eternal elements of life, the same for men as for angels, he was not speaking rhetorically. He meant that in these three may be found the full life of God's children.

I suppose it necessary, in the outset of my article, to make this statement of what the Unitarian Church is, because I know very well that half the readers of this article have never heard of that church—or if they have, have heard of it only in some smart fling in a controversial sermon, where Unitarians and Universalists are turned over to contempt, perhaps with "paynim hounds," or perhaps with "publicans or sinners."

Why should there be any separate church to maintain these simple principles which belong to all Christian communions? The answer is simple. The Unitarian Church exists simply to bring in the kingdom of God. It has nothing else to do. It cannot call a council to try a preacher for heresy. It has no creed and can have no heretics. If a congregation wants a man to preach, he will preach. If it does not come to hear him he must address the walls. The Unitarian Church never has to revise its platform. It has no platform to revise. It has none of the side occupations of the other churches. It simply has to bring in the kingdom of God, to make His presence and power clear to people who have not found Him, have not seen Him, or have not heard Him.

This is no place to go into a discussion of the points of detail where Christians of this nineteenth century school, or of the Present Holy Spirit, differ from the theologies which took form between the fourth century and our own time.

It is enough to say, that we regard the fixed old formulas of those theologies as always dangerous, and as often oppressive. The world grows. Its science advances because its knowledge advances. Religion, which is the life of man with God, is always the same. But theology, which is the statement of what man knows and can tell of himself, of Heaven and of God, ought to be always new.

It is because of the cramp or restriction, placed by mediæval theology on the thought and purpose of educated men, that educated and intelligent men speak sometimes with contempt, more often with doubt, and very often in denial of the Christian religion. A letter before me, from an accomplished scholar in natural science, in England, says frankly, "I have never been able to understand myself, how Christianity has ever survived modern astronomy and the study of comparative religion." When I read this to a Unitarian, who has been educated in the Unitarian Church, and has known little or nothing of theological dogma, he cannot understand it. "What in the world has modern astronomy to do with the religion of Jesus Christ?" he asks. But many a reader of these words will know perfectly well, what this writer means.

So long as men believed, with Dante, for instance, that this world was the center of creation, and the important part of it, that sun and stars were only convenient lights set to enlighten this world, and revolving daily about it, so long it was not difficult to believe that God once took a special human form, went and came in Palestine, and, if you please, died upon the cross. So long it was possible to think of him in a certain place; to think of the Saviour as now "sitting at his side," and to adopt in good faith many of the mediæval formulas of theology or Christology.

But, in that sense, this is not possible now. When a man says now that God was incarnate in Christ, he does not mean what the Church fathers of the middle ages meant. When, therefore, an amiable and well-meaning man, like Dr. Thomson, says that when Jesus Christ walked about Nazareth, he must have taken a peculiar interest in traveling about the hills he had made, he says something which is simply ridiculous to men of this time. They know that Nazareth and its hills were formed by an Infinite Power, about whose name there may be question; about whose nature there may be division. And they know that it is not in any fair sense of words that any one says that Jesus Christ, who walked in Nazareth, made those hills, any more than Mary, his mother, made them.

When, therefore, any church of any communion ties up in its creed any statement which looks that way, such a man as writes this letter to me simply sets aside that church, as belonging to an era before Galileo.

But the Unitarian Church makes no such pretensions. It worships God as the father of men. It is willing to say that Jesus Christ taught the world to worship God as the father of men. But God had been man's father before Jesus Christ; and many men in many lands, who never heard of Jesus Christ, tried to worship God as father of men. To the Unitarian Church, the "comparative religion," or the study of comparative religion, brings no terror. It only brings more examples of the universal presence of that Spirit of Truth, which in the New Testament is called "the Holy Spirit." It is, as has been said, to this Holy Spirit, always present with men because men are of the divine nature, that the Unitarian Church, from first to last, appeals.

What we try for, then, in forming our churches, is religion, independent of theology. Let every man have such a theology as he likes. He may or may not make a statement as to the nature of God. He may or may not understand the nature of Christ. He may or may not know how to reconcile free knowledge in God with free will in man. All this is no affair of the Unitarian Church. For what we are eager about is religion, and not theology. A simple and provable theology certainly is a very good thing; just as a simple doctrine of attraction, or of electricity, or of evolution, is a very good thing; but religion, the life of man with God, or his infinite and immortal life, is a greater reality, and is the only reality for which our churches as churches stand and care.

We withdraw ourselves from the other organizations because they do not yet say this. Their leaders do not yet dare proclaim the severance from religion, of human opinion about God and man and Christ. When they do, they also will proclaim themselves Unitarians. The Unitarian Church consists of men and of churches who in practice make this distinction.

We make it in our time, chiefly because the mediæval theological armor worn by most of the church is so oppressive. It does not belong to this time. Literature will have nothing to do with it. Science will have nothing to do with it. History shows pitilessly that it came from very questionable origins; and in practice it does not serve any purpose of to-day.

Take the doctrine of total depravity—the invention of ecclesiastics. Nine-tenths of the Christians of America try to believe it to-day. They try to believe that nine-tenths of the human family are "incapable of good." They can be made to say, on occasion, that nine-tenths of the human family, not having been converted, are "of their own nature inclined to evil," and that therefore "every person born into this world deserves God's wrath and damnation." That is the Sunday theory—but if you meet these men Monday they hold no such theory. Every one of them asks a stranger the road—quite sure that he will tell the truth if he can—quite sure that he is not inclined of nature to lie. The people of this country have with great confidence trusted its whole welfare to universal suffrage. Christian men join cordially in that trust. They never would have done so had they really believed that all the voters, or nine-tenths of the voters, are "incapable of good," or that they "deserve God's wrath and damnation." The statement of such depravity is a bit of old-fashioned talk, which only hampers the church. The Unitarian Church cuts loose from all such talk; it will not puzzle young people or old people with it. It holds to religion, and it bids theology stand on one side.

I doubt if it is necessary for me to give other illustrations. I think that illustrations of the cramp, as I called it, the hinderance and obstruction of theologies, which the churches carry as matters of sentiment and history, and not as matters of present conviction, have been presenting themselves, all along, to people who have read thus far in this paper. A statesman of some distinction, said to my brother, Charles Hale, some twenty years ago, that the men in the pulpit must keep quiet about political matters. "They make us say we believe a lot of things that nobody does believe, and if we say that, they must keep themselves quiet about the affairs of the State." This was, substantially, his declaration. Now that notion is derived simply and purely from the unwillingness,—mainly fed in colleges and "seminaries,"—to throw old things overboard in theology. The professors and historians feel as they might if you asked them to break some fine old stained glass windows, because the figures were out of drawing. "It is so venerable," they say. "It is so in harmony with our traditions." But they will find out, and are finding out, that the "Spirit of Truth" does not care much for traditions or venerableness. The children of God will be apt to assert the privileges of children of God. God is at hand. And His children are very apt, when they have once began, to confide in Him.

The particular point where, in America, the mediæval theology has given way most hopelessly in our time, is its horrible dogma about hell. That myth is too terrible for an intelligent, God-loving race of children of God to hold to, after they have any sense of their own rights and powers. Our friends, the Universalists, have the honor of leading the attack on this dogma, and they must have a noble satisfaction at seeing now that people have come to that last step of belief, in which they say they have always known it was untrue.* But the creeds maintain it still. No religious communion excepting the Unitarians and Universalists has dared to throw it over, as a bit of mere pagan addition to Christian truth. While the sects hold to it, they will remain so far parted from the simple church of the "Spirit of Truth."

And here I ought to say that there is no distinction, excepting those of history and organization, between the Unitarian and the Universalist churches of America. As organizations, they spring from two origins. I suppose it is fair to say that the Universalist churches are the direct and legitimate offspring of Calvinism. "If an infinite atonement were made, why should not all men be saved by it." This was the pitiless question of its founders.

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* Louis Agassiz says there are three stages of popular opinion regarding any new statement:

1. That it is contrary to the Bible.
2. That it has been announced before.
3. That the people talking always believed it.

The Unitarian churches of New England came from Arminianism. "We know salvation is free! It is free for all men." But these are distinctions of the past,—are only of interest to historians. The two churches now, with different national organizations, stand, as I suppose, for just the same ideas.

Another illustration of the wretched hamper of the creeds which naturally attracts attention now, is the difficulty of adjusting them to what men really know of the word of God in the world. A man is satisfied, for instance, that the nebular theory stands on good ground,—that the presumption is in its favor. He need not, therefore, disbelieve that a present spirit is in all the motions and changes which that theory supposes. He may worship that Spirit—may give Him a name. He may feel and know that this present Spirit is in all life. But, when he goes to church, and is told by the preacher, that this Spirit made the world "by his Son," or "through his Son"—he answers, at once, that this is not the present law—God in all life—which he has been told is the basis of religion. He says that the intervention of subordinate—or in any sense secondary powers—between the power which IS, and the movement which is to be explained—is a return to the spirit of heathenism, or of many gods.

But I may as well stop in one place as another in enumerating instances where the mediæval creeds, still existing in most churches, defy and stand in the way of the intelligent, conscientious well-informed convictions of to-day.

But here, just at the year 1886, there comes in a very curious temporary suggestion, which at this moment is an element of a good deal of importance when a man is asked why he is attached to the Unitarian Church.

The suggestion is made on all hands, that all the churches are ridding themselves of their mediævalism as fast as they can. The ministers preach it less and less. Only the ministers believe in it at all, it is often said. In substance the laymen do not care for it. When one contends that Jesus Christ did not make the hills around Nazareth; or that there is no eternal hell; or that men are not totally depraved, we are told that he is merely attacking straw men. When we say that Faith, Hope and Love are the essentials, we are told that all churches hold to them.

This statement of the laxity of all the mediæval churches is well founded.

The truth is that the whole method of religious communion has been changed in the last two centuries, and therefore the whole statement of the sects has been changed. Nobody knows this better than the professed theologians, and I need not spend a word in arguing it with them. To laymen, who do not pretend to be professed theologians,—there are a hundred illustrations easy to cite. Imagine the minister of an Episcopal church asking one of his parishoners why he does not receive the sacrament. Imagine the reply, "Because I do not believe that Jesus of Nazareth is now sitting in Heaven awaiting the last day, with his flesh and bones and all that appertaineth to human nature. This is one of the articles of your church, and I will not pretend that I believe it." We know perfectly well what the minister's answer would be. It would be simply, "Do not distress yourself about that; that is simply a matter of history. We print it in the prayer book as matter of history. At best, the language is obscure in all statements written in another century. One man may interpret it in one way, and another in another, and a third may dismiss it without interpreting it at all." Nor is such laxness at all peculiar to the Episcopal Church. I think the Methodist Church of America would receive me into its pulpit to-morrow, without requiring my assent to one of its articles, if it really believed that I regarded Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. Why! even in the Catholic Church they are perfectly willing to waive the assumption of infallibility. Thus, in their infallibility, they have said, and still say that no man or woman shall read Milton's Paradise Lost. But does anybody suppose that an intelligent Catholic hesitates to read Milton's Paradise Lost? Or if, having read it, he met the priest and asked for absolution for his sin, would this be anything but a joke? So, I could name without difficulty fifty Unitarians who are now received to the communion of churches of stiff Calvinistic creeds, with the perfect understanding on the part of the persons who receive them, that they do not believe these creeds.

Now all this means, simply, that the methods and statements of churches are wholly changed. The directors of churches once thought these things of the first importance. They do not think so now. They think they are of secondary importance, or of no importance at all. The truth is that the Christian church can no longer afford to play with this fol-de-rol of minute distinctions.

When a host is gathering for battle, the chiefs of its different corps do not discuss the figures of the embroidery on the jackets of the men. There are now many people, who are people of consideration too, who tell the church to her face that she is a venerable humbug; that the church must prove herself good for something. There are many people who tell her ministers that there is no God, and no immortality. There are some there who say they know no distinction between right and wrong. There are so many of these people—intelligent and considerable people—that she has to determine to attend to the essentials of her business and to let the non-essentials go. "It may be for years and it may be forever," that she must give up the luxury of fooling with them. "The business of the Church of Christ is to be on the aggressive. She has no defensive armor. When she is not on the aggressive she is lost." Like everything else in Heaven above or on the earth beneath, she will be judged by her fruits, and only so.

To this general statement, every large-minded churchman of every communion consents. True, you would find men who did not assent, but they are "backward-looking sons of time." They are not men of this age. They are specimens of another age, probably formed with care and difficulty in some mediæval school of theology. The statement I have made would be agreed upon in spirit or for "substance of doctrine" by all broad churchmen of whatever communion.

It is here that there comes in the very curious temporary suggestion now made to us on every side.

Does not this show then that the Unitarian Church, as an independent or in any way a separate communion, is unnecessary? If a Roman Catholic priest will excuse me with a laugh, from the commands of the Index; if an Episcopal priest can say to me that the thirty-nine articles are only a matter of history; if a Presbyterian is willing to receive me to his communion table, nay to baptize my child, why should I be more careful about their consistency than they are? Why should I not take them at their word? "Let the dead bury the dead! If these gentlemen are not annoyed by such relics of mediæval darkness, why should I be?"

I put that question once to an intelligent and devoted preacher who was coming to us from an Orthodox pulpit. He answered it in a single sentence. He had given me a sketch of his last Sunday's sermon. Nothing more broad was ever preached by Martineau or Bellows or Savage. He had preached it to six hundred people in an Evangelical Orthodox church in Connecticut, and they seemed well pleased. I said, at once, "Why come to us then? Stay with this people. We do not care a fig what they call themselves. Congregationalists or Unitarians—that is all one. Half our churches do not take the Unitarian name, which is in fact the only purely earthly thing we carry. Stay where you are. Nothing can be more free than that is." The poor man looked puzzled, for an instant, and then said, "Oh, you do not understand at all. Why! I shall have to pay for that sermon, now, all through four or five Sundays. For so long a time as that, at least, I must preach about Noah's Ark, or Solomon's Temple, or the fall of man, or the decrees, or some other bit of those things. It is not more than once in six weeks that I have the privilege of such audacious freedom as I enjoyed last Sunday." When one asks who takes away his freedom, the answer varies. But it always is "they" who will not permit, whoever "they" may be. It is some "association" or "consociation," some "synod" or "presbytery," some newspaper editor or some bishop, some coterie of gossips or some council of prelates which practically has the power of hindering this young man from saying in the pulpit of God's house what be believes to be the truth of God.

That clergyman's statement of his unwillingness to be longer governed by "*they*" or by "*them*" was a sufficient answer to my question. We who are in the Unitarian Church choose to be where there is no such oversight or watchfulness. Unless a man will proclaim the best thing he knows, we do not want him to proclaim anything. We do not want any half-hearted utterances. We do not want any blinded leaders.

Granting, however, that a preacher cannot, in honor, preach in the pulpit of a church which holds to theories which he believes false, laymen are told that this is no concern of theirs. They do not want to preach. And it is in conformity with this view, that so many Unitarians now assist in the worship of churches, whose creeds belong hundreds of years ago, and do not belong to our time. There is, however, certainly a great danger here.

A man is expected to sit, or to kneel in a church where the ministrations, to a certain extent, have the ring of a mere function. That is to say, they are continued, week in and out, not because anybody cares much for them now in this form, but because some one else arrayed them so a great while ago. Now, here, the whole question is, whether the service is a function, or whether it is genuine and spontaneous. I shall never forget the expression, almost of agony, on the face of a Catholic priest at Mayence, whose duty it was to repeat the Lord's prayer thirty-five times in one hour, in a service called the "triginta." He tried so hard to make the words real every time, and he knew the hypocrisy of the whole if they were not. I wonder if that poor fellow is in this world now.

Now, if that man be a hypocrite, his service does me no good, nor anybody; no, nor if he be a machine. For myself, I can attend the service of the Roman Church with pleasure and profit. I am no sectarian, and though that church is "first of schismatics," I, who belong to the older church, can condone her heresy. If I find myself in a Catholic town in Europe, where there is no Protestant Church, I always go to worship with the Catholics. I can continue to do so, till the thing rings false. Perhaps the priest shrugs his shoulders when he talks to me in private of a miracle. Perhaps, because he knows I am a heretic, he makes to me confessions which he would not make standing in the pulpit. From that moment, I cannot join in a service conducted by that man. Here, I think, all serious men would agree with me, be they clergymen or laymen.

But why not carry that analogy farther? What is the moral attitude of a church which deliberately says that certain lines of inquiry shall not be pursued? What is the attitude of the Roman Church, which publishes, every year, a list of books which shall not be read? What is the attitude of the Methodist Church, which, within the year past, has been turning professors out of its Southern colleges, because they assented to the doctrine of evolution? What is the attitude of the Episcopal Church, broad as it tries to be? Does it believe in the "resurrection of the body," in the sense with which common people take those words, in the sense of Michael Angelo's picture of the Judgment? When I asked an Episcopal minister that question, he said if I did not like the Apostles' Creed, I might take the Nicene—which says nothing about the resurrection of the body. What is the attitude of a church, which, while it claims all the advantages of a creed, offers you two, and tells you that you may pick and choose? We understand entirely the position of a church which binds no man to any written creed. That is the position of the Unitarian Church. But, to have a creed when you want it, and not to have it when you do not want it—to have a creed in public, and not to have one in private—that is a different thing. When we find that in a church, we say the false ring affects the whole. How are we to train our children in such a church? Are they to repeat the creeds or not? Are they to repeat one or the other? Are they to turn over to the end of the book and read the articles of religion? Or are they to be told that these are only good for clergymen, and not for little boys and girls?

So of the position of Unitarians in a Presbyterian Church, generous as that church often is. We are told that we may safely worship with our Presbyterian brethren, and that they will not be hard on us. They will not ask us to sign their articles. They will ask us to send our children to their Sunday School. They will ask us to contribute to their missions. We must, indeed, do this as men of honor, if we share in the advantages of their united worship. But what are the Sunday schools and missions to teach? Why, we are asked to help to teach the doctrines of the Westminster Catechism. The Presbyterian Church has, at no time, squarely and above board, said that modern philosophy, modern literature, modern science, and, in a word, the whole modern world, repudiate those doctrines. We may, then, sit in the pews. We need not sing an offensive hymn. But does this business stop there? No! We are made partners in the guilt of that church, if we do what we are asked to do. Every time she refuses ordination to an honest man, simply because he does not believe in the eternal damnation of half mankind, we shall be made partners in what she is doing.

Simply—and very fortunately—it is impossible to draw any line, in a country where the church is free, between the responsibility of the clergy and that of the laity. Fortunately indeed! That church is near its end, which has one creed for its laymen and another for its ministers.

I write all this with entire kindness to Christians in other religious communions. I know too well the difficulties of their position to be hypercritical or severe. Here are suits of armor in which their fathers did battle in the days of chivalry, and did battle well. And now the men of to-day have outgrown that armor. Yet it is so beautiful. It has so many noble associations! It is very hard to put it off and to be done with it forever. We know all that, and we are sorry for them. Some of us have had this very thing to do. But because we are sorry they must not ask us to put the armor on.

Simply: the Unitarian Church, quite indifferent to tradition, exists only to bring in the kingdom of God where it can. It has no other reason for existence. It need not discuss decrees, or rubrics, or embroideries, or doctrines. It is all one to us whether Athanasius ever wrote his creed, or whether anybody meant it for a creed, or no. We are the living Church of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit of God, to-day, with every suggestion which the Spirit of God has made from the beginning, "guides us unto truth." The Saviour tells us that this spirit will guide us "into all truth." We accept no lesser formula. The Holy Spirit speaks in the last discovery of science. The Holy Spirit teaches Pasteur and guides him toward the saving of life. The Holy Spirit speaks in all history. If you had no Holy Spirit, you would have no Columbus, or Luther, no Washington or Franklin. The present Holy Spirit is guiding every conscience to-day. Shall I give my time to this drunkard? Or shall I spend it with that stranded exile? It is the Holy Spirit, the present God, who decides: Emmanuel: God with us.

It is on this direction that the Unitarian Church relies.

E. E. Hale.

A VETO BY JEFFERSON DAVIS.

THE examination of the Confederate archives, now in progress, has recently brought to light a veto of President Davis of a bill creating the office of Commanding-General of the Confederate armies. Mr. Davis vetoed it in the early days of strict construction of the constitution of the Confederate States, on the ground that it infringed upon the powers of the President.

Three years later, when the Richmond Government had found it necessary to assume some of the powers reserved to the States, in order to prosecute successful war for the establishment of a States Rights' Government, thus bringing down upon itself the denunciation of Governors Brown, Vance and Benham, President Davis signed a bill of similar character and equally objectionable, in spite of the reasons which he had assigned in 1862.

The first bill in question, passed in March, 1862, was as follows :

"*An Act to create the office of General of the Armies of the Confederate States.*

"*The Congress of the Confederate States do enact :* That there shall be, and is hereby created, the office of Commanding-General of the Armies of the Confederate States, which office shall continue only during the pleasure of the President.

"SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted :* That the said officer shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. His usual headquarters shall be at the seat of government, and he shall be charged under the direction of the President with the general control of military operations, the movements and discipline of the troops, and the distribution of supplies among the armies of the Confederate States, and may, when he shall deem it advisable, take command in person of our army or armies in the field.

"SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted :* That the pay of the commanding-general aforesaid shall be four hundred dollars per month without allowances ; and if the officer appointed under this act shall be an officer of the permanent army, the appointment shall not affect his rank as such, but he shall receive none of the pay and allowance of his grade as an officer of the permanent army, while holding the office created by this act."

SEC. 4 fixed the number and the rank of the staff of the commanding-general. The above act passed the Confederate House of Representatives March 3, 1862, by a vote of fifty to sixteen. It passed the Senate on the 6th of March by a vote which was not recorded.

President Davis returned it, March 14, with the following objections:

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,
"*March* 14, 1862.

"*To the Speaker of the House of Representatives:*

"Not being able to approve, I return with my objections in accordance with the duty imposed by the constitution, an act entitled, 'An Act to create the office of Commanding-General of the Armies of the Confederate States.'

"The act creates an office which is to continue during the pleasure of the President, but the tenure of office of the general to be appointed is without any other limitations than that of the office itself. The purpose of the act, so far as it creates a military bureau, the head of which at the seat of government, under the direction of the President, shall be charged with the movements of troops, and the supply and discipline of the army, I fully approve, but, by what I cannot regard otherwise than as an inadvertence on the part of Congress, the officer so appointed is authorized to take the field at his own discretion and command any army or armies he may choose, not only without the direction, but even against the will of the President, who could not consistently with this act prevent such conduct of the general otherwise than by abolishing his office.

"To show that the effect of this act would be highly detrimental to the army, it might be enough to say that no general would be content to prepare troops for battle, conduct their movements, and share their privations during a whole campaign, if he expected to find himself superseded at the very moment of action. But there is another ground which to my mind is conclusive. The constitution vests in the Executive the command-in-chief of the armies of the Confederacy; that command is totally inconsistent with the existence of an officer, authorized, at his own discretion, to take command of armies assigned by the President to other generals. The Executive could in no just sense be said to be Commander-in-Chief, if without the power to control the discretion of the general created by this act. As it cannot have been the intention of Congress to create the office of a general not bound to obey the orders of the Chief Magistrate, and as this seems to be the effect of the act, I can but anticipate the concurrence of Congress in my opinion that it should not become a law.

(Signed) "JEFFERSON DAVIS."

Upon hearing this message, the House sustained the veto by a vote of sixty-eight to one.

By an act which was approved by Mr. Davis January 23, 1865, the Confederate Congress enacted:

> "That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an officer who shall be known and designated as General-in-Chief, who shall be ranking officer of the army, and as such shall have command of the military forces of the Confederate States."

On the 6th of February, 1865, General R. E. Lee, having been appointed General-in-Chief, was assigned to duty as such under the provisions of the above act.

AMERICAN LANDLORDISM.

As Roman *Latifundia* is the disease which the special commissioner appointed by the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, to examine and report upon the general subject of land tenures in America, declares threatens to undermine the social and industrial, if not also the political life of the country, a further discussion of the facts appertaining thereto cannot be without interest. Whatever the opinions of its readers on this subject, it is gratifying to note that the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, now as always, is alive to the great practical industrial questions which most concern our national prosperity, and affords and invites their unprejudiced and intelligent discussion in its pages.

The importance of this land question is not overestimated in the commissioner's report. The Roman argument, however, is not a convincing one. Year by year the ghosts of the old Republics that hovered around our infant cradle as a nation, with mute warnings of disaster if we failed to heed their example, have gradually vanished in the light of a better knowledge than Pliny had, and a more certain conviction that there is very little of useful, practical comparison, in anything Roman with anything American. The coroner's verdict upon the Roman corpse, reached in the light of modern critical and historical investigation of the facts, is not "Latifundia perdidere Italiam." That most interesting of all national autopsies pointed to so many mortal maladies affecting the great republic of antiquity, that the social or political theorist of to-day may choose whichever he pleases to support his argument founded upon the history of Rome. To us the strangest thing should seem that Rome lived so long. The *ager publicus* remedy, at the time prescribed, was as absurd as would be a homœopathic pellet in the last stage of small-pox. The Roman body politic was affected by so many diseases, moral, social, religious, and political, that only a verdict of "general corruption" would cover the causes that contributed to the demise of the state. But as your commissioner has simply quoted these words of Pliny, who was a better advocate and moralist than statesman, the Roman argument need not be further considered.

Pliny, whose Laurentian and other large estates made him at the time one of the most opulent and conspicuous of Roman landlords, was not so much occupied in courting the favors of his master, Trajan, and writing pleasant letters to his friends Tacitus and Cornelius Nepos, as to overlook any favorable opportunity of adding to his landed property, even when uncertain whether, without borrowing, he had the means for such a purchase. Even Land Commissioner Sparks, who hails from the rural districts of Illinois, with all his nervous apprehensions of land monopoly, and his uncertain convictions as to his power and duty, not from lack of ambition, would hardly think the time had arrived for him to play the role either of Licinius or Tiberius Gracchus.

Your commissioner says, "America has refused to benefit by the bitter experience of Europe in regard to the land question." Is this statement true? What has America omitted to do? Can he suggest any theory out of Plato's "Republic" or More's "Utopia" that we or our forefathers have neglected, affecting the question of land tenures? Would he have us adopt the purely paternal theory of government and prescribe just how many acres a man may own? Or would he adopt into our state constitutions the land lucubrations of Henry George, and make the state the great landlord and all the citizens its tenants? In framing both national and state constitutions, the people of the United States studiously prohibited the existence of a privileged class, and the possibility of large estates based upon feudal tenures, and supported by primogeniture rights. They could have done nothing more, unless they had limited the number of acres an individual could legally hold. There is no country in the world where the ownership and transfer of real property is so easy and simple as in America. It could not be more so.

Now to the facts and figures upon which your commissioner bases his argument showing a tendency to landlordism.

It is to be regretted that the census reports, prior to 1880, did not give the number of landlords and tenants in the United States, as such tables would either corroborate or refute your commissioner's conclusions as to the present tendency of land titles in America. But there is enough contained in the census report to show that there is not, as he contends, a gradual concentration of land titles into fewer hands, by the swallowing up of small estates; but that, on the contrary, the number of holdings is increasing year by year, while their individual area is year by year diminishing.

The number of persons of ten years of age, and over, in the United States, in the year 1880, was 36,761,607. Of these there were engaged in "gainful occupations" of all kinds 17,392,097. The other eighteen millions are not listed as doing anything, and their occupation, those who had any, is not known. Of this 17,392,097 persons of ten years of age and upwards, 7,670,493 are known to be engaged in agriculture, and 9,721,606 are engaged in other kinds of gainful occupation, including every known employment. But the census report contains the further important statement that "there is reason to believe" that persons have been returned as laborers who should have been returned as agricultural laborers, so that the number at that time of agricultural to other laborers was probably about in the ratio of 8 to 10. That the ratio of agricultural laborers yearly diminishes is true of this and all other countries; but this fact, though easily accounted for, has no bearing on the question under discussion.

By the census of 1880 it appears that the whole number of farms cultivated by their owners was about 3,000,000 and the whole number cultivated by tenants was about 1,000,000. What the relative proportion of tenants is to-day we have no means of knowing. Your commissioner assumes, without any support whatever for his assumption, that the proportion of tenants is increasing, and that the title to lands is yearly concentrating more and more into the hands of landlords. Let us examine the known data at our command and see whether they even tend to sustain this theory.

Taking the figures of several of the States, East, South, and West, we find that, in the year 1880, there were farms of over one thousand acres, the number given below, out of the whole number of farms in each of these States.

	Whole Number.	1000 Acres or over.	Average Acres.
New York................	241,000	281	99
Pennsylvania..............	213,540	244	93
Alabama..................	135,864	1868	134
Georgia..................	138,624	3491	188
Michigan.................	154,000	84	90
Illinois..................	255,000	649	124
Nebraska.	63,387	118	157
Kansas...................	138,561	235	155

It can hardly be claimed, that, considering the cheapness of lands in the new States, and the large amount yet held by land speculators, this showing as to the average size of American farms indicates any very serious condition of landlordism.

But let us go a little further, and examine testimony yet more important in its bearing upon this question. Fortunately we have the figures from the census reports for the three last decades; which throw not a little light upon the subject and show clearly what the real tendency is.

	Number of Farms 1860.	Number of Farms 1870.	Number of Farms 1880.
New York	196,000	216,000	241,000
Illinois	143,000	202,000	255,000
Iowa	61,000	116,000	185,000
Nebraska	2,789	12,300	63,387
Texas	42,000	61,000	174,000
Georgia	62,000	69,000	135,000

In Illinois, which has such a prominent place in your commissioner's argument, we see that, in place of decreasing, the number of farms has more than trebled in twenty years, and this increase in number is not confined to the new states, although naturally less in the older states, so long as cheaper and richer lands can be had in the Mississippi and Missouri valleys. Thus, the tendency to smaller fee-simple holdings is increasing in America the same as in France, Belgium, Italy, and all other countries where there are no impediments, social or legal, to the transfer and ownership of land.

The following table prepared from the three last national census confirms the truth of this statement, showing that the average size of farms is diminishing in numbers of acres with the increase in numbers of farms and the growth and settlement of the country East, South, and West. The figures below give the number of acres of the average farm for the last three decades in the states named.

	Year 1860. Acres.	Year 1870. Acres.	Year 1880. Acres.
New York	106	105	99
Pennsylvania	109	103	93
Connecticut	99	93	80
Alabama	346	222	139
Arkansas	245	154	128
Georgia	430	328	188

	Year 1860. Acres.	Year 1870. Acres.	Year 1880. Acres.
Iowa	165	134	134
Louisiana	536	247	171
Mississippi	370	193	156
Virginia	324	246	167
Illinois	146	128	124
Texas	590	301	208

This shows a constant diminution in each succeeding decade in the size of the average farm. This tendency will undoubtedly rapidly increase, when the new cheap lands in the West are exhausted and the farmer must divide his farm among his children, instead of, as heretofore, giving his son or son-in-law a few hundred dollars with the benediction, "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country."

I may say, furthermore, that I have had personally to do with the settlement of several million acres of lands in Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. The great bulk of those lands were sold to actual settlers, and are now owned and occupied and farmed by them or their grantees. Occasionally an individual or a land company has bought several thousand acres, but only for the purpose of dividing up into small farms, and selling at a percentage of profit to purchasers for occupancy. From twenty-five years of observation and experience I am fully convinced *that the decided and unmistakable tendency is to smaller farms and larger number of occupying free-holders.*

Your commissioner is altogether mistaken, also, as to the mortgaged condition of farms in the West. Of course in Kansas, Dakota, Nebraska, and other very new States, the settlers have generally had to mortgage their lands in buying and improving them. But every one who has had to do with the loaning of money in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Iowa knows that the number of mortgaged farms is diminishing even more rapidly than the diminution in the area of individual land holdings. In fact it has become so difficult to get farm loans in the states named, that many individuals and corporations have withdrawn their money altogether and are seeking other investments. When I first went to Chicago, forty years ago, and for many years thereafter, it was easier to get a 20 per cent. per annum farm mortgage than it is now a 6 per cent. mortgage; and the same is true of all the states named. The farmers there, generally speaking, are not only no longer borrowers, but very many of them are loaning money and keep a respectable balance in the bank.

In further illustration of this truth I may add, that, just after the panic of 1873, and during the years 1874–5 and 6 I loaned several hundred thousand dollars in Illinois and Iowa upon farm mortgages, and all of these loans, with two exceptions, were paid. These exceptions were in cases of large farmers, who were speculating in cattle in the Chicago market, failed in business, and turned over the mortgaged lands to me, aggregating about three thousand acres of mostly cultivated farms, which I divided up and rented to about a dozen tenants. These lands were afterward nearly all bought by these tenants, and, so far as I know, are now owned by them or their grantees.

I could cite a great many similar instances in support of my position. In fact, "*Nulla vestigia retrosum.*" They point all one way and not backward, nor in the direction of landlordism, but, like the census reports referred to above, in the direction of the subdivision of land and its ownership by the actual farmers.

Thirty years ago there existed, in the states in the Mississippi Valley lying east of the river, the same condition of things as is now apparent in Dakota, Minnesota and Nebraska—land loaning offices everywhere. These will disappear in due time and the farmer will own his land free from incumbrance.

Your commissioner mentions the fact that a number of large farmers have moved from their farms into Springfield, Illinois, and are now landlords. Let him wait till the "old man" is dead, and see how long the boys will live in Springfield and keep these farms undivided. No sensible old farmer will divide up his farm or sell it for another investment. He cannot leave it all to one son if he has other children, for county juries have a way of making wills, and of setting aside any landlordism tendency in them, on the ground of "insanity," "undue influence," etc. The time is drawing nigh only too quickly, when the American farmer, our cheap land all taken, will have to divide up a portion of his land during his lifetime among his children, as is now done on the continent of Europe.

There has gotten abroad an impression that large tracts of land in the far West are falling into the hands of foreign capitalists and corporations. That impression has no foundation in fact. A good deal of English and Scotch capital, it is true, has gone into cattle raising in Texas and some of the territories; but I know of but two or three companies that have made any considerable purchase of land, and the aggregate held in fee by them all does not equal in value one of the smallest counties in Illinois or Iowa. Assuming (though it is by no means a self-evident proposition) that it is not well to encourage the investment of foreign capital in western agriculture, there is not, after all, much danger threatened from that source. The only possible legislation required might be such amendment by Congress of the present law as will make it more difficult for corporations and individuals to obtain a valid title to lands which have been "homesteaded and pre-empted" by parties who did not make their locations in good faith.

So much for the inductive argument. A word on the *a priori* probabilities.

It has become a postulate among farmers that, in order to make a farm pay, you must live on it yourself. So that, until capital shall become much more abundant and money much cheaper, there is not great liability of its seeking investment in land rent-rolls. I have never known of any money looking for that kind of an investment.

The large land-estates in England, farmed, as they must be, by proxy, do not pay two per cent. Many of them for some years past have paid no net income to their owners. But the small land-owners of England are still able to educate their children and have their beer, even when wheat is less than forty shillings a quarter.

Capital and industry untrammeled by legislation, follow laws which are as controling as the law of gravity. With the increasing density of population the price of labor falls. At the present rate of increase the population of the United States within a century would number over two thousand millions, and at the probable rate of increase will reach half that number. The supreme problem in interest has always been, and will always be, the problem of food. It did not require Malthus to teach the truth of this theory that "Population unchecked increases in a geometrical ratio; subsistence only in an arithmetical." Had the subsistence kept pace with human fecundity, the population of our earth, yet one of the juniors in the family of planets, would be almost beyond the power of computation. This subsistence must come from the soil, though Seth Green says, "it were easy to breed shad enough to feed the world." The era of "hog and hominy" diet for the masses of the population is a short one in the lifetime of a nation, however prosperous that nation may be. We, too, must soon come down to a cheaper food. Therefore there is no other economic problem of profounder interest than that which affects land tenure and thereby land production. We, in America, do not feel its importance yet. We shall feel it soon enough, and cannot afford to ignore it even now.

There are two theories :—one that land held in large tracts, by wealthy owners, with abundant means for employing the best machinery and the best fertilizers and the latest science, can be made to produce most, and, therefore, to support the largest number of people. The other, that land held in small tracts and cultivated by the owner, with the thrift and economy which ownership stimulates, is capable of furnishing the largest supply of food.

Beyond all question the collateral advantages of the last method, moral, social, and political, are infinitely superior. They only are in harmony with the American polity. The instinct of ownership is more universal here than any where else in the world. It is the highest duty of government to encourage it. Every man who owns the land he cultivates has given a pledge to sustain law and order; to resist and put down the despotism of anarchy, whether it appear in the unmasked conspiracy of Catiline, or the less threatening but more dangerous guise of modern socialism.

The people, left to themselves, under the guidance of economic law, will settle in the best way all economic problems. All the government has to do is to keep the peace. When it assumes to act the paternal role by legislative interference of whatever character with the untrammeled investment of capital or labor, it commits the one unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost of industrial and political economy. The most melancholy illustration of this truth may be seen in Germany to-day; a great empire sinking deeper with every struggle into the quicksands of imperial violation of laws which are above even imperial power.

HENRY STRONG.

II.

Too much cannot be said in condemnation of the reckless grants of our public lands to railroads and other corporations, and of the fraudulent entries made under the pre-emption, homestead and timber-culture laws. It is one of the most imperative duties of Congress and the courts to undo as far as possible the evils that have been perpetrated in past years by the prodigality of our legislators and the frauds of adventurers and speculators. In calling the attention of the public pointedly to the great importance of not having large tracts of our lands in the ownership of corporations and individuals, often non-residents or foreigners, but having the land in great part owned and tilled by actual settlers, THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has done good service.

Few Americans, however, who understand these matters, will see cause for alarm in "the unexpected analogies that will appear between the agrarian concerns of the American republic and those of ancient Rome." It is quite true that Rome had a public domain, and that large portions of it were occupied by the wealthy families to the exclusion of many members of the poorer classes, and that the large land-owners gradually extended the boundaries of their estates until the small farmers had almost entirely disappeared. A number of causes contributed to this very undesirable result. The constitution was such as to place the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the government almost entirely in the hands of the wealthy land-owners and money-lenders; the small farmer had to compete with slave labor on the large plantations, and was often compelled to serve in the army during the summer months when his presence on his little farm was of the utmost importance, while the slaves of his rich neighbor did not go to war, and the crops on the larger estates were therefore seen after carefully; the power which the constitution gave the wealthy enabled them to discriminate most unfairly against the poorer farmers in regard to taxes and the use of the public lands; and the law of debtor and creditor was so severe against the former that whenever a small farmer, in consequence of his enforced absence on military service, his unfair competition with slave labor or other causes, got in debt, his condition was deplorable, and he was in many cases forced to part with his property. Large and growing estates and the disappearance of peasant proprietors were the inevitable results.

It need not be said that, in this country, a very different condition of things prevails. Notwithstanding the undue influence sometimes exerted by corporations and "money-kings" in governmental affairs, the organization of our national and state governments is on such a broad popular basis as to make it impossible for the wealthy few to permanently domineer over the many and to dictate the legislation and the policy of government. On the contrary, the results of the granger movement, the power exerted by workingmen and their organizations in politics and legislation, and out of them, and numerous other indications, point unmistakably to the conclusion that large capitalists and corporations will hereafter find themselves more and more hampered in their operations, and their property endangered by hostile legislation and public opinion, resulting from the real or supposed interests of the poorer classes.

While there are some very large tracts of land owned by single individuals or companies, there has been a constant tendency pretty much everywhere to subdivide the land and disperse it among a larger and larger number of owners. One need but go into any good farming community and inquire how the number and size of the existing farms compare with those of twenty-five years ago, to be convinced of the truth of this assertion. Many of the bonanza farms, extensive cattle-ranches and grants of land to railroads, have yielded to this tendency, to which the owners of these large tracts have often contributed greatly. While the number of tenants has increased rapidly, the number of land-owners has also increased with great rapidity, and is to-day nearly three times as great as the number of tenants. It is true that, occasionally, a land-owner is forced to sell his farm and become a tenant, but the cases are far more numerous in which a man passes over from the tenant to the land-owning class. A century ago the greater part of the land on the continent of Europe was owned in large tracts ; primogeniture, and entails prevailed almost everywhere ; the sale and transfer of land was difficult and expensive—often entirely impossible—while the tillers of the soil were, if not actually serfs, commonly in a most wretched condition. This system, which the revolution in France and constitutional and legislative changes in other countries broke up, had scarcely anything in common with the land system of this country, where primogeniture does not exist, and entails and settlements are so restricted as to be practically inoperative, and feudal dues and services are unknown. The two systems cannot well be compared, although it may be interesting and profitable to contrast them. In their contrast they show the totally different conditions out of which they grew. In like manner, although we still retain usually, "as vague and shadowy forms," many of the feudal arrangements inherited from the mother country, we may well contrast "the agricultural concerns of the American Republic" with those of Great Britain, where primogeniture, entails and settlements, and expensive and tedious and complicated methods of transferring land still prevail, so that it is extremely difficult for a tenant to become a land-owner. One can scarcely conceive of a greater contrast than that presented by landlordism, as it commonly exists in this country, and landlordism in Ireland, where the tenant has been forced to make and maintain all the improvements on his holding, and, until recently, has had no security for the labor and money which he had invested in them; where many of the holdings are too small and poor to maintain a family decently; where the opportunities other than in farming for obtaining a livelihood are extremely rare, and the tenants have been compelled by circumstances to undertake to pay impossible rents, and where the suffrage and the government have been in the control mainly of the small class of land-owners. The worst features of this sort of landlordism have, however, already disappeared from Ireland, while, in England, land reformers are urging with some prospect of success such changes in the land laws as will make these laws very similar to those which regulate "the agricultural concerns of the American Republic."

While there are exceptions, and tenants are found who are unthrifty or whose lot is a hard one, as a rule the American tenant-farmer prospers, and in very many cases passes from the tenant to the land-owning class. It is a decided advantage to many an agricultural laborer and farmer's landless son that numbers of owners of farms have become so prosperous that they do not care to till the soil themselves, or, for other reasons, rent their land. It often happens that a young man, engaged in agricultural or other labor, by thrift and economy, lays by enough to stock a small farm which he rents "on the shares" or for a fixed sum. In a few years he saves enough to buy the property, paying perhaps one-half of the purchase money at once, and the remainder in annual payments extending through several years. The former owner is secured by a mortgage on the farm. By the time the man has reached middle life he owns the farm free of debt. If he had not been able to rent the land on favorable terms, he could probably never have been able to accumulate enough money to purchase the farm. Men are found in every agricultural community who have in this way easily passed over from the agricultural laborer to the tenant, and from the tenant to the land-owning class. The existence of "landlordism" enables them to do this. In the transition period, after the farms have been bought, the new owners are of course commonly somewhat in debt. When the crops fail hardships sometimes occur, but, in the great majority of cases, the debt disappears in a few years and the man's family is amply provided for.

It is not surprising that the casual observer, seeing many hard-working tenants on poorly stocked farms, and many owners apparently deeply in debt, should be alarmed at the state of things. On closer observation one finds, however, that, in most cases, the hard-working tenant and the interest-paying owner are both prospering and rapidly becoming independent. Failures occur through unwise undertakings, mismanagement, unthriftiness, improvidence, poor crops, fall of prices, and other causes. Not a few who purchased land at war prices a few years ago found, when values had shrunk, that they were unable to meet the annual payments and saw their hard earned savings go to liquidate the claims of their creditors. Such cases were, however, rather the exception. The great majority of the tenants who purchased their farms, even at the high prices that prevailed for a few years after the close of the war, have been able to pay off their indebtedness and have become prosperous land-owners.

Reforms are needed in the land laws of some of the States. The relics of the old feudal arrangements often have too much force and prevent land-owners and others from dealing freely with the land. Some of the old doctrines in regard to landlord and tenant also require the attention of the legislators. Something ought without doubt or delay to be done to counteract and undo the bad results of the frauds and unwise grants of public lands. While care and some legislation are needed, the American people may very properly look with "more than Roman serenity" of mind on their land system which has contributed so much to their wealth, prosperity and strength.

DAVID BENNETT KING.

DR. PAVY AND THE POLAR EXPEDITION.

The people, both of America and Europe, have taken a deep interest in the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition. Accounts of this expedition, and of the one sent to its relief, as given by Commanders Schley and Soley of the U. S. Navy, and by Commander Greely and Lieutenant Lockwood of the U. S. Army, have been published. These accounts will be followed by other and important phases of its history. The complete story may never be told. Possibly, the interests of individuals who are a part of it, and even the policy of the government, will prevent the utterance of the whole truth. The papers of Dr. Octave Pavy—the surgeon and naturalist of the Polar Expedition—enable me to add to the published accounts some facts which cannot be spared.

An international Congress of scientists was held at Vienna, and later at St. Petersburg, in 1879 and '80. Several nations, among them America, pledged participation in the establishment of circumpolar meteorological stations. The object of the United States Government in locating the most northern station was the advancement of scientific knowledge by observations made in the region of and beyond Lady Franklin Bay, 81° 44′ N. latitude. Subsidiary to this purpose was the design to gain tidings of the lost "Jeannette," and to advance discovery on the Grinnell and Greenland coasts.

The Lady Franklin Bay Expedition consisted of twenty-five men from the United States Army, and the Signal Service Corps. Its executive officers were First Lieutenant Greely, commanding; Second Lieutenants Kislingbury and Lockwood; and the surgeon, Dr. Pavy, commissioned with the rank of first lieutenant. Sergeant D. L. Brainard was chief of the enlisted force. The vessel was the steamship "Proteus," chartered by the government to convey the expeditionary party from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Lady Franklin Bay, where was established a meteorological station, the "Proteus" returning at once to Newfoundland. The colony was located on the 12th of August, 1881. Their settlement was named Fort Conger.

As the capacities accepted by Dr. Pavy, and the participation otherwise taken by him in the Polar Expedition, required peculiar experience and versatility, I must be pardoned, at this point, for giving a brief outline of the life and training which especially fitted him for the undertaking.

Dr. Pavy was an American, New Orleans being his native city. He was born in 1844. At a very early age he was sent to France to be educated, and became a graduate in science and art from the University of Paris. He pursued a course in medicine, for four years, under the Medical Faculty of Paris, and enjoyed the exceptional favor of daily friendship and association with the eminent surgeon Velpeau. A season of each year was devoted to travels on the Continent, in Great Britain, New Zealand, Iceland, Africa, and Australia. Many seasons were passed in Alpine travel, where glacial action, with natural history, in its various forms, was made a study. All the countries of Europe were visited during the course of his education, and, from practical observation and frequent travel on the seas, Dr. Pavy obtained a thorough insight into the laws of navigation. His exhaustive study of Arctic history, including research into every branch of science connected with life and exploration in the northern regions, made it possible for a scientific explorer to say of him : "He is versed in the history of every former explorer and exploration, and seems to know the history of every degree of latitude gained in the Arctic."

Within a few months of his graduation in medicine, a French Arctic expedition was proposed by the government. The distinguished scientist and explorer, Gustave Lambert, was placed in command, and Octave Pavy was appointed his chief executive associate. Strong interest was taken in the movement by the Emperor Napoleon, who personally donated to it 50,000 francs. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, the project was necessarily abandoned. Lambert and Pavy entered the war. The former lost his life on the battle-field. M. Pavy became the captain of a French independent corps of infantry and cavalry, of which, as organizer, he assumed the command and expense. Associated with him in this enterprise were his friends, Lieutenant P. S. Beauregard, a nephew of General P. T. Beauregard, and the lamented French painter, Henri Regnault, who fell in battle at Captain

Pavy's side. "This little army," said the London "Graphic," "was successful and useful, brave and daring."

In 1872 M. Pavy came to the United States to launch an individual interprise, which was called "The Pavy Expedition to the North Pole," the intended route being by the way of Bering Strait and Wrangel Land. This undertaking was heartily encouraged in France by the leading scientific minds. The French Geographical Society commended M. Pavy to the special consideration of the American Geographical Society, and the fellows of the various American Academies of Science. The Duke Alexis of Russia gave M. Pavy special encouragement, furnishing him with strong letters of recommendation to the officials of the various Siberian outposts, commanding their cordial co-operation. The American Geographical Society prepared a letter, commending Dr. Pavy and his "highly important expedition," to "all scientific societies, and to all governments throughout the world, for their aid and co-operation." The Academy of Science of his native city, New Orleans, commended him as "a gentlemen of high literary and scientific culture, of daring enterprise, and of great personal worth." The Arctic project for which Dr. Pavy had matured all plans, until within a few hours of departure from San Francisco, was suddenly brought to a close in June, 1872, by the death of his financial associate.

In 1879 correspondence passed between James Gordon Bennett and Dr. Pavy, relative to the doctor's engagement as surgeon of the "Jeannette" expedition. The United States Navy subsequently taking charge, its regulations excluded a civilian surgeon.

The United States Congress, in 1880, authorized an expedition to be fitted out by the army and navy, the vessel being furnished by a private individual.

Dr. Pavy was commissioned by the War Department to become its surgeon. The vessel proffered, the "Gulnare," was pronounced unseaworthy, and the army and navy withdrew from the undertaking, leaving it a private expedition. Leave of absence was granted Lieutenant G. C. Doane, U. S. A., who commanded this expedition. Dr. Pavy embarked in it as surgeon and naturalist. The voyage of the "Gulnare" toward the Arctic regions was discontinued at Godhavn, from which point she returned to the United States on account of unfitness for polar navigation, leaving Dr. Pavy to fulfill his intention to study and explore in that region.

During the year he accompanied Mr. Smith, the royal inspector of North Greenland for Denmark, on his official journeys along the coast, as far north as Upernavik, and into the interior of Greenland. The doctor acquired the Eskimo language, familiarized himself with the habits of the natives, and made a study of the climatic influences, and the most effective mode of treating the diseases peculiar to the region. He made himself an adept, so far as a foreigner can become such, in the management of the Eskimo sledge—an acquirement upon which largely depends the security of life, and the safety of transportation, in the extreme North. He attained valuable insight into the sciences of the Arctic zone; made a study of the geological formations; of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. The fauna and flora were exhaustively studied, and, when collection was possible, classified. As a taxidermist, he made a comprehensive collection of the species of animal life of both land and sea, the collection being intended for the Smithsonian Institute. Dr. Pavy engaged the two Eskimos who accompanied the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, and took great care in purchasing dried fish and walrus meat—food which in the Arctic regions is indispensable in keeping scurvy in abeyance. He purchased this anti-scurbutic food with great difficulty and much travel, but with the discrimination of a *savan* and the fidelity of a physician.

The steamship "Proteus," bearing the Polar Expedition under the command of Lieutenant A. W. Greely, while on the way from St. Johns to Lady Franklin Bay stopped at Godhavn, and took on board the surgeon, and the supplies which he had accumulated.

The experience and achievements of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition have been presented to the public in so many forms that I need not attempt to give any specific repetition of the story. From Fort Conger detachments of sledge-parties were sent out in different directions during the two years' life at the fort. Depots of provisions were established in the autumn and spring of the first year, as far north as Lincoln Bay, preparatory to sledge-travel northward later. Two attempts were made during the same year to reach Cape Joseph Henry, and land north of it; in both instances the party being turned back by open water, having made 83° N. latitude on one of the journeys.*

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* Where Sir Geo. Nares found paleocrystic ice, Pavy and Rice found open sea.

In the spring of 1882 the highest latitude was reached that has ever been attained by man (83° 24′ N; 40° 46′ W). The interior of Grinnell Land was penetrated in the spring and summer of 1882, resulting in the discovery of a large lake and a mountain chain. In the summer of '82 a southward journey was made, resulting in the discovery of an imposing valley, lying between Cape Baird and Cape Defosse. In the spring of '83 the western coast-line of Grinnell Land was reached, resulting in the discovery of the Western Sea. The party attained latitude 80° 47′, and longitude 88° 29′. Many other sledging journeys were made by the various members of the expedition, which, though unsuccessful in geographical results, were important in their bearing upon former theories, as leading to their verification or rejection. Fort Conger was abandoned by the expedition in August, 1883, the party taking with them a steam-launch, a whale-boat, and two towing boats. On the 10th of September the commander abandoned the launch and one boat, and later another boat. On the 29th land was reached, one boat remaining, a twelve-man sledge, and twenty-five days' rations. At Cape Sabine the final catastrophe took place. There, in consequence of official neglect in Washington and in the Arctic regions, the party were subjected to starvation, and the lives of nineteen men were needlessly sacrificed. The life of the surgeon closed sixteen days before rescue, which occurred on his birthday, June 22d.

It will be remembered that during the year following the departure of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, a futile attempt was made by Lieutenant Beebe and the "Neptune" to reach them; and that, in the succeeding year, Lieutenant Garlington and the "Proteus" failed in a like attempt. The "Neptune" found impenetrable ice and returned, having reached Cape Isabella. The "Proteus" was wrecked a few miles north of Cape Sabine. The officers and crew, escaping in boats, returned to the United States.

The instructions of the Signal Service Bureau required that provisions should be left on the Greenland coast at Littleton Island, in Smith Sound. Fort Conger, the winter quarters of the Polar Expedition, were established on the Grinnell, not the Greenland coast. The objective point of the expedition, in making the southward retreat, according to official instructions given at Washington, was Littleton Island. Even in the face of starvation and death it was found impossible to obey these instructions. The food was on the wrong side of the channel; and, although the distance was only eighteen miles, the death of more than three-quarters of the party was the result of the impracticability of crossing the channel between Cape Sabine and Littleton Island.

According to the testimony of the survivors, Dr. Pavy volunteered, while yet at Fort Conger, to make an advance retreat to Cape Sabine, going in April and returning in June, 1883. He suggested taking as companions Lieutenant Kislingbury, who urged the value of the retreat, and an Eskimo. Upon reaching Cape Sabine, records were to be *cached* in the name of Commander Greely, giving instructions that provisions should be left on that island, instead of at Littleton Island, across the dangerous, and possibly impassable channel. The offer made by Dr. Pavy was *declined* by the commanding officer.

Of this proposed retreat, Sergeant Brainard, since rescue, has said:

> "Had Dr. Pavy made this noble advance march for us, every man in the party would to-day be alive. Not one would have suffered starvation."

Upon asking why the surgeon was not permitted to do what he considered of vital necessity, this was the answer:

> "The commander wished to have further exploration on the west coast accomplished."

Much admiring comment has been made upon the retreat of the entire party in August, 1883, covering five hundred miles—about forty days of travel begun when the expectation of a relief ship in Discovery Harbor had been abandoned. Dr. Pavy offered not only to make the same journey, but to do so with two men, and return to Fort Conger, making a distance of more than one thousand miles. Had this advance retreat been made, records being left at Cape Sabine between the months of April and June, Lieutenant Garlington, who reached that point in July, and examined it, would, upon finding the cairn and its contents, have had a definite description of the whereabouts and the condition of the expeditionary party, and the course by which they could have been rescued, either by land or sea. Lieutenant Garlington not only landed where this record would have been found, but he left some few provisions near by, which were afterward devoured by the starving party. If the "Proteus" could not then have made her way to Lady Franklin Bay, or even to a lower latitude, one of two alternatives, or both, would have followed, in accordance with the instructions given at Washington, which provided for the contingency "of the party not being able to reach the south by retreat, and for the sledges of the relief party to travel toward them." In short, if the records had been left by Pavy, as proposed, and found by Garlington, as would have resulted, the horrors of Cape Sabine would have been averted, Dr. Pavy would have been the savior of his party, and Lieutenant Garlington the rescuer. In that event the lives of nineteen men would have been spared, and the health of six survivors. All journals would have been returned. The scientific records would have been preserved intact, instead of mutilated. The "Proteus" and her cargo would have been saved. Many attacked and blighted reputations would have been spared, as well as millions of dollars to the government; and no blot would now rest upon the nation's record for leaving the men sent out at its command to starvation and death.

Under the supervision of the commanding officer an official map has been prepared, embodying the geographical results of the expedition, and purporting to outline its sledge journeys and discoveries. The various and important sledge journeys made by Dr. Pavy and Sergeant Rice, on one of which they attained 83° N. latitude, and the discovery by Dr. Pavy, later, of the valley lying between Cape Baird and Cape Defosse, are not outlined or named upon this map. Up to the present time all maps copied from this one have appeared without the name of Dr. Pavy in connection with his discovery, or the outlined sledge journeys of Pavy and Rice, in their Northern explorations. The maps found in the latest physical geographies, in the volume of Schley and Lanman, and the official maps, as well as several other publications, bear this unjust omission. Many alterations were made on the original map. In one instance the commander changed the name of his discovery of "Mount Chester A. Arthur" (named after the ex-President), to "Mount Arthur," referring to himself, the name Lieutenant Greely appearing in brackets. The map reveals its story of commission and omission. Numerous names appear on it—some of them the names of those who brought dire disaster upon the expedition—standing out boldly to remind us for all time of their culpable and cruel neglect.

Dr. Pavy's notes, to be presented, and other matter that will be published at a later day, were placed in my possession by the Signal Service Bureau of the United States. "Additional records" were reported "as due me" when these were delivered, and which I was told "to expect as soon as the official report was made." The statement has since been withdrawn by the same official source, the chief signal officer. No reason or explanation has been assigned to reconcile this official inconsistency. Certain letters and journals, private in character, which according to indisputable testimony were written by Dr. Pavy, must have been included in the "additional records" referred to.

During the years 1880 and '81, Dr. Pavy wrote a journal in South Greenland. This journal contained an account of numerous journeys along the coast and into the interior, and of the various studies which occupied his attention. A letter via the "Proteus," in 1881 informed me that it was taken by the doctor to Fort Conger, for revision, and would be brought to the United States by himself the next year, as he did not wish to remain longer with the party, as constituted. There being no government contract in 1880, the journal in question could not rightfully be retained in Washington even for copy. It was reported by the chief signal officer "to have been left in Greenland if written at all, as there were no papers of 1880 in the office." A more recent reply, from a subordinate officer, names the record of 1880 in the inventory of papers held in the office.

From 1881 to '83 memoranda were made, and pages intended for a book were written, during three years' life at Fort Conger, each page marked by Dr. Pavy "My Book." I possess but a dozen pages of this book, though hundreds of pages were written. Most of these are upon glacial action, and contain the most exact and carefully prepared writing of which Docter Pavy is author.

Between August, 1883, and June, 1884 (the month of his death), Dr. Pavy kept an occasional journal. This record is reported as "missing," in addition to all private journals and letters, written during three years' absence. The latter papers the doctor himself described in official communication both to the commander and the Surgeon-General, U. S. Army, in the following words: "A journal destitute of any official value, a mere record of events, hypotheses and reminiscences, closely mingled with personal and intimate thoughts; sentiments from detached notes, and reduced into letters of an entirely private character, intended only for the use of my family." The letter embodying this description, and addressed to the Surgeon-General, was never seen by that officer until I forwarded to him copies of various official documents.

According to the testimony of a survivor, there were three sealed boxes marked as the property of Dr. Pavy, and known as such before and after his death. By the same survivor they were seen unchanged and still labeled, on ship-board, when he was on the way to the United States, after rescue. One box only of these three has been officially reported by the chief signal officer. Dr. Pavy specified their contents in these words: "In my boxes are all the official and private papers that I have possessed since leaving the United States—from 1880 to '84. Except the official letters, the papers are chiefly of a private character." Among the memoranda delivered to me from Washington, there is not a line or a page having the nature of a personal or private communication, with one exception—a single mutilated page. The fate of the two boxes not reported to me, and of the contents, as previously enumerated, is yet involved in mystery. Records were both lost and injured at Cape Sabine, during the rescue of the party. Injury occurred to those records of the surgeon's which have since come into my hands. Such a fate might also have caused injury to the so-called "missing records;" but their *disappearance* occurred after leaving Cape Sabine. On reaching New York, the records were delivered to the chief signal officer. The onus of their disappearance rests with him.

According to official regulation, it was expected that the surgeon's medical records would be referred to the medical division of the War Department. Finding, in his papers, letters addressed to the Surgeon-General, in which Dr. Pavy states important facts, and demands investigation into his conduct, because of unjust charges in writing against him, I applied for judgment upon the case, and received official information from the Surgeon-General that there were no records on file in his office relating to the matter other than that Dr. Pavy was contracted with as surgeon.

The commanding officer relieved Dr. Pavy from his duties as naturalist in June, 1883. The surgeon had no contract papers for any department save the medical. The duties of naturalist were assumed by request of the commander, without expectation of pay. According to the testimony of the survivors, those duties were ably and satisfactorily performed; and an official circular of the commander (June, 1883) refers to the "zeal and good results of work in this direction during the years 1881 and '82." The survivors further testify that "Lieutenant Lockwood to whom the duties were transferred, was not qualified to perform them," and that "after the doctor was deprived of that capacity there was little work of consequence done in that line." They add that "the doctor's collection of natural history, made in 1880 in South Greenland, and from '81 to '83 at Fort Conger, was boxed well, and will probably be found intact at Discovery Harbor, by some future expedition."

In July, 1883, Dr. Pavy presented his resignation as surgeon, still offering his services to the party, but wishing to sever himself, as a survivor said, "from all official connection with the commander." The following is an extract from the surgeon's contract in my possession, and shows his rank, and for how long a time his contract, without renewal, bound him: "Surgeon of the rank of first lieutenant. This contract to continue at least one year, if not sooner determined by the officer commanding the military expedition, or the Surgeon-General."

It would have been culpable in the surgeon to have severed himself from the moral obligation to serve a party dependent upon him. But Dr. Pavy by no means took this step; and his own official words forever refute the charge made by the commander, and place it upon the ground of deliberate and willful falsehood. On the contrary, the surgeon, in his resignation expressly said: "As a matter of course I offer my services to the expedition, and declare myself willing and ready to perform the same duties as in the past, still devoting myself to the welfare and success of our undertaking; but will desire, as in the past, to have full control of the medical stores and instruments, for which I consider myself responsible. I believe the exclusion of this clause, in our present circumstances, to be incompatible with the dignity of the profession." The surgeon, thereafter, officially declined to surrender the medical stores and instruments to any one unable to use or care for them. Had Dr. Pavy so far forgotten the supremacy of right and duty, which he owed first, through professional dignity, to the Medical Department, as to surrender his medical equipments to an unprofessional junior officer, or to any but a medical man, the commander would have been obliged, at once, to revoke his despotic order, in case of scurvy, fracture, or even tooth-pulling, in order that a physcian might render relief. Forgetting neither duty nor dignity, the surgeon, in the face of charges and arrest, declined to surrender his medical stores and his private journal. This declination, made July 19, 1883, was followed by official charges and specifications against Dr. Pavy, and resulted in an order of arrest, and confinement to limits. At the moment of arrest Dr. Pavy said: "I accept the arrest physically but not morally."

The surgeon claimed his right and duty to express his professional opinion, in the face of difference and opposition. The expression of this medical opinion, given for the highest welfare of the party, was declared by the commander to be "subversive to discipline." By official communication, thereafter to the commander and the Surgeon-General, Dr. Pavy demanded that upon his return to the United States, "investigation should be opened on his conduct of the Medical Department."

Regarding his resignation and arrest, three of the survivors have said: "Dr. Pavy had been under arrest nearly a year at the time of his death. The order read that he was to be confined to limits within one mile of the camp. Dr. Pavy was a civilian surgeon, his time ran out, and he refused to serve under the orders of Lieutenant Greely. He was an enthusiastic Arctic explorer, and knew better than any man in the party what to expect in the frozen zone. He was a grand, good man, and, if he had lived, the inside story of the Greely Expedition would have been told before now. The men regarded him as their hero. He was always doing something for the command, and was one of its hardest workers."

The life of Dr. Pavy was sacrificed. But a part, at least, of his records remain to speak for him. His memoranda were made in French. The official letters are in English. The notes which will appear later were translated by Mr. George Wilson, A.M., of Lexington, Missouri, who has made affidavit of their accuracy. It is well understood that a scientist or student notes many points of interest and importance in a book of memoranda, which he would subsequently enlarge upon, discard, or modify. I am well aware that a few detached notes are a meager representation of the labors of a scientist for four years, as compared with official and private records of fuller detail and greater value, which are not in my possession, and are denied me. Yet these notes, though necessarily presented in detached form, and under many disadvantages, cannot fail to mirror, to any candid mind, the surgeon's fidelity to his profession, his courageous adherence to conviction, and his accurate discernment of future events, which foreshadowed disaster, and impelled him to perform his duty in the face of opposition, and to give warning even when it was proffered in vain.

LILLA MAY PAVY.

[*To be Concluded.*]

UNPUBLISHED WAR LETTERS BY GENERALS GRANT AND HALLECK.

I.

Recent discussions have aroused wide-spread interest in the question of the real relations which existed between Generals Grant and Halleck during the war. The controversy has been precipitated by the acknowledged friends of Grant. These rest their whole case upon the reports which General Halleck felt obliged to send to Washington, in regard to General Grant, immediately after the fall of Fort Donelson. The friends of General Halleck are understood to take the ground that to have done anything less than he did do, would have been a grave neglect of duty; that immediately afterward, instead of seeking to make trouble for General Grant. he interfered actively to save him from trouble; and that their relations were very friendly subsequently, and throughout the war. Friends of General Halleck are known to hold, further, that General Grant's final belief that General Halleck had been unfriendly to him at that time was created by subordinates, who, for purposes of their own, distorted the contents of the official records. It is still further claimed by them that no true friend of General Grant can contemplate with pleasure a discussion which, if continued, must and should result in establishing the exact facts of the whole situation during the ten days following the fall of Donelson.

The letter books which contain the originals of the private correspondence which passed between these two generals during the war have been examined by a communicator of the North American Review. The cordial relations which existed between these officers appear throughout the volumes in many direct utterances, while nothing is found, after the cloud that fell at Donelson was dispelled, to show the least jar between them in the course of a necessarily voluminous correspondence extending over three years and a half. One or two brief extracts from the letters herewith presented have had a limited circulation before, but with these exceptions the subjoined compilation is new.

II.

When General Grant was still restive under his anomalous position of "Second in Command" after Shiloh, General Halleck wrote him:

HALLECK TO GRANT.

"MONTEREY, MISS., *May* 12, 1862.

. . . "I am very much surprised, general, that you should find any cause of complaint in the recent assignments of commands. You have precisely the position to which your rank entitles you. Had I given you the right wing, or reserve only, it would have been a reduction rather than increase of command, and I could not give you both without placing you in the position you now occupy.

"You certainly will not suspect me of any intention to injure your feelings or reputation, or to do you any injustice; if so, you will eventually change your mind on this subject. For the last three months I have done everything in my power to ward off the attacks which were made upon you. If you believe me your friend you will not require explanation; if not, explanations on my part would be of little avail."

Fifteen months later, the correspondence shows the existence of most cordial relations. The following letter from General Halleck is interesting in the friendliness of its address, and in the wish, expressed at its close, to be back with Grant in the field. General Meade's friends will read it with much pleasure. It further shows that Halleck suggested the letter from Grant, in which he so cordially recommended Sherman and McPherson for promotion, while, at the same time, Grant's warm friendship for these comrades shines out in every line of his compliance with Halleck's wish :

III.

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *July* 11, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT, *Vicksburg, Miss.*

"*My dear General:* General George C. Meade has been appointed a brigadier-general in the regular army, at the same time that you were made a major-general. There is still one vacant brigadier-generalcy, and I hope that Harney, Anderson and Cooke will soon be retired, making three more vacancies.

"The most prominent persons, as candidates for brigadier-general in the regular army, are W. T. Sherman, McPherson, G. H. Thomas, Sedgwick and Hancock. I am of opinion that Sherman and McPherson have rendered the best service, and should come in first. If you think so, write an official letter to that effect, urging their appointment to the first vacancies. State their services pretty fully, and mention the battles they have been in under your command. The feeling is very strong here in favor of your generals.

"We are anxiously waiting to hear of the fall of Port Hudson, and the entire opening of the Mississippi River. The President will then issue a general order congratulating the armies of the East and West on their recent victories.

"This consideration has prevented me from issuing one myself for your army. I preferred that it should come from the President.

"Meade has thus far proved an excellent general, the only one, in fact, who has ever fought the Army of the Potomac well. He seems the right man in the right place. Hooker was more than a failure. Had he remained in command he would have lost the army and the Capitol.

"Give my kindest regards to my old friends among your officers. I sincerely wish I was with you again in the West. I am utterly sick of this political hell.

"Yours truly
"H. W. HALLECK."

IV.

Upon receiving the above, General Grant promptly wrote President Lincoln the following cordial and generous letter:

GRANT TO LINCOLN.

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
"VICKSBURG, MISS., *July* 22, 1863.

"HIS EXCELLENCY, A. LINCOLN,
"*President of the United States,*
"Washington, D. C.:

"I would most respectfully but urgently recommend the promotion of Major-General W. T. Sherman, now commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, and Major-General J. B. McPherson, commanding the Seventeenth Army Corps, to the position of brigadier-general in the regular army. The first reason for this is their great fitness for any command it may ever become necessary to intrust to them. Second, their great purity of character and disinterestedness in anything except the faithful performance of their duty, and the success of every one engaged in the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Third, they have honorably won this distinction upon many well fought battle-fields. I will only mention some of his services while serving under my command.

[After setting forth the services of each, and at every stage awarding high praise, General Grant closes with respect to General Sherman as follows:]

"The siege of Vicksburg, the last capture of Jackson, and the dispersion of Johnston's army entitle General Sherman to more credit than it usually falls to the lot of one man to earn.

In closing the account of General McPherson's services, the letter continues:

"In the assault of the 22d May on the fortifications of Vicksburg, and during the entire siege, General McPherson and his command won unfading laurels. He is one of our ablest engineers and most skillful generals.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

V.

Three weeks later, General Grant, in the midst of a long letter to General Halleck, on official business, turned aside from the thread of the letter to write:

GRANT TO HALLECK.

"VICKSBURG, MISS., *Aug.* 11, 1863.

. . . "I feel under many obligations to you, general, for the interest you have ever taken in my welfare, and that of the army I have the honor to command. I will do the best I know how to satisfy you that your confidence has not been misplaced." . . .

VI.

A few weeks later Halleck was thus privately defending Grant to Secretary Stanton:

HALLECK TO STANTON.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 15, 1863.

. . . "It has been alleged, and the allegation has been widely circulated by the press, that General Grant, in the conduct of his campaign, positively disobeyed the instructions of his superiors. It is hardly necessary to remark that General Grant never disobeyed an order or instruction, but always carried out, to the best of his ability, every wish or suggestion made to him by the Government; moreover, he has never complained that the Government did not furnish him all the means and assistance in its power to facilitate the execution of any plan which he saw fit to adopt."

VII.

When the war closed, Halleck is found prompt to extend, and Grant prompt to accept, the hospitality of the former's home. The following telegrams tell of the incident:

STANTON TO HALLECK.

"WASHINGTON, *May* 17, 9 P.M., 1865.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK: General Grant is here with his wife and is sick. It is not safe for him to be at the hotel, and he is reluctant to go into a private family. He would go into your house for a while, if agreeable to you. Will you write him to do so while your family are absent?

"E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*"

VIII.

HALLECK TO GRANT.

"RICHMOND, VA., *May*, 1865.

"LIEUT.-GENERAL GRANT, *Washington :*

"There are two servants, and most of the furniture and bedding in the house I occupied in Georgetown. I suggest that while your wife is with you you move right in and make yourself comfortable, My family will not again occupy it, and I do not require the furniture here, at least for the present. During the hot weather you can make yourself much more comfortable there than in Washington.

"H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*"

IX.

GRANT TO HALLECK.

"WASHINGTON, *May* 18, 3 P.M., 1865.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HALLECK: Your very kind dispatch placing your house at Mrs. Grant's disposal during her stay is received. I have not seen Mrs. Grant, but I know that she will be delighted to get out of the hotel for the few weeks she remains here.

"U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*"

In the Halleck collection is Grant's first private report about General McClernand, also indicating the early opinion of Admiral Porter about this subject :

X.

GRANT TO HALLECK.

"MEMPHIS, TENN., *January* 20, 1863.

. . . "I would respectfully ask if it would not be policy to combine the four departments in the West under one commander. As I am the senior department commander in the West, I will state that I have no desire whatever for such combined command, but would prefer the command I now have to any other that can be given.

"I regard it as my duty to state that I found there was not sufficient confidence felt in General McClernand as a commander, either by the army or navy, to insure his success. Of course all would co-operate to the best of their ability, but still with a distrust.

"This is a matter I made no inquiries about, but it was forced upon me. As it is my intention to command in person, unless otherwise directed, there is no special necessity of mentioning this matter, but I want you to know that others besides myself agree in the necessity of the course I had already determined upon pursuing.

"Admiral Porter told me that he had written freely to the Secretary of the Navy on this subject, with the request that what he said might be shown to the Secretary of War. . . .

"Very respectfully,

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General, Commanding.*"

The extremes of opinion about General Rosecrans appear in three letters, one written in 1862, and the others two years later. The third letter from General Grant expresses a decided opinion of Generals Curtis, Crocker and Sheridan :

XI.

"CORINTH, *August* 9, 1862.

. . . "I am anxious to keep the whole of the Army of the Mississippi together, and under the command of Brigadier-General Rosecrans, ready for any emergency, either to move upon any force that may threaten my front, or to reinforce General Buell. Having so many major-generals to provide commands for, this may be difficult. I regret that General Rosecrans has not got rank equal to his merit to make this easy." . . .

XII.

"CITY POINT, VA., *November* 30, 1864.

"I have just dispatched to you requesting that the Department of 'the Northwest,' Missouri and Kansas, be erected into a military division, and that General Pope be assigned to the command. I think it is highly essential that the territory embraced in those three departments should all be under one head. The importance of this change is much increased because of the inefficiency of two of the commanders of departments named, one of whom, I suppose, cannot well be removed. I do, however, think it of very great importance that General Rosecrans should be removed.

"There is no fault with General Canby that induces me to recommend a curtailment of his command, but being at such a distance from Missouri, he cannot direct affairs there as well as it can be done from Washington.

"I wish you would lay this matter before the Secretary of War and urge that the change be immediately made. With Pope in command we secure at least two advantages we have not heretofore had, namely, subordination and intelligence of administration."

XIII.

"CITY POINT, VA., *June* 24, 1864.

"Your letter stating that Generals Rosecrans and Curtis are calling for more troops is received. I am satisfied you would hear the same call if they were stationed in Maine. The fact is the two departments should be merged into one, and some officer, who does not govern so largely through a secret police system as Rosecrans does, put in command. I do think the best interests of the service demands that Rosecrans should be removed and some one else placed in that command. It makes but little difference who you assign, it would be an improvement. I had suspected wrong management on the Mississippi River, but believed Washburne and Slocum would purify matters, so far as their commands and their powers go. Have they not done so?

"You ask if the resignation of General Crocker should be accepted, and if he is qualified for the command of New Mexico. Crocker and Sheridan, I think, were the best division commanders I have ever known. Either of them are qualified for any command. I would say, by all means retain General Crocker in the service, and send him to New Mexico. The only available major-general I can think of to take the Department of the Missouri, if the President will consent to the change, and I hope he will, is N. J. T. Dana."

Some letters about General C. S. Hamilton set forth General Grant's sharp views of an officer's duty, and incidentally express opinions of Generals McPherson and Hurlburt.

XIV.

"Before Vicksburg, *March* 24, 1863.

"I am led to believe, and think there is no doubt of the fact, that Major-General C. S. Hamilton is making indirect efforts to get General McPherson removed from the command of his army corps and to get the command himself. If this is so I wish to enter my solemn protest.

"There is no comparison between the two as to their fitness for such a command.

"McPherson from his activity, good sense, winning manners and efforts to harmonize all parts of his command toward each other, and preserve the same harmony toward all parts of this army, has made him the favorite with his men and officers, and one of the most suitable corps commanders probably in any service. General Hamilton lacks these qualifications. As a soldier I have no fault to find with him further than his natural jealous disposition which influences his military conduct and acts prejudicially upon the service.

"I inclose with this some correspondence between Generals Hurlburt and Hamilton, and which forms part of the ground upon which I have felt it a duty to order the latter to the front, and show partially the justness of what I here say of him.

"I would respectfully ask to have this laid before the President."

XV.

GRANT TO L. THOMAS, ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

"Before Vicksburg, *March* 28, 1863.

"Inclosed with this I send you the resignation of Major-General C. S. Hamilton, out of form mostly, giving the reason for tendering it.

"It is due that I should state that I have approved this resignation for the following reasons: I saw by the correspondence of the two generals that General Hamilton and General Hurlburt could not get along together. For this reason I relieved the former from duty in the District of West Tennessee and ordered him here. Commanders having been assigned to corps by the President I had nothing larger in the field to give General Hamilton than a division. This he refused to accept.

"General Hamilton being a capable officer, I gave him the choice between taking his old position under General Hurlburt, a division in the field, the command of the District of Eastern Arkansas, or to be relieved from duty in this department and ordered to report to Washington for orders. He accepted the latter, with the request that his resignation be forwarded. I think in justice to the service his resignation should be accepted. The officer who shows that he expects a command fixed up for his express benefit, in my opinion becomes a beneficiary instead of what he should be, a support to the Government. The proposition which General Hamilton said he could accept were first, a division of General Hurlburt's command, in a certain way, and he to be independent of the latter ; the other that I take two divisions of the army in the field and give him independent of army corps commanders. This I could not do without manifest injury to the service."

XVI.

A letter in regard to the use of colored troops has points of interest.

GRANT TO HALLECK.

"MILIKENS BEND, La., *April* 19, 1863.

. . . "At least three of my army corps commanders take hold of the new policy of arming the negroes and using them against the rebels with a will. They at least are so much of soldiers as to feel themselves under obligations to carry out a policy which they would not inaugurate, in the same good faith, and with the same zeal ,as if it was of their own devising. You may rely on my carrying out any policy ordered by proper authority to the best of my ability."

It has often been claimed by writers about General Grant that he devised the brilliant plan for opening the Tennessee River below Chattanooga, which relieved the army of the Cumberland.

In the following letter of General Grant, he writes that, on his arrival he found General Thomas ready to execute this plan which had, been already prepared. It will be remembered by all familiar with the reports of the battles about Chattanooga, that General Thomas, in turn, reported that the plan had really been prepared under General Rosecrans before the latter was relieved by General Thomas :

XVII.

"CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *October* 26, 1863.

. "I arrived there in the night of the 23d inst., after a ride on horseback of fifty miles from Bridgeport, over the worst roads it is possible to conceive of, and through a continous drenching rain. It is now clear, and so long as it continues so it is barely possible to supply this army from its present base. . . .

"General Thomas had also set on foot before my arrival a plán for getting possession of the river from a point below Lookout Mountain to Bridgeport. If successful, and I think it will be, the question of supplies will be fully settled." . . .

General Grant's letters increased in interest after he assumed command at the East. This one about General Butler is interesting:

XVIII.

"City Point Va., *July* 1, 1864.

"Mr Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, has just returued. He informs me that he called attention to the necessity of sending General Butler to another field of duty. Whilst I have no difficulty with General Butler, finding him always clear in his conception of orders, and prompt to obey, yet there is a want of knowledge how to execute, and particularly a prejudice against him as a commander, that operates against his usefulness. I have feared that it might become necessary to separate him and General Smith. The latter is really one of the most efficient officers in the service, readiest in expedients and most skillful in the management of troops in action. I would dislike removing him from his present command unless it was to increase it, but, as I say, may have it to do yet, if General Butler remains.

"As an administrative officer General Butler has no superior. In taking charge of a department where there are no great battles to be fought, but a dissatisfied element to control, no one could manage it better than he. If a command could be cut out, such as Mr. Dana proposed, namely, Kentucky, Illinois and Indiana, or if the departments of the Missouri, Kansas, and the States of Illinois and Indiana could be merged together, and General Butler put over it, I believe the good of the service would be subserved.

"I regret the necessity of asking for a change in commanders here, but General Butler not being a soldier of education and experience, is in the hands of his subordinates in the execution of all operations military. I would feel strengthened with Smith, Franklin, or J. J. Reynolds commanding the right wing of this army. At the same time, as I have here stated, General Butler has always been prompt in his obedience to orders, with me, and clear in his understanding of them. I would not, therefore, be willing to recommend his retirement.

"I send this by mail for consideration, but will telegraph if I think it absolutely necessary to make a change."

A note about a request from Mrs. General McClellan shows the kindly side of Grant:

XIX.

"City Point, Va., *December* 26, 1864.

"I am just in receipt of a letter from General G. B. McClellan, saying that he purposes visiting Europe soon, with his family, and that Mrs. McClellan desires to see her father before starting, and requests a leave of absence for Colonel Marcy that this desire may be gratified. I do not know the special duty Colonel Marcy may be on at this time, and do not therefore wish to order the leave granted lest it may interfere with important duties. If not inconsistent with public service, however, I wish this leave to be granted from Washington. Colonel Marcy, I believe, is in Memphis, Tenn., at this time."

The dispatch, below, indicates how closely General Grant looked after details:

XX.

GRANT TO MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. HITCHCOCK.

[*Telegram.*] "CITY POINT, VA., 10:30 P.M., *February* 16, 1865.

"I see it stated in the papers, that where some prisoners in the West were paroled to be sent forward for exchange, those who preferred Northern prisons to a return to the rebel service, were invited to step to the front. I think this wrong. Those who do not wish to go back are the ones whom it is most desirable to exchange. If they do not wish to serve in the rebel army, they can return to us after exchange and avoid it."

The following has some additional views on the questions which daily arose in the exchange of prisoners:

XXI.

GRANT TO HALLECK.

"CITY POINT, VA., *February* 18, 1865.

"Your communication of the 15th inst. with inclosure, calling my attention to the fact that advantage is being taken by General Beall, Confederate agent, of the recent agreement between Judge Ould and myself, to supply rebel prisoners with new uniforms and blankets, is received. The arrangement for the relief of prisoners of war was made at a time when exchanges could not be made, and under it I see no way to prevent rebel prisoners from being clothed. Having, however, a very large excess of prisoners over the enemy, we can, in making exchanges, select those who have not been furnished with new clothing or blankets. By this means but a very limited number of rebel soldiers will be returned with new uniforms. Should it become necessary, prisoners for exchange can be required to turn their blankets over to their comrades who remain.

"Please give orders to General Hoffman accordingly."

This about General Gilmore will be read with surprise by the friends of that officer:

XXII.

GRANT TO STANTON.

"CITY POINT, VA., *February* 26, 1865.

"I regretted greatly when I learned that General Gilmore had been assigned to the command of the Department of the South. He probably will be a suitable officer to have the general superintendence of the fortifications on the seacoast. But, on that duty, he should be required to have all his requisitions approved by General Delafield or he will expend too much.

"Foreseeing the fall of Charleston, I sent orders to General Gilmore, in advance of hearing of the events, to occupy the necessary points on the coast for us to hold, with minimum garrisons, and send the balance of his forces to the Cape Fear River, and to send all white troops, leaving the colored ones where they have been raised and where their families are. Before he received that order I suppose he sent a letter calling for from 4,000 to 5,000 more troops, 1,000 mounted men, with which he expects, by uniting the civil with the military, to feed and foster the Union sentiment in Georgia. I feel confident that, with Terry in command of that department, instead of wanting an addition to his force, he will spare 1,000 men to be used elsewhere, and the balance will be much more economically supported and usefully employed. He will administer the affairs of his department with sense and judgment, and will not talk about expeditions and conquests where there is no enemy to oppose him. He will also prove a most excellent man to organize colored troops."

The two letters which follow are of great interest. In the first, which is not new, General Grant suggests the abandonment of all the northern lines to Richmond, and the opening from the coast of a base as far south as Raleigh. General Halleck's reply, which is new, in addition to the general discussion of the questions, contains many facts in regard to the real condition of the army of the Potomac, and generally of the Eastern armies, with respect to their strength for offensive purposes, which were wholly unknown at the time, and which would have startled the country had they then come to light :

XXIII.

GRANT TO HALLECK.

(Confidential.) "NASHVILLE, TENN., *January* 19, 1864.

"MAJOR-GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, *Washington, D. C.:*

"I would respectfully suggest whether an abandonment of all previously attempted lines to Richmond is not advisable, and in lieu of these, one to be taken further south. I would suggest Raleigh, N. C., as the objective point, and Suffolk as the starting point. Raleigh once secured, I would make Newberne the base of supplies until Wilmington is secured. A moving force of sixty thousand men would probably be required to start on such an expedition. This force would not have to be increased unless Lee should withdraw from his present position. In that case the necessity for so large a force on the Potomac would not exist. A force moving from Suffolk would destroy, first, all the roads about Weldon, or even as far north as Hicksford. From Weldon to Raleigh they would scarcely meet with serious opposition. Once there, the most interior line of railway still left to the enemy—in fact, the only one they would then have—would be so threatened as to force him to use a large portion of his army in guarding it. This would virtually force an evacuation of Virginia, and indirectly of East Tennessee. It would throw our armies into new fields, where they could partially live upon the country, and would reduce the stores of the enemy. It would cause thousands of North Carolina troops to desert and return to their homes. It would give us possession of many negroes who are now indirectly aiding the rebellion. It would draw the enemy from campaigns of their own choosing, and for which they are prepared, to new lines of operations never expected to become necessary. It would effectually blockade Wilmington, the post now of more value to the enemy than all the balance of their sea coast. It would enable operations to commence at once by removing the war to a more southern climate instead of months of inactivity in winter quarters. Other advantages might be cited, which would be likely to grow out of this plan, but these are enough. From your better opportunities of studying the country and the armies, that would be involved in this plan, you will be better able to judge of the practicability of it than I possibly can.

"I have written this in accordance with what I understood to be an invitation from you to express my views about military operations, and not to insist that any plan of mine should be carried out. Whatever course is agreed upon, I shall always believe is at least intended for the best, and until fully tested will hope to have it prove so.

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

XXIV.

HALLECK TO GRANT.

(Confidential.) "WASHINGTON, D. C., *February* 17, 1864.

"LIEUT.-GENERAL U. S. GRANT, *Nashville, Tenn.:*

"GENERAL: Your letter of the 12th inst. is just received. I fully concur with you in regard to the present condition of affairs in East Tennessee. It certainly is very much to be regretted that the fatal mistake of General Burnside has permitted Longstreet's army to winter in Tennessee. It is due to yourself that a full report of the matter should be placed on file so that the responsibily may rest where it properly belongs.

"The condition of affairs in East Tennessee, and the uncertainty of General Bank's operations in Texas and Lousiana, have caused me to delay answering your former communications in regard to operations of the next campaign. In one of these, you suggest whether it might not be well not to attempt anything more against Richmond, and send a column of sixty thousand men into North Carolina.

"In the first place, I have never considered Richmond as the necessary objective point of the Army of the Potomac: that point is *Lee's army*. I have never supposed that Richmond could be taken till Lee's army was defeated or driven away. It was one of Napoleon's maxims that an army covering a capital must be destroyed before attempting to capture or occupy that capital. And now how can we best defeat Lee's army; by attacking it between here and Richmond, on our shortest line of supplies and in such a position that we can combine our whole force, or by a longer line and with a force diminished by the troops required to cover Washington and Maryland?

"The movement through North Carolina, alluded to by you, and also one from Port Royal on Savannah and into Georgia, have been several times suggested here and pretty fully discussed by military men. It is conceded, by those suggesting these expeditions, that neither of them can be safely undertaken with a less force than that estimated by you, viz., sixty thousand effective men. Some require a still larger force.

"If we admit the advantage of either of these plans, the question immediately arises, Where can we get the requisite number of troops? There is evidently a general public misconception of the strength of our army in Virginia and about Washington. Perhaps it is good policy to encourage this public error. The entire effective force in the fortifications about Washington, and employed in guarding the public buildings and stores, the aqueduct, and railroads, does not exceed eighteen thousand men. We have a few thousand more in the convalescent and distribution camps, and in the cavalry and artillery depots; but these mostly fragments of organizations temporarily here for equipment and distribution, and could contribute very little to the defense of the place. This force is, therefore, less than one-half of what General McClellan and several boards of officers recommend as the permanent garrison. Considering the political importance of Washington and the immense amount of military stores here, it would be exceedingly hazardous to reduce it still further.

"The effective force of the army of the Potomac is only about seventy thousand. General Meade retreated before Lee with a very much larger force, and does not now deem himself strong enough to attack Lee's present army. Suppose we were to send thirty thousand men from that army to North Carolina, would not Lee be able to make another invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania? But it may be said that, by operating in North Carolina, we would compel Lee to move his army there. I do not think so. Uncover Washington and the Potomac River, and all the forces which Lee can collect will be moved North, and the popular sentiment will compel the Government to bring back the army in North Carolina to defend Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia. I think Lee would to-morrow exchange Richmond and Raleigh and Wilmington for the possession of either of the afore-mentioned cities.

"But suppose it were practicable to send thirty thousand men from Meade's army to North Carolina, where shall he get the other thirty thousand? We have there now barely enough to hold the points which it is necessary to occupy in order to prevent contraband trade. Very few of these would be available for the field. Maryland is almost entirely stripped of troops, and the forces in West Virginia are barely sufficient to protect that part of the country from rebel raids. The only other resource is South Carolina.

"Generals Foster and Gillmore were both of opinion, at the commencement of operations against Charleston, that neither that place nor Savannah could be taken by a land force of less than 60,000 men. But the Navy Department was sanguine that the iron-clads could reduce Charleston if the army would disable Fort Sumter and the island batteries. A large land and naval force have been employed there for nearly a year without any important result. I had no faith in the plan at first, and for months past have ineffectually urged that ten or fifteen thousand men from Gillmore's command be sent against Texas or Mobile. And now these troops are sent upon another expedition which, in my opinion, can produce no military result.

"I always have been, and am still opposed, to all of these isolated expeditions on the sea and gulf coasts. It is true that they greatly assist the navy in maintaining the blockade and preventing contraband trade, but I think the troops so employed would do more good if concentrated on some important line of military operations. We have given too much attention to cutting the toe-nails of our enemy instead of grasping his throat.

"You will perceive, from the facts stated above, that there are serious, if not insurmountable obstacles in the way of the proposed North Carolina expedition. Nevertheless, as it has much to recommend it, I shall submit it, with your remarks, to the consideration of the President and Secretary of War, as soon as troops enough return from furlough to attempt any important movement in this part of the theatre of war.

"Lee's army is by far the best in the rebel service, and I regard him as their ablest general. But little progress can be made here until that army is broken or defeated. There have been several good opportunities to do this, viz., at Antietam, at Chancellorsville, and at Williamsport, in the retreat from Gettysburg. I am also of opinion that General Meade could have succeeded recently at Mine Run, had he persevered in his attack.

"The overthrow of Lee's army being the object of operations here, the question arises, How can we best attain it? If we fight that army with our communications open to Washington so as to cover this place and Maryland, we can concentrate upon it nearly all of our forces on this frontier; but if we operate by North Carolina or the Peninsula, we must act with a divided army, and on exterior lines, while Lee, with a short interior line can concentrate his entire force upon either fragment.

"And yet, if we had troops enough to secure our position here, and at the same time to operate with advantage on Raleigh or Richmond, I would not hesitate to do so, at least for a winter or spring campaign. But our numbers are not sufficient, in my opinion, to attempt this, at least for the present. Troops sent south of James River cannot be brought back in time to oppose Lee, should he attempt a movement north, which I am satisfied would be his best policy.

"Our main efforts in the next campaign should unquestionably be made against the armies of Lee and Johnston. But by what particular lines we shall operate cannot be positively determined until the affairs of East Tennessee are settled, and we can know more nearly what force can be given to the Army of the Potomac. In the mean time it will be well to compare views and opinions. The final decision of this question will probably depend, under the President, upon yourself.

"It may be said that, if General McClellan failed to take Richmond by the Peninsula route, so also have Generals Burnside, Hooker and Meade failed to accomplish that object by the shorter and more direct route. This is all very true, but no argument can be deduced from the bare fact in favor of either plan of operations. General McClellan had so large an army in the spring of 1862 that possibly he was justified in directing his forces and adopting exterior lines of operations. If he had succeeded his plan would have been universally praised. He failed. And so also have Burnside, Hooker and Meade on an interior route; but their armies were far inferior in number to that which McClellan had two years ago. These facts in themselves prove nothing in favor of either route, and to decide the question we must recur to fundamental principles in regard to interior and exterior lines, objective points, covering armies, divided forces, etc., etc. These fundamental principles require, in my opinion, that all our available forces in the East should be concentrated against Lee's army. We cannot take Richmond (at least with any military advantage) and we cannot operate advantageously on any point from the Atlantic coast, till we destroy or disperse that army. And the nearer to Washington we can fight it the better for us. We can here, or between here and Richmond, concentrate against him more men than anywhere else. If we cannot defeat him here with our combined forces, we cannot hope to do so elsewhere with a divided army.

"I write to you plainly and frankly, for between us there should be no reserve or concealment of opinions. As before remarked, I presume that, under the authority of the President, the final decision of these questions will be referred to you. Nevertheless, I think you are entitled to have, and that it is my duty to frankly give, my individual opinion on the subject. It will no doubt be received for what it may be intrinsically worth. I can ask or expect nothing more.

"In regard to the operations of our Western armies, I fully concur in your views ; but I think the condition of affairs in East Tennessee, and west of the Mississippi River, will require some modification in your plans, or at least will very much delay the operations of your proposed spring campaign. These however, are delays and changes which neither of us could anticipate."

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*"

THE AIR-TELEGRAPH

SYSTEM OF TELEGRAPHING TO TRAINS AND SHIPS.

I HAVE been asked to write something about my new system of telegraphy by induction between moving railway trains and the usual fixed stations, which makes it possible to send messages through the air without attaching any wire to the cars or to the track.

The induction coil has long been known to electricians and studied by them, but its enormous practical value does not seem to have been understood. Indeed, this has hardly been suspected by those who have used the coil simply in scientific experiments. A number of years ago an induction coil was made, which had the power of throwing sparks a distance of twenty-one inches and making them penetrate solid blocks of glass three inches thick; and this was considered so remarkable that it is recorded as among the most striking of experimental achievements. But I arrived at something much more startling than that, in the course of some researches which I had undertaken for another purpose. For some years I have been at work looking for a new force, traces of which I have often observed in my study of electrical and other action—a force which is constantly present in many forms and places, but has never been measured, named or brought under control. I have devised dozens of machines to test this unknown force and ascertain its characteristics; and I have now planned a test which may, within a few months, give me a clear proof of its existence and put me on the trail by which I can follow it up and capture it.

While I was carrying on investigations upon this line, I found that, by means of an apparatus which I had made, I could throw a very strong electric current *fifty feet* through the air, from one conductor to another, by means of a simple primary coil which gave no spark in the air, while the secondary coil connected therewith, although giving sparks through the air several inches in length, was powerless to transmit a wave over this great distance. This fact at once opened a whole new field for the practical use of induced electricity in telegraphing between points at which a wire connection would not be practicable. It was like finding suddenly a new volume of romance in the endless library of electrical wonders. Afterwards my friends, Mr. William Wiley Smith and Mr. E. T. Gilliland, came forward with an invention patented by them in 1881, for working the telephone by means of induced currents to and fro between railroad cars and a special wire near the track. We combined our resources, and I went on experimenting—having discarded the telephone and adopted Morse characters—until, beginning with a leap of the current through fifty feet of air, I am now able to send it five hundred and eighty feet. Hence it appeared that no special wire would be needed close to the track, because the current generated on the car could jump over to the regular Morse wires; and these wires were used by me, through the employment of proper instruments, to convey messages to their destination, without interfering with the regular traffic. The result of work by Mr. Gilliland and myself, in inventing, perfecting and adapting apparatus, is that a circuit can now be established between any train, either moving or at a stand-still on a railroad, and the terminus of the road; or between the trains and any station on the route. A circuit is also established between any one train and all other trains on the same road.

It would be out of place, here, to give all the details of the apparatus by which this is accomplished. The current generated on the car proceeds from a small five-cell battery placed under a table (or cabinet, as we call it), about two feet square, which holds the instrument. The table affords room for a Morse key, an electro-magnet and an instrument called a "vibrator," which, by means of a metal reed, gives a musical character to the electrical impulses caused by opening and closing the circuit. At the termini, or at any fixed station, all that is needed is a similar apparatus, with a twelve-cell battery and a wire connection with three or four of the regular telegraph wires. On the car the wires from the battery and instrument are grounded through the axles and wheels. Another wire leads up to the ordinary metal roof of the car and charges it with electricity. The roofs of the several cars composing a train may also be connected by an insulated copper wire. In this way the roof acts as one side of a condenser, and the usual telegraph wires stretched on poles along the edge of the road-bed form the other side of the condenser. The current from the car battery and the roof of the car is of such a nature that the wave of electricity sent from the apparatus in the car lasts only about one 500,000th of a second. During this short period the air seems to conduct electricity; but if the current were allowed to remain any longer the air would enter into such a state as to oppose any further transmission. If now an interval of time is allowed to elapse the air regains its normal condition and another wave can be transmitted. In sending a single Morse letter, for instance the letter E, which is a single dot, over fifty separate waves with waits between them have to be transmitted, at the rate of six hundred per second. Those separate, rapid waves form a musical sound. A long or short depression of the key of an organ imitates the sound of the dots and dashes as heard in the receiving instrument. The operators, both on the car and at the fixed stations, hear these notes through telephonic sounders, so that the rattle of the train and the crackling noise of other messages rushing along the wires do not disturb them in the least. All that they hear from these receivers is a clear, crisp, humming note which is perfectly distinct in its short or long iterations. The operator on the car has the telephonic receivers fastened over his ears by a rubber strap, so that both hands remain free, one to work the key with and the other to write out messages as they arrive. The regular Morse waves traverse the wires at the rate of about thirteen to a second. Mine go through the air and along the wires at the rate, as I have said, of six hundred a second. This does not make it possible to send a message any more rapidly than on the regular Morse circuits; but it effects one result of the highest importance—that is, that one current does not interfere with the other. The sounds which we transmit by inductive electricity cannot be heard by operators at ordinary Morse instruments; but any average operator at a fixed station provided with our instrument can read our messages with even greater ease than he could read from the customary relay instrument.

Hence it makes no difference how many wires there may be along-side the railroad. No confusion is possible. Neither can car operators take messages off those wires when sent by means of ordinary currents. But messages sent by our apparatus from one train to another, or from trains to stations, can travel over the usual circuits without difficulty. Dispatches can be sent to or from the cars in either direction, either forward or backward along the route. The current leaps over to and runs along the wires, and whatever train or station may be called, that train or station will hear the call and answer it, but others which are not called will, of course, make no reply. Two trains passing each other on the road will not materially interrupt communication, because they pass within a few seconds, and the telegraphing to and from each one can be resumed immediately.

The expense of putting instruments in on cars or at stations will be small. No special wire will ever be needed except in extreme cases where regular wires diverge widely from the road-bed. The instruments on trains will occupy only a corner in either a baggage or a passenger car, and they can be moved from one car to another and set going again within a few minutes after the transfer. The advantage of this system over any which involves running a costly insulated wire between the rails or close to them is apparent in the fact that, while a single special wire could easily be cut by mischievous persons, nothing could break communication by our system, unless all the regular telegraph wires should be torn down. Furthermore, a wire running along the track would be apt to be injured by any accident to a train at the very moment when it would be essential to talk to that train. Under my system every train would be sending reports to the fixed stations all the time; so that even if the car in which the instrument was placed were to be overturned, it would not matter. The operators and train dispatchers would at once suspect an accident and telegraph accordingly to other trains.

This invention might well be called "the air-telegraph," because we are able by it to converse through the atmosphere from the wires. But the company to which it now belongs calls it simply the "railway telegraph." I expect to apply it in such a way that ships at sea, many miles apart, can exchange messages of any length by signals. This will, probably, be accomplished by using a balloon-kite coated with tin-foil, soaring several hundred feet above the deck and controlled by a fine wire. The song of the Sirens would have no charm for any mariner who could hear from home and send word to his sweetheart by this method. News of wrecks, distress, mutinies, etc., could be rapidly forwarded from ship to ship within each other's signalling area, and merchants could not only find out just where the ships are that carry valuable cargoes invoiced to them, but could also, if they desired, telegraph to alter the destination of their vessels, in accordance with changes of the market. In time of war a line of ships stationed along the coast or between the scene of active hostilities and the nearest telegraph office, could be of immense service in conveying by the "air-telegraph" news of the enemy's approach, or in transmitting dispatches where communication by the land routes was interrupted. In archipelagos and where small islands lie near the coast, this device would make it possible to telegraph from island to island or to the main shore much more cheaply than by laying submarine cables. Why should we not also use the same means for telegraphing from stations at long intervals, which might be set up in mountain or forest regions, which the wires do not commonly penetrate?

But it is not necessary to dwell on these and other uses to which the invention may be put in the future. There is one application of it which at present transcends all others and has been tried fully on the Staten Island Railroad. Before these pages are published it will also be in operation on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, where its value in train-dispatching will be illustrated. I am not familiar with the management of railroads, but some of those who are so assure me that the "air-telegraph" or railway telegraph will greatly facilitate railway service in the following ways:

1. On roads having a large traffic, it is more economical to dispatch freight trains (except in some cases of line and special freights) as soon as they are made up, and to allow them to make their run without being bound by a fixed schedule. A special and important instance of this is the way in which trains loaded with grain have to be sent from the West to the East as rapidly as possible. Any method that enables the train department to move such trains safely without a fixed schedule must be invaluable. On a single-track road, especially, with telegraph stations some distance apart, it is essential that the train department should watch and control the movements of trains so as to keep them clear from all dangers and collisions. As things are now, the chief train dispatcher is like a general trying to conduct a campaign and to move

his various corps and divisions when communication with them for a large part of the time is cut off. The new system will give him absolute command of the whole field.

2. Besides moving trains under favorable conditions, the dispatcher has to contend with many serious difficulties in case of untoward events. Among these difficulties are "wrecks," damage to the roads, snow blockades, foggy weather, "broken trains," etc. All such obstructions cause grave disturbance, and necessitate the issuing of immediate orders. Under the existing system a long delay occurs before a report of the obstruction is received; even then the train dispatcher has only a faint idea of all the circumstances; and he cannot send his orders swiftly or to the best advantage. The new method obviates all this trouble and uncertainty. The moment anything goes seriously wrong on the roads either the operator on the train which has met with the accident, or the operator on the train nearest to it, telegraphs to the dispatcher. The dispatcher at once calls through his instrument for a report from every train, and in a few minutes he obtains full knowledge of the state and position of each train on his division. Having once got these data, he solves his problem at the shortest notice.

3. It must also be borne in mind that a delay in sending perishable goods, or in making fast expresses keep time, frequently causes a railroad a loss of many thousands of dollars for a single stoppage. The new system will prevent this loss. Prompt telegraphing to and fro will make it possible to run trains of superior class, or trains containing perishable goods, around other trains which cause the delay.

4. Dispatchers, by this system, can call up any and all trains, whether in motion or on a siding. And if a train, in accordance with schedule, has taken a siding, to wait until another train passes it, the dispatcher can order it to go ahead without regard to the other train, which meanwhile has been held back by his orders sent directly to it.

The usefulness of the invention is not confined to train-dispatching, however. It is evident that it can be employed to great advantage for ordinary telegraphic correspondence, whenever it is important that a message should be sent to some one on a train, whose destination is two or three days' travel distant from his starting-point. Sudden changes in the aspect of business affairs, which require that a traveling agent or partner should be notified before he reaches his station, may be explained to him by the railway telegraph, while he sits in the car journeying along at the rate of thirty or forty miles an hour. Similarly he may send back to his office in New York, San Francisco or Chicago any information which he happens to pick up, or business decisions which he was not able to make before starting.

The benefit to newspaper correspondents is obvious. They can collect news at one town, and on their way to another place they can write their dispatches in the train and send them from it directly to the editorial office, wherever that office may be, thereby saving a great deal of time.

Police business will of course be greatly expedited by this system. The police authorities of any town or city, if they have reason to suppose that a criminal or a civil offender—such as embezzlers and confidence men—has taken to flight by railroad, can at once send descriptions and inquiries to all trains on the routes leading from their locality.

The working of the invention is not a matter of uncertainty. It is already developed and perfected, and can be applied anywhere. I have had it elaborately tested for several months, and it operates equally well in all weathers. So completely is it under control that, I think, by fastening metallic plates on houses near the regular lines of telegraph wires, offices could be opened in those houses, and an opposition telegraph system be started on the same wires. It is possible that I may in time find means of using telephones on trains, for oral conversation, which was the original idea of Mr. William Wiley Smith; but that would be a separate development. The new railway telegraph is complete, as it stands to-day; and, in its new utilization of induced electricity, as well as in its wide-spread, practical bearings, it seems to me—if I may speak of it for a moment without regard to my personal relation to it—one of the most important among recent inventions, in the results it is likely to accomplish.

THOMAS A. EDISON.

AN OPEN LETTER.

No. 30 East Sixty-Third Street,
New York City, *January* 29, 1886.

To the Editor of the North American Review:

Sir: In an article called "An Acquaintance with Grant," published in your December number, I quoted General Sherman as having said since Grant's death that "had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson." I cited this speculative opinion from the highest officer in the army, thinking it would illustrate and lend interest to the general proposition I asserted concerning the effect of chance upon the soldier's career. I do not see that the speculation is injurious to General Grant, General Sherman, or anybody else. General Sherman, however, made my citation of it the subject of a correspondence with you, in consequence of which you discussed my statement in your January number, and announced that General Sherman had called on you to repudiate the sentiment attributed to him. This was followed by a letter from General Sherman to the Rev. George Morrison, dated January 12, published in the daily papers of the 16th, in which the general says: "It is utterly impossible that I could have written or spoken the words as quoted in the December number of the North American Review," and "that I could have written the positive expression, 'that, had C. F. Smith lived, General Grant would have disappeared from history,' is an impossibility;" adding, "I am confident in good time we shall learn on what authority or hearsay this publication is based." The issue between General Sherman and me is whether or not I quoted him correctly. In your February number, for an early copy of which I thank you, General Sherman says, coupled with much personal abuse of me, that I "invented the quotation for the purpose of questioning it," and that I, "when cornered will dodge the issue."

In view of the foregoing facts I need make no apology to the public for feeling called upon to establish the validity of the quotation I made. General Sherman himself is my authority. The remark that "had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson," was written with the general's hand over his signature, word for word as I gave it. That there may be no ground for misunderstanding concerning the language used and the connection in which it was employed I append a verbatim paragraph from a letter in General Sherman's handwriting dated September 6, 1885.

As intimated in General Sherman's letter to Mr. Morrison there is a marked difference between speculating "what might have been had General Grant gone to the rear and C. F. Smith fought the battle of Shiloh; what might have been had Washington accepted his warrant in the English navy," and "the positive expression that 'had C. F. Smith lived, General Grant would have disappeared from history.'" It is not my province to explain the relation between the two. Either, however, would serve the purpose with which I quoted General Sherman, namely, to illustrate the general proposition that "chance is an important factor in the race of glory," by citing the implied opinion of General Grant's especial friend that it was true at a particular stage of Grant's career.

Perhaps I ought to add that the letter from which I quoted was shown to me on account of its supposed historical value, and with no reference to the expression I quoted. Observing the fitness of that expression to the subject on which I was engaged, and having the consent of the person to whom the letter was addressed to make the citation, I did not hesitate to do so. The correspondence of which the letter is a part was between two officials—Colonel R. N. Scott and General Sherman—upon a popular subject, that implied no secrecy whatever; and the repudiation of my quotation was no doubt a surprise to Colonel Scott, as it was to me.

Please publish this note in the next number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, and on account of the character and authority of the denial, use the fac-simile plate herewith for printing the extract from General Sherman's letter.

Yours truly,

JAMES B. FRY.

EXTRACT.

Now as to Halleck-Grant, I had the highest possible opinion of Halleck's knowledge and power, and never blamed him for mistrusting Grant's ability. Had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson. Smith was a strong, nervous, vigorous man when I reported to him in person at Fort Henry. . . . With great respect your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

As will be seen, on reading General Sherman's address in this issue, it is now unnecessary for me to comply with General Fry's request to republish in fac-simile the extract quoted. For General Sherman not only does not dispute its authenticity but has furnished for publication the entire letter to Colonel Scott, insisting, as he had done throughout, that the extract should not go on record in the REVIEW detached from the context.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

AN UNSPOKEN ADDRESS TO THE LOYAL LEGION.

The following paper was prepared to be read at the meeting of the Loyal Legion at Cincinnati, Feb. 10 inst., a meeting of soldiers, to pass upon the points at issue, but the sudden and totally unexpected death of General W. S. Hancock the evening previous changed the whole character of the proceedings, and I now agree to its publication unabridged in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

W. T. SHERMAN, *General.*

NEW YORK, *Feb.* 12, 1886.

To my Comrades and Friends:

WHILST I seek retirement and peace, the newspapers take great liberties with me as with everybody else. They have published that my family will soon leave St. Louis because we are discontented, each paper assigning its own separate reason. There is no secret about it; all my family connections, and all who have a right to be consulted, understand the case perfectly. Ever since the failure of the Harrison Wire Company, at St. Louis, which involved my son-in-law, Captain Fitch, and which has resulted in the removal of his family to Pittsburg, we have been disturbed. Three of my children and seven grandchildren are now away from home, and there remain to us only three. Of these the youngest son, nineteen years old, on whom the family must soon depend, will graduate at St. Louis University, in June, 1886, wants to go to Yale College, and I want him to receive the best possible education. His going to New Haven in September will probably result in the few of us left going to New York, to be near him. I shall, however, retain all the property I possess in St. Louis (not much, to be sure), but all that I have to leave the family when I am laid in Bellefontaine Cemetery. I am perfectly content with my neighbors and friends of St. Louis, to whom I am very much attached, and who have done all they possibly can to make our stay with them agreeable.

The Fry matter is equally simple when viewed aright. Last summer after General Grant's funeral, which I attended, while traveling between New York, St. Louis, Minnetonka and Chicago, I was collecting materials for the tribute of respect I as President was requested to make to the memory of General Grant, our First Commander, before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee at our meeting at Chicago of September 9–10. That address was universally noted, copied in all the journals of the day, and was the *result* of that correspondence. The special quotation of General Fry in the December, 1885, number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW was not made from that public address, but from one of two *private* letters of inquiry addressed to Colonel Robert N. Scott, who had been on General Halleck's staff, and is now in charge of the War Records at Washington, of whom all army officers make frequent inquiries for scraps of information. Colonel Scott is a personal friend whom I have known since boyhood, and his father before him, in San Francisco, and I wrote to him with the same confidence I would to my own brother about family matters. I keep no copies of such letters, and write mine hastily, *carelessly*, and it was only January 29, 1886, two months after, that I obtained from Colonel Scott a copy of the correspondence, from which Fry had made his detached quotation. This correspondence presents the whole story better than I can state it anew. As soon as General Fry's article appeared, General Grant's friends called my attention to it, and my letter-book or memory retaining no expression of opinion so positive as that used, I naturally requested the Editor to ascertain from General Fry the source of his quotation, that I might explain or ascertain who had revealed my private letters. General Fry's answer was evasive, calling on General Sherman to deny the words, and the "sentiment" before he would substantiate his statement. I again called on him, and appealed to the War Department, all without success, generally explaining to correspondents that I thought it impossible I could have used that particular form of expression, and believed General Fry had a malicious motive. I received, too late, a notice by a roundabout way from a gentleman of Cincinnati that Fry was cunningly laying a trap to catch me, and it was not until January 29, 1886, that Colonel

Scott himself first revealed to me the actual source of this mischievous paragraph. Detached and used as a text for a sermon it was as clear a *forgery* as was ever perpetrated. Taking my letter to Colonel Scott in its integrity, though manifestly never meant for publication, I contend it is eminently consistent with my constant friendship for General Grant from Shiloh to the day we deposited his remains in the tomb at Riverside. The date, September 6, 1885, is prior to the publication of Grant's "Memoirs" in which on page 385 he positively records that his position at Corinth, June, 1862, had become "so unbearable" that he had resolved to go to the rear, and was dissuaded by General Sherman—or, quoting his own words: "I then obtained permission to leave the department, but General Sherman happened to call on me as I was about starting and urged me so strongly not to think of going that I concluded to remain.

General Sherman in his "Memoirs," 1875, states the same fact with the further addition that he learned of General Grant's purpose to go back to St. Louis from General Halleck himself, and rode to General Grant's camp for the very purpose of dissuading him from committing this fatal mistake.

Now, it is a matter of notoriety that from February to July, 1862, General Grant was under a cloud, hounded by the newspapers, and by a clique of officers of whom Fry was one, until, as he himself says, his position became "unbearable." And, during all that time, General Sherman was his steadfast friend, and discovered in him those pure, unselfish, manly qualities which afterward yielded such precious fruits to our country and mankind. Can it then be wondered at, after twenty-four years, that General Sherman should be a little surprised that the habitual libeller of General Grant (see his published volume 1884, "The Army under Buell"), should attempt to assume the character of Grant's panegyrist at his expense?

There is not a member of the Supreme Court, of Congress, or any lawyer who will consent to the publication of his manuscript without the privilege of revising the "proof;" and, moreover, Provost-Marshal General Fry knows that in the trial by court-martial of the humblest private soldier the testimony of each witness is subject to "revision" before becoming a part of the Record. Yet he obtains from a confiding friend, a private letter, publishes it to the world, *garbled*, and makes it a text for a sermon to General

Sherman, and when politely asked for the source of his quotation he answers coolly, "Better let the case rest where it is." If he thinks he has achieved a cheap newspaper victory over General Sherman he is welcome. The man who got off with my overcoat may keep it, for I have bought a new one.

Now, my friends, I want to direct your attention to all there is in this case—"much ado about nothing." At the date of that letter, September 6th, there was to be a meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, at Chicago, September 9–10, 1885. General Sherman was at Lake Minnetonka, and being summoned by the family of General Grant at his death, July 23, 1885, went to Mount McGregor, and remained till his body was finally entombed, August 8, 1885. Compelled to travel from New York to St. Louis, to Lake Minnetonka, to Chicago, and St. Louis—back again to Chicago for the army meeting, he was forced to collect materials for his address "on the wing." That "Address" was the result of this correspondence, and it has been universally copied, and was in the hands of General Fry when he composed his paper for the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, of December, 1885. Utterly ignoring this public address, which was the conclusion I had reached from the correspondence and from personal knowledge, General Fry *segregates* a single paragraph from one of many private letters of inquiry of which he became possessed wrongfully, and now wants to prove to the world that General Sherman lied, actually resorting to police methods of reproducing photograph copies of a paragraph in a letter which he could well understand General Sherman had forgotten, and which in the aggregate was most eulogistic of General Grant.

Any lawyer or logician reading the whole of this correspondence —not the garbled extracts—will see that on the 6th of September, 1885, my mind was working out the antithesis to be used at Chicago only three days later, before my comrades and friends, all of them ardent friends of General Grant, to contrast the Grant of Donelson, February, 1862, and the Grant of Appomattox and dead hero of 1885, an interval of twenty-three long eventful years.

As to General Halleck, I had in him the most unbounded confidence in 1862. He was the best-informed scholar of the military art in America, McClellan not excepted. I knew him familiarly at West Point for three years; sailed with him around Cape Horn in 1846 on board the "Lexington;" was associated with him in California for the four years of the Mexican War, and knew him for another six years when he was a member of the eminent law firm of Halleck, Peachy, Billings & Park. But war is a terrible test. Halleck did not stand this test, whereas General Grant did. Halleck was a theoretical soldier. Grant was a practical soldier.

In February, 1862, General Halleck's fame and power were transcendant and that of Grant hardly recognized, whereas, in 1864, Halleck had dwindled into a mere Chief of Staff, and General Grant had earned such renown that he was enabled to dictate his own terms to the President and Secretary of War.

We are now told that the road to fame and public favor in America is strewn with the carcasses of men who "wrote letters." This is true—and it is equally true that you cannot pick up a handful of soil which does not contain some part of what was once a human being, full of the life and hope, and fear, which we all feel; the very bread on our tables contains the phosphate which once was part of the embodiment of an immortal soul. Nevertheless, must we in our short sojourn on earth deny ourselves the happiness and pleasure of social intercourse and correspondence? Why is the Post Office the most popular of our Government establishments? Must we abstain from all communication with family and friends because some one may imprudently or maliciously reveal our secret thoughts? Even among the twelve Disciples one proved false, whilst the eleven remained true, and spread the Gospel of Peace to all the world. Does the enlightened Press of America aim that no honorable man can serve the Government? Is this to be the result of our Free Government? These are questions which we can leave to our successors in the "next war."

I remember only too well that in the last war, in the midst of gloom and tribulation, I derived from the Public Press but little encouragement—but from such men as S. S. L. L'Hommedieu, Charles Anderson, Silas F. Miller of Cincinnati, James E. Yeatman, the Reverend W. G. Eliot and Henry Turner of St. Louis, my heart was warmed, and my arm strengthened in the good cause for which we fought. Therefore am I willing to be adjudged imprudent by confiding in personal friends rather than to the public press, which must more or less trim its sails to the surface breezes.

Now, I give the whole correspondence, without abridgement, and I invite special attention to the letter of September 6, 1885, from which General Fry made his extract:

[COPY.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *January* 26, 1886.

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN, *U. S. Army, St. Louis, Mo.:*

DEAR GENERAL: You and I have made a "mess of it"—you by writing a letter to me of great historic interest and forgetting it, and I by using the letter for the information of some of my friends.

On the 30th of August last you wrote to me for certain information, to be used in a speech, about Allen, Halleck, and Grant; I replied September 4th calling your attention to Record evidence on the subject and commenting upon it. On September 6th you rejoined, writing among other things as follows:

"Now as to Halleck and Grant. I had the highest possible opinion of Halleck's knowledge and power, and never blamed him for mistrusting Grant's ability. Had C. F. Smith lived Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson. Smith was a strong, nervous, vigorous man when I reported to him in person at Fort Henry."

I sent both your letters to my friend, General Fry, who is deeply interested in the history of Grant and Halleck, is very friendly to both, and who had, as I knew, investigated the very question you have asked. Fry was struck by your Grant-Smith conjecture, and desired it to illustrate one of the points in his "Acquaintance with Grant." As that conjecture was neither esoteric nor hurtful, I without hesitation assented to such use of it, little dreaming it was a package of unlabeled dynamite.

Since the publication of your Morrison letter, Fry feels it incumbent upon him to prove that he has not misquoted you; I recognize that necessity, but desire that his vindication be accomplished at a minimum of annoyance to you.

I enclose copies of your letters of August 30, September 6, 1885, of my letter of September 4, 1885, and of Fry's letter to me of 24th instant.

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT N. SCOTT.

[COPY.]

CHICAGO, Ill., *September* [*August*], 30, 1885.

DEAR SCOTT: I am here *en route* for Mansfield, Ohio, where we have a family reunion. Thence I go to St. Louis, preparatory to coming again to Chicago for the annual meeting of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, September 9–10,

At that meeting I will be compelled to speak somewhat of General Grant, but will try to limit myself to his connection with the Army of the Tennessee, of which he was the first commander. I am somewhat familiar with the early events of 1862, but there is one point of which you must have personal knowledge. When General Halleck reached Corinth he was compelled, by superior orders from Washington, to send the Army of the Cumberland, General Buell, back toward Chattanooga, and the remaining forces were distributed defensively along the Charleston and Memphis Railroad from Corinth to Memphis, Grant being assigned to the "District of Memphis." Then when Hallack was himself ordered to Washington he cast about for his own successor, and fixed on General Robert Allen, Chief Quartermaster at St. Louis, and offered him the command. I knew of this fact at the time from Halleck himself, also from Allen, and that Allen declined.

Have you any personal knowledge on this point? or in Halleck's letter-books or telegrams, do you find the specific orders or inquiries? Allen is still living in London, but is too far away for me to ask him. Can you fortify my memory in this particular? I will be at 912 Garrison Avenue, St. Louis, from Saturday September 5th to Tuesday September 8th, and will be personally obliged if you will answer.

With great respect, as always your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

[COPY.]

WASHINGTON, *September* 4, 1885.

GENERAL SHERMAN, U. S. A., ST. LOUIS, MO.

MY Dear GENERAL: Your letter of 30th ultimo has been received. By slip you dated it *September* 30.

Grant's geographical command from February 17 to October 16, 1862, was the "District of West Tennessee," but as early as April 21st of that year he began in orders, etc., to style his mobilized force the "Army of the Tennessee." See "Official Rebellion Records," Vol. X, Part 2d, pages 116, 144, 154, and specially note, Part 4th of the order on page 144. Also see Halleck to Grant, May 12th, on page 182, *ibid.*

On June 10, 1862, Grant, Buell, and Pope were ordered to resume command of their respective "Separate Army Corps," viz., the armies of the Tennessee, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. See "R. R.' Vol. X, Part 2d, page 288.

Memphis was formally embraced in Grant's command, June 12, 1862. He entered the city on the 23d of that month; but you were the first commander of the "District" of that name.

On July 11, 1862, Halleck was ordered to Washington. Immediately upon receipt of the President's order he telegraphed Grant to come to him at Corinth. See documents herewith, which are printed in Volume XVI (not yet indexed) of the "Rebellion Records."

Halleck left the West hoping to return. No successor to his command in the "Department of the Mississippi" was ever appointed. It simply fell apart when he left Corinth. Grant and Buell dividing so much of it as was East of the Mississippi.

Halleck was certainly very fond of Allen, and had a high opinion of his administrative ability, but from facts within my personal knowledge I have for twenty years at heart believed that Halleck never *seriously* thought of Allen as his own successor in the Department of the Mississippi. I know the story as Badeau gives it, but I do not believe it. The only official light on the subject appears in the documents I send you.

It is a pleasure to me to give you all information in my power on any war topic of interest to you.

By the end of this year everything relating to the war to the end of 1863, will be in type or ready for the printers. The Chickamauga and Mine Run campaigns are now being arranged for him. I mention this because I am informed that the preface to new edition of your "Memoirs" finds fault with the progress I have made.

Very truly yours,

ROBERT N. SCOTT.

[COPY.]

(ENCLOSURE FROM SCOTT.)

912 GARRISON AVE., ST. LOUIS, MO., *Sept.* 6, 1886.

COL. R. N. SCOTT, WAR RECORDS, WASHINGTON D. C.

DEAR SCOTT: I thank you as always for your answer of September 4, and for the extracts which accompanied the letter. I don't believe you have a better friend than the undersigned in the world outside your family, and I loved and revered your father in California when you were a mischievous boy. But I do say the Government of the United States, President and Congress, have been guilty of the most cruel act of injustice of which history in the future will deal. This Government called to its military service in 1861–5 two millions of its best men, and shoved them by detachments against an organized rebellion. Newspaper correspondents, sutlers, stragglers, and refugees, wrote the contemporaneous history, whilst every man who went to fight, had a right to expect that the Government would protect his fair fame, as dear to him as life ; and yet we are here in 1885, twenty years, and the Government history is still groping in the dull obscure facts of 1862. See Series 1, Vol. XII, Part 3d.

Now if one year of war takes twenty years to record, how much will four years take ? Eighty years. I contend, and have contended with European officers of world-wide fame, that the military profession of America was not responsible for the loose preliminary operations of 1862, and that it was not till after both Gettysburg and Vicksburg that the war professionally began. Then our men had learned in the dearest school of earth the simple lesson of war. Then we had brigades, divisions and corps which could be handled professionally, and it was then that we as professional soldiers could rightfully be held to a just responsibility.

This is the point I shall endeavor to make in my Memoirs, but never reflecting on you personally or officially. I hold the Republican party responsible. Instead of appropriating $5,000–$25,000, etc., for the War Records, the annual appropriation should have been a million in 1866, two million in 1867 and after, so that by 1870 the work should have been done. The Germans were less than six years in their Official Records.

Now as to Halleck-Grant. I had the highest possible opinion of Halleck's knowledge and power, and never blamed him for mistrusting Grant's ability. Had C. F. Smith lived, Grant would have disappeared to history after Donelson. Smith was a strong, nervous, vigorous man when I reported to him in person at Fort Henry. I saw him again and again at Savannah, on his steamboat the "Tigress," I believe. He threatened to arrest me if I did not prevent Colonel Tom Worthington coming to bore him. I saw him after he skinned his leg in stepping into a yawl-boat, and I believe as well as I believe that three years ago I lived in Washington, that General Smith reported to General Halleck, that by reason of this mere accident he could not mount a horse, and that was the real reason that General Grant, then left behind at Fort Henry, was ordered forward to Savannah, and Pittsburg Landing to resume his command. General Smith's Adjutant-General, T. J. Newsham, is still living over in Edwardsville, Illinois, and he insists that after the General's death he carefully prepared a full copy of letters and telegrams which were sent to Mrs. C. F. Smith. These will turn up.

The same or similar of the facts reported by Badeau on page 108, vol. I and I believe he possesses the letter of General Robert Allen, from which he quotes at length. I am certain that Halleck told me as much, and that Allen did also. Halleck and Grant are now dead, but Allen lives in London, has prepared much for publication, but his last letter to me within the year intimates he will *not* publish, but his MSS. will remain and the truth will come out. I believe the fact as firmly as I believe that Mr. Lincoln made his executive order of July 11, 1862, assigning General Halleck to "the command of all the land forces of the U. S. as general in chief."

I believe Mr. Lincoln was justified in this act by the then condition of affairs, and that he, Halleck, having no one willing and competent in his judgment to command the three armies of Buell, Pope, and Grant, made the best disposition he could of affairs at the West, and most properly obeyed the positive order of President Lincoln to go East.

Grant therefore was called back to Corinth by virtue of his commission, not by selection, and simply resumed command of all the troops left in the District of West Tennessee.

On the 23rd of June, 1862, I myself saw General Grant en route from Corinth to Memphis, 96 miles; had a long talk with him. He was *ordered* there and made the ride by land without escort other than his orderlies and clerks. He was *ordered* back to Corinth, July 11, by way of Columbus because Halleck was ordered to Washington, the motive for which was the condition of affairs with McClellan in Virginia.

From the 21st of February, 1862, till July 11, 1862—five long, bitter months—Grant was under a cloud, but these tested and strengthened the qualities which were in him and which produced such fruits.

I don't blame Mr. Lincoln or Halleck, Buell or any body, but I do believe we now after twenty years should know more of the exact truth than we seem to possess.

With great respect, your friend,

W. T. SHERMAN.

[COPY.]

912 GARRISON AVENUE, ST. LOUIS, MO., *Jan.* 12, 1886.
GEO. MORRISON, ESQ., NO 287 N. CAROLINE ST., BALTIMORE, MD.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 7th with newspaper slip inclosed, also the postal card of the 8th. Of course I have read carefully the first volume of General Grant's "Memoirs," and regard it as admirable in every sense, and now await the second volume, which I doubt not will be equally valuable and interesting. From the day I reported to him from Paducah till his death our relations were as brothers rather than as commander and commanded, and it is utterly impossible that I could have written or spoken the words as quoted by General Fry in the December number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I am convinced General Grant never authorized General Fry to speak for him, and I know that I never authorized him to speak for me. I have endeavored through the Editor of the REVIEW to have General Fry say where he obtained his quotation, thus far without success. I have a very large correspondence, and converse freely with thousands of people, and, as is natural, we often speculate what *might have been* had General Grant gone to the rear, and C. F. Smith fought the battle of Shiloh—what *might have been* had Washington accepted his warrant in the English Navy, etc., but that I could have written the positive statement that "had C. F. Smith lived General Grant *would* have disappeared from history" is an impossibility.

Personally I want to live in peace, to avoid all controversy, but am confident in good time we shall learn on what authority or hearsay General Fry based his publication. I enclose with this a slip containing my last public utterence about General Grant, when I announced his death to his old comrades of the Army of the Tennessee.

I don't believe any man, living or dead, has borne more willing testimony to General Grant's great qualities, especially as demonstrated at Henry, Donelson, Shiloh and Vicksburg than myself, and it is rather late in the day for General Fry to assume the office of panegyrist at my expense.

Yours truly,
W. T. SHERMAN.

[COPY.]

30 EAST 63D STREET, N. Y. CITY, *January* 24, 1886.
COL. R. N. SCOTT.

My dear Colonel: You have no doubt seen the letter from General Sherman to the Rev. George Morrison, which appeared recently in the daily papers, and is republished in the "Army and Navy Register" of the 23d inst., just received. The Morrison letter is clearly intended as a denial of the statement made by me in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW concerning General Sherman. The "New York Times," heads the letter "*General Sherman refutes a slander*," and the public generally, so far as I can learn, consider that General Sherman has denied the statement made by me. After weighing the matter and consulting my friends, I am forced to the conclusion that I must make public proof that I quoted General Sherman correctly.

Yours sincerely,
JAMES B. FRY.

[COPY.]

912 GARRISON AVENUE, ST. LOUIS, MO., *January* 29, 1886.

COL. R. N. SCOTT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Scott : Your letter of the 26th with inclosures is received, and this is the first glimpse I have caught of the source of Fry's quotation in his article "Acquaintance with Grant" in the December number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. My letter to you of September 6, 1885, was purely private, and one from which General Fry had no right to quote without my consent; but even after he had so quoted, if he had answered the editor's most courteous inquiry at my instance of December 5, I could in a paragraph have changed "would" to might, or have interlined "probably" to express more fully my meaning. You are at liberty to make either of these changes in that letter, and put on your official files.

What I take exception to, is, having Fry, who was never the confidant of General Grant or General Sherman, posing as the panegyrist of the former at the expense of the latter.

When in 1862–3 General Grant needed a friend, I was that friend, and it seems odd that now when General Grant needs no friend, General Fry should step in to claim the privilege.

Fry may do what he pleases, I will do the same.

Sincerely your friend,
W. T. SHERMAN.

THE following address by General W. T. Sherman (delivered as President of the Society), before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, at Chicago, September 9, 1885, is published for the convenient reference of the reader. W. T. S.

Though in war death makes the battle-field his harvest, yet in peace he insidiously invades the most sacred premises, taking here the innocent babe, there the gentle, loving wife, again the youth in lusty manhood and the King on his throne. During our last vacation he has stricken from our list of members the very head and front—General U. S. Grant, the same who, in the cold winter of 1861–62, gathered together at Cairo, Ill., the fragments of an army and led them up the Tennessee River. The creator and father of the Army of the Tennessee took his final leave of earth at 8:8 on the morning of July 23, 1885, from Mount McGregor, a spur of the Alleghanies, in plain view of the historic battle-field of Saratoga. He had finished his life's work and had bequeathed to the world his example. The lightning's flash carried the sad tidings to all parts of the civilized earth, and I doubt whether, since the beginning, there ever arose so spontaneous a wail of grief to bear testimony before High Heaven that mankind had lost a kindred spirit and his countrymen a leader. We, his first war comrades, concede to the family their superior rights, but claim the next place in the grand procession of mourners.

We were with him in his days of adversity as well as prosperity, and were as true to him as the needle to the pole. We shared with him the trials and tribulations, as well as the labors and battles of Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Iuka, and Vicksburg, when that transcendent and most valuable of all victories turned the universal gaze of our bewildered countrymen to the new star in the West, which plainly foretold the man who had dispelled the cloud which "lowered o'er our house," and was to lead us to the triumphant victories of 1865 and to the stable, enduring prosperity of 1885.

In the year 1839 I was a first-class man in the United States Military Academy at West Point, a position of exaltation never reached since, though reasonably successful in life, and there appeared on the walls of the hall in "Old North Barrack" a list of new cadets, among which was "U. S. Grant." A crowd of lookers-on read "United States Grant," "Uncle Sam Grant," "Sam Grant," and Sam Grant he is to-day in the traditions of the old 4th U. S. Infantry. It afterward transpired that his name was actually Ulysses Hiram Grant, and the mistake had been made by General Hamer, the member of Congress who nominated him as the cadet from his district. Cadet Grant tried to correct this mistake at the beginning and end of his cadet life without success, and to history his name must ever be U. S. Grant. I remember his personal appearance at the time, but the gulf of separation between a first-class man and a "plebe" at West Point was and still is deeper and wider than between the General-in-Chief and a private soldier in the army, so that I hardly noticed him. His reputation in the 4th Infantry, in which he served through the Mexican war and until he resigned his commission of captain in Oregon, July 31, 1854, was of a good, willing officer, always ready for duty, extremely social and friendly with his fellows, but in no sense conspicuous, brilliant, or manifesting the wonderful qualities afterward developed in him.

I met him again when the civil war had broken out—when chaos seemed let loose and the gates of hell wide open in every direction. Then came the news of General Grant's attack on the enemy's camp at Belmont on November 7, 1861, soon followed by the events of Columbus, Paducah, Henry and Donelson—all so simple, so direct, so comprehensible, that their effect on my mind was magical. They raised the dark curtain which before had almost hidden out all hope for the future, and displayed the policy and course of action necessary only to be followed with persistence to achieve ultimate success. I found General Grant at Fort Henry, under orders from General Halleck to remain there and to turn over the command of his army, then flushed with victory under his immediate leadership, to General C. F. Smith, his next in rank. It so happened that General Smith had been Adjutant and Commandant when Grant and I were cadets at West Point, and he was universally esteemed as the model soldier of his day. He had also acquired large fame in the Utah expedition and in the then recent capture of Fort Donelson, so that General Grant actually looked up to him as the older if not the better soldier, though he was at that time the senior by commission. Not one word of complaint came from him, only a general expression of regret that he had been wrongly and unjustly represented to General Halleck, and he advised to give to General Smith my most loyal support. General Smith conducted the expedition up the Tennessee River to Savannah, Eastport and Pittsburg Landing, gave all the orders and instructions up to within a few days of the battle of Shiloh, when his health, shattered by the merest accident, compelled him to relinquish the command again to General Grant, who quietly resumed it where Smith had left off, "accepted the situation," made few or no changes, and fought on the ground which had been selected by General Smith the bloody battle of Shiloh. During this fiercely contested battle he displayed the coolness, the personal courage, forethought and deliberation which afterward made him famous among men; yet was he traduced, slandered and wronged, not only by the press universally, but by those who were in positions of authority over him.

Others have told the whole story of the war, and still others are repeating and elaborating. Even he himself, almost in his dying hours, was engaged in recording his experience, and we all await the publishing with profound interest. I have seen some of the manuscript and have been told the rest, but prefer to await the whole publication, certain that what he has recorded of his own knowledge will stand the test of time, and I am sure that he himself will have recognized the truth and will have recorded the fact that his campaigns from Belmont to Vicksburg were the most valuable of his whole life. In that brief period he discovered the power that was in him—that he, in fact, impersonated the great mass of our best people, who abhorred war and only resorted to it when national honor and safety demanded it.

He knew little and cared less about "Strategy," and I doubt if he ever read "Jomini," "Grotius," or any books on the art and laws of war, except the West Point text-books. So with "Tactics." He never—so far as I can recall—expressed a preference for Hardee over Scott, Casey or Morris. Still, he loved to see order and system, and wanted his corps, divisions, brigades and regiments handy and well instructed when called for. He aimed to achieve results, caring little for the manner by which they were accomplished. He possessed and always asserted the most perfect faith in the justice of our cause, and always claimed that sooner or later it must prevail, because the interest of all mankind demanded the existence of just such a Republic as we had inherited, and that as by the concurrence of political causes the conflict had fallen upon us we had only to meet it like brave men and conquer as a matter of course.

The newspapers of the day have been so full of all the details of the funeral that it were superfluous for me to say more than it was one of the most complete tributes of the living to the dead which this country has ever witnessed. Beginning at Mount McGregor on the morning of Tuesday, August 4, it continued without interruption till six o'clock P.M. of Saturday, August 8, 1885, to the spot selected by his son, approved by his entire family, and accepted by all who had a right to be consulted. This spot is "on the banks of the Hudson," at the upper end of Riverside Park—not a park in the sense of a pleasure ground, but a hill as yet in the rough and susceptible of infinite embellishment, which will remain as firm as the granite rocks on which it stands till the earth shall give up its dead and time shall be no more. If the spirits of the dead have the privilege of contemplating their own tomb, then will General Grant be content, for from the pedestal he can look upon the old Revolutionary forts—Lee and Washington—at his very feet, the beautiful Palisades just across the river, Tappan Zee and the Highlands above, the mighty city of New York, with its busy harbor below, and Long Island Sound across the peninsula. I am well aware that some of our comrades would have preferred Washington city as the burial-place of our dead General, but let us examine the facts and precedents.

President Washington is buried at Mount Vernon; Jefferson at Monticello; the Adamses, at Quincy; Jackson, at the Hermitage; Harrison, at North Bend; Polk, at Nashville; Taylor, at Louisville; Lincoln, at Springfield; Garfield, at Cleveland. And so also of the army: Scott is buried at West Point; Meade, at Philadelphia; Thomas, at Troy; McPherson at Clyde, whilst all of these, or nearly all, have statues or busts in the National Capital. So may it be with Grant. Each city, town and even hamlet may have whatever monument they are willing to erect, but it seems to me better that all should unite and build a strong, solid, simple monument, characteristic of the man, over his grave "on the banks of the Hudson," and then, like Shakespeare, inscribe on it:

"Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbeare,
To digg the dust encloased heare,
Blest be ye man yt spares thes stones
And curst be he yt moves my bones."

MODERN FRENCH FICTION.

A popular delusion seems to confine modern French fiction into two wide-apart currents, Naturalism and Idealism; the former new, young and strong, the second old-fashioned, debilitated, nearly exhausted, whose struggling representatives try to fight out their last battle.

It is a delusion—popular, may be, but like most delusions, apt to fade away when submitted to serious cross-examination. Unluckily, there is nothing in the world so long-lived as error, and for many a day people will continue to think, say and print that France has no pure modern fiction, just as they say that there is no French home-life. Speak to them of Jules Sandeau and Octave Feuillet, they will sigh and say: Oh yes, then! they were good authors, indeed—but since!

The prevailing opinion seems to be that Idealism has given up the ghost, which ghost is faintly fluttering over some poor authors scant of brains: these may only be respected for their noble, though useless endeavors to hold up a tattered banner.

There is some plea for such general though misguided opinion. Actual Naturalism, being much more riotous and offensive than his gentlemanly cousin Idealism, fights his battle with drums and trumpets, never ceasing to write notorious articles, in which he abuses all those who are not his humble slaves, and praises absurdly obnoxious but naturalist writers, untalented as well as ignorant of real French language, and tries his best to pervade the world with the idea that only bad things are worthy of mention.

That was not the leading thought of Champfleury when he wrote his novels full of minute and careful observation of common life. He considered commonplace things as worthy of notice. Has not history proved many a time how deeply little things may affect the destiny of mankind? But he did not neglect nor discard the real events of love and life. His literary enemies threw at him, like a stone, the new-fangled epithet of Realist. He caught it and used it as a hammer.

Thence followed a bright period of fiction. George Sand was at the highest of her power, and her deep fancies moved her readers strongly, whilst, by the purity and richness of her style, she bent even the most reluctant to admiration. Jules Sandeau gave every year one or two delightful novels. Octave Feuillet wrote a series of strong and fine novels, whose only fault for French artistic taste is, perhaps, some too outwardly apparent moralizing tone. Victor Cherbuliez, born in Geneva, but from an old French family, published his interesting tales, somewhat more philosophical than needed, but very bright and full of quaint humor. Those three may be considered as having deserved well, by the dainty and unimpeachable perfection of their style, from French literature.

Meanwhile a quiet man lived at his country house at Croissy, on the banks of the river Seine. He toiled hard at his pen, rejecting every word which did not fully satisfy his fastidious taste, spending a day over a single phrase, and throwing on the misery of a poor misled woman (*Madame Bovary*) a veil of poetry and powerful language, such as to call on her the most artistic pity. Flaubert had no well-defined programme; his studies of life were realistic, but he had a feeling of beauty, a sense for the music and rhythm of phrases which his followers—except Alphonse Daudet and Guy de Maupassant—have seldom, if ever, experienced.

Flaubert's style is not cast in the common mold, and may seem affected—it is, at times; but there is real power in it—power which extends its grasp to the minutest as well as to the grandest features of character, scenery. Some pages in *Salammbô* will remain as a splendid specimen of French literature.

About the same time Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, brothers by birth, and more than brothers by their beautiful affection for each other, conceived an idea of fiction which they thought new. It was merely an exaggeration of Flaubert's principles.

They took a special case: the life of an artist among artists, or that of a misguided maid of all work, or the conversion to Catholicism of an indifferent woman, in the mystic atmosphere of Papal Rome; and showed there such complete oblivion of all that did not exactly belong to their subject, as to give the impression that every book had been written by a specialist, acquainted with that matter to the exclusion of everything else.

The peculiarity of their style is another imitation of Flaubert. But where he stands as a master, they often entangle themselves with a perfect maze of words and phrases. Their aim being the expression by words of things which belong not to the dominion of Thought, but to the external senses, they care little about precision. They care still less about syntax or construction; one could almost say that they enjoy most what is utterly anti-grammatical, and they triumphantly put on the paper such phrases as this: He went down the street, with on his back, a woman's curiosity; this meaning, that he went, and a woman was looking after him.

Strange to say, that oddity in their style, allows them sometimes to reach to a very high pitch of intense description; they are poets, and, with all their faults, some of their books are unrivaled; but they are untranslatable, and it is almost impossible to read them aloud, on account of the construction of their phrase.

Zola, who came next, is the man of theory, whose powerful talent at times soars very near to genius. Nobody can say what he would not have been but for the unfortunate error which led him astray from the beginning. He pretends that no fiction has a right to be, if not made out of real events, based upon what he calls "the human document." This theory would merely be the death of fiction; newspaper accounts of accidents or murders would make novelists quite useless. Is it not the very gift of fiction to invent, to create characters and events suiting each other, and to enrobe them with the magnificent garment of poetry and style?

Zola has proved the nonenity of his theory when he finds himself unable to bring it out into practice. He may heap "human documents," and even borrow from life real pages of history, use the newspapers as his richest mine of information—none of his characters are really living unless he forgets that they must be so very realistic, and is a writer again—an artist instead of a mere copyist.

It has been remarked that very few of the events whose faithful historiographer he pretends to be, could ever have happened to the characters whose description he has so elaborately given. There the pretended reality of his novels ceases. Works of fiction they are and nothing else—so much the better for him. When they grow into realistic minuteness they become very dry and uninteresting.

Another fancy of his is the use of vulgar words for describing vulgar people and things which belong to them. This might be forgiven up to a certain extent when those people are conversing ; it has no reason whatever for existence when Zola becomes the describer. An author ought never to forget that by using debasing language he affords to the reader less a vivid picture than a painful exposure of self-debasement. Coarse words do not imply strength, neither can they imply beauty. One might almost say that they are rather a proof of weakness.

He never has been so powerful as when he did not voluntarily confine himself to the most repulsive sides of life ; some of his first novels will outlive the more recent ones by many years. At those times he wrote also much better than he does now. Still he never had that natural gift of style possessed by many, less worthy of notice than his powerful though infatuated self.

According to common usage, Zola ought to have a numerous brood of imitators, and there is, indeed, a whole set of young people who write disgusting things, so-called novels, following not the talent of the master, but only his faults. Those do not belong to fiction, and French readers discard them ; they can please only the vilest scum.

Still, a man of great talent has risen since a few years ; by the choice of his subjects, Guy de Maupassant seems to belong to Zola's school, but he has a gift which they have not ; a feeling both strong and dainty for poetry, and an excellent style of writing, pure, clear, almost classic. His observation of life does not pretend so much as Zola's, and is far more exact ; his conversations are life itself. When Guy de Maupassant will choose to write a novel, deliberately dropping such objectionable tales as he now seems to prefer, he will be considered as one of the brightest living authors.

Naturalists do their best to claim Alphonse Daudet as one of themselves, but he knows better. Daudet never has been a naturalist, though there was a time when he was tempted by their broad tendencies ; but the dainty feeling of romance which his Southern blood had worked into his mind, the deep love and charity which were throbbing through his soul, could not allow him to be allured by the dry, matter-of-fact programme of naturalism.

A. Daudet is a man, and never wished to be anything but a living, loving, suffering, exulting man, following his mood. This is the cause which makes his novels so full of intense life and feeling ; by his allowing himself to be only a man—neither a teacher nor a prophet—he attains to greatness and still wins the hearts of all those who live, love, exult and suffer.

His first short novelettes were very delicate and refined, perhaps somewhat *maniéré,* but when still very young, he wrote *Fromont jeune et Risler ainé,* he proved that he had in himself the most tender shadows of dreamy poetry, as well as the power of stormy passion. From that day he was a master.

For some years, he seemed to have chosen his way among the sensational novelists, though by far the greatest ; *le Nabab* and *Les Rois en Exil* belong to that period. Since then A. Daudet appears to favor shorter tales, into those he pours all the treasures which he somewhat lavishly squandered before. His two last novels, *l'Evangeliste* and *Sapho,* have also a new form of style, more stern and noble. He is fully master of his fancy, as well as of the drapery in which he wants it to be clad, and we may be sure that now, whatever A. Daudet chooses to give us, the book will be long looked for and long praised when born.

All the novels above mentioned are, more or less—rather more than less—objectionable, in the ordinary sense of that word. Excepting Daudet's *Contes du Lundi, Lettres de mon Moulin* and *Le petit Chose,* in its expurged edition, none of those books ought to be left in a room where are young ladies. Nor are the novels of Paul Bourget, from first to last, to be left there. Though a man of undeniable talent he writes books painful to read and unpleasant to remember. His psychology is very demoralizing and verges too near on physiology to be accepted as idealism. Pierre Loti does not seem to care for idealism, and still he has a great deal of it in himself. His novels are of the objectionable kind, but there is so much poetry in them, and he is so full of yearning toward all that is beautiful and true, that one must feel sympathy for the author through his books. Some lines blotted and *Mon frère Yves* would be faultless. As it is, that book is the best which ever was written about a sailor's life and feelings.

We are coming now to a very different class of literary works.

People are quite ready to acknowledge the artistic superiority of our authors, provided it be settled, once and forever, that they are utterly wanting in morals.

Octave Feuillet and Cherbuliez are extremely moral, and are so much appreciated in their own country that no person having the slightest notion of culture could be excused for not having read their books. But many other and more recent works honor actual French fiction, and are justly prized. One of those most prominent novelists is Ferdinand Fabre, whose excellent style brings forward striking and splendid characters. He is expected to have very soon a seat in the French Academy.

His pictures are principally of a peculiar class of people—French priests and those who belong to them. *Les Courbezon* and *La petite Mère* are novels, but *Tigrane* and *Lucifer* hardly answer to this appellation, for there is no trace of love in these stern and wonderfully exact pictures of a priest's life-struggles and ambitions. Young ladies may find them tiresome, and if so, shall not be requested to read them, but any man who cares about his fellow sufferers ought to dive with F. Fabre into the deep recesses of those human souls who have voluntarily renounced the cares and joys of common life for an ideal of their own.

Emile Pouvillon has some analogy with F. Fabre, not in the choice of subjects, but by his quaint, original way of presenting the simple-hearted peasant of our hills, Les *Cévennes*. No great events, no romantic adventures, but he knows how to win your heart. *Césette* is one of the most delightful books ever written.

André Theuriet, who loves Lorraine and its mossy forests, is a fine writer, and he, also, will certainly some time belong to the French Academy. About fifteen years ago he published a short novel, *Mlle. Guignon,* which moistened the driest eyes. *Raymonde,* coming soon after, gave him a high place among contemporary writers. Since, he holds the same place, and this is not easy in an area where meet so many competitors.

Who does not know Ludovic Halévy, the bright dramatist? Long and successfully he courted the theatre and its inmates. All of a sudden, forsaking his gods, he, through "good books," went to the French Academy. Did he think that he ought to seek forgiveness for all his clever and funny, but objectionable works, when he wrote *l'Abbé Constantin,* and the short novellettes which followed this delightful and innocent little tale? If so, he will not only be forgiven but blessed also by the lovers of pure artistic literature.

A new book of Anatole France, *Le Livre d'un Ami,* has recently followed his charming and simple tale, *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard.* Such novels as that are like an hour's halt in the rocky path of life. The same thing must be said of Louis Ulbach's *Madame Fernel.* Among the many bright works of Hector Malot, one is a gem : *Sans Famille.* Though it is the story of a child, it is not a novel for children only. Many a grown-up man has not left the book until it was fairly ended. Some of Erckman-Chatrian's tales have often the same fate : *l'Ami Fritz,* and specially *Les deux Frères,* full of human truth and kindness. All the books of that friendly pair are pleasant and useful to read.

The death of E. About has left a blank in our literature. No one has picked up the pen which he suddenly dropped. So much sparkling wit, ready humor and feeling, are scarcely ever to be met together. *Germaine* is a masterpiece which shall live when many of those who now pretend to fame shall be buried in oblivion. *Les Mariages de Paris* and *Les Mariages de Province* will for years to come afford joy and delight to the lovers of French *esprit* and universal homely wisdom. About was, indeed, the representative of a large part of our nation, and none has ever been more thoroughly a Frenchman.

Last but not least comes Th. Bentzon. This name is a pseudonym for a talented lady, Mme. Blanc, who has written several novels full of charm. One of them, *La petite Perle,* is well named, for it is, though a little pearl, indeed a real jewel. Mme. Blanc not only graces our country, but she knows and appreciates American literature. It is through her able pen that French people who do not know English are acquainted with American novelists. Her excellent articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* have spread all over Europe the name of many an author, and her translations are so good that nobody yet complained of them—which must be the highest standard of perfection, as translations are generally found deficient by the author himself or by his friends.

Many a name might be added to the list, but minor celebrities may be kept aside till they grope their way to real fame. Others, like Victor Hugo, Balzac, etc., belong to a more remote period. Actual French fiction is represented fairly enough in these pages, and the reader may see that if the Naturalists are a more noisy set, they are far less numerous than the other groups of authors. These would not like, probably, to be called Idealists, the expression having grown somewhat oldish, but they are nevertheless the faithful followers of Ideal. They prove also by their works that one may worship Ideal and be at the same time a very careful observer of real life, whose humble cares are often redeemed by some simple poetry and touching self-forgetfulness.

HENRY GRÉVILLE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THERE is now pending before the New York Legislature a bill "to prevent discrimination on account of sex at municipal elections." It enacts that:

> "No inspector of election or poll clerk shall hereafter refuse to register or to receive the vote of any citizen offering to register prior to or to vote at any municipal election by reason of the sex of any citizen who in other respects shall possess the qualifications required by law, and that a violation of the provisions of this act shall be a misdemeanor."

This bill was presented in the Assembly by Hon. George Z. Erwin of St. Lawrence, and in the Senate by Hon. Edmund L. Pitts of Orleans. Several of the strongest men in both parties are openly pledged to the measure, as are the presiding officers of both Houses; General Edward F. Jones, the President of the Senate, being an outspoken advocate of equal rights, while General James W. Husted, the Speaker of the Assembly, has long been a champion of the cause.

Some recent events have done much toward making women see that their practical interests are involved in the possession of the ballot. The salaries of the school teachers of New York city have been "readjusted" by the Board of Education, with the usual result of increasing the discrepancy of pay for men and women teachers doing the same work, the reductions in salaries coming almost without an exception out of the pockets of the women who are acknowledgedly better teachers than the men. It does not take an intelligent instructress who has suffered in this way very long to reflect that, if women were voters, they could control the election of the mayor, who appoints the Board of Education, and thus secure an influence in that body which would prevent such injustice in the future.

The recent report of Mr. Charles F. Peck, the labor commissioner for this State, contains the most appalling disclosures of the wretched condition of the working women of New York, always paid less than men for the same amount of skilled labor. Showing themselves, despite all their disadvantages, to be more economical and honest than men, they were condemned to an existence that is little more than a struggle for life carried on amid squalor and wretchedness in conditions that foster vice and drive virtue to despair.

Even so conservative a paper as the "New York Tribune," asks, in view of these facts, if women would not be likely to have better pay for their work if they had the protection which the ballot gives?

I ask your support of this measure.

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.

II.

In the January number of the Review "John H. Keyser" pointedly suggests a remedy for the evils resulting from "the accumlation of large personal fortunes." As the way "to harmonize conditions between labor and capital," he recommends "a beneficent law of limitation," making "a scale of graduated taxation upon accumulated and accumulating fortunes," and making "the sum of $300,000 the limit of a fortune." Aside from the question as to the intrinsic justice of relieving poverty by putting the burden of taxes upon wealth, the "beneficent law," suggested as a means of arresting the tendency of our age to the centralization of capital, is of peculiar interest. The suggestion totally ignores the existence of natural economic and social laws, or it assumes their complete subordination to "beneficent laws" enacted by legislatures.

It seems not to occur to the author of the suggestion that the very evils he desires to remedy may perhaps be traced to existing "beneficent laws" suggested by his predecessors! Nor does he perceive it possible that his "beneficent law" may generate unexpected evils, perpetuating the necessity for legislative doctoring. If these are natural economic and social laws, they cannot be suspended, but their operation may be mischievously disturbed by legislative attempts to improve them by amendment.

The need of the times is earnest study of these economic and social laws, that we may discover their true working, and appreciate the deformities produced by many supposed "beneficent laws," enacted by legislatures as specifics for real or imaginary evils. If, for instance, the "disparities" the writer speaks of are the natural results of those economic and social laws, it would be unreasonable to denounce them as unjust and as evils to be remedied by "beneficent" legislation. But, if an individual may not amass a fortune of many millions in a life-time without violating those natural laws; that, nevertheless, many individuals are performing this feat without crime, justifies the suspicion that some "beneficent laws," enacted by legislatures, protect their operations.

That the social problems adverted to may be solved by more "beneficent legislation" seems emphatically negatived by experience. But the more pertinent inquiry suggests itself: May not complete emancipation of our economic and industrial interests from "beneficent" State-intervention lead to such solution?

H. Teichmueller.

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GAMBETTA'S ELECTORAL TOUR.

At Cavaillon, in 1876, Gambetta had an adventure with a Royalist mob. His friends claimed that this was an attempt to assassinate him, and said that the mob had been imported from Avignon for the purpose. These same Avignonnais, they said, had in 1819 slain, and cast into the Rhone, Marshal Brune for offering his services to Napoleon I. on his return from Elba, and, as they escaped punishment then, they believed they did not incur any risk in committing a similar outrage upon Gambetta. On this subject Madame Adam has been pleased to supply us with some pages of her unpublished Memoirs, in which our readers will find a narrative of the affair at Cavaillon told by Gambetta himself in a letter which now appears in print for the first time.—The Editor.

I.

On that day, as was his custom once or twice a week, Gambetta returned from the Chamber with Adam, coming in to dine and bid us good-by. He was starting on an election tour through the South, having to deliver addresses at Orange, Avignon, Cavaillon, and Marsailles.

At table I asked Gambetta :

" Who accompanies you this time ?"

"Nobody."

"What, nobody! You are going alone into a country like Avignon and Cavaillon where the conspiracies of the reaction give your friends unusual alarm! What are your usual companions on these occasions doing? Spuller, for instance?"

He interrupted me with a little temper:

"They are all busy with their own affairs and I have approved of what they are doing. Let us not speak further of the matter."

"You know very well that I cannot be silenced with a word like that. I will speak of it. The recollection of Marshal Brune occurs to me."

"She is right," said Adam, "Juliette and I know the South even better than you do, and you run a risk in going alone to speak against the reaction."

"Oh, nonsense! These places are changed since 1819. Besides, I should not be sorry to find that political parties in France were so ardent as to attempt a crime. I say attempt, because my hour is not yet come. Reassure yourself. The only thing that can kill me is indifference."

The dinner over, while we were taking our coffee in the drawing-room, Adam went to his room to get his best cigars, a very important matter for Gambetta, who was a gluttonous smoker. Leaving our guest alone for a moment, I ran after Adam.

"You must accompany him," I said, "we would be truly responsible if any misfortune happened him. Let me arrange about this trip."

"Why, I ask nothing better," said Adam with animation; "but you see yourself he has not uttered a word that would encourage me, and, in truth, I might perhaps annoy him. Indeed, I have not ventured to propose the matter to him. Do you do it."

I returned to Gambetta, excusing myself.

"I left you," I said, "to ask Adam to accompany you. I saw clearly that he was anxious to do so himself."

"As I hesitated about asking him myself," replied Gambetta, "I counted on you, and I was not wrong. Will he come?"

"Indeed he will, joyfully."

The evening passed very gaily. All arrangements were made for their departure next morning, and here is the very remarkable letter I received from Gambetta some days afterward:

II.

BRUYÈRES, JUAN GULF, *Tuesday, February* 22, 1876.

My Dear Friend,

I had need to find out where I was, to recover possession of myself, as it were, after this prodigious debauch of noise, speechifying and traveling after bestowing myself without reserve, responding with impassioned prodigality to this devouring eagerness of the South. I felt crushed, older by ten years, voiceless and unstrung. Nature alone could restore my shattered equilibrium.

I have come to Bruyères * as to my nurse, and, thanks to the sun, to sleep and to silence, I have awakened to life again. *Bonjour mon frère!*

But do not go and think that, throughout the distractions of politics, and even the acclamations of the crowd, I have once lost sight of the noble absent one who gave me the best of guides and protectors for this laborious journey.†

I am about to narrate to you our Odyssey point by point, however, and you will thus get a correct idea of our tribulations, our struggles, and our triumphs.

WEDNESDAY, *February* 16, 1876.—We leave Paris with Adam. I am ravished at the notion of bringing with me a senator of such distinguished bearing. He is one of the most significant figures of our Republican senate. He is in himself a living proof of the excellence of the new institution, and his presence says more for it than long speeches.

We dined, badly, at the Lyons station; looked for compensation, and found it in a delicious smoke. The myrtle is always there !‡ We gathered its blossoms until eleven; and towards Auxerre we made our preparations for the night. The cold became biting. I rolled myself in my rabbit-skin furs—those furs so much and so justly held up to the scorn of Europe (*tant et si justement denoncéers à l'indignation de l'Europe*)—and fell asleep.

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* The Bruyères villa, on the Juan Gulf belonged to us, and Gambetta spent some of his holidays there every year.

† Gambetta alludes to my having insisted that he should be accompanied by Adam.

‡ Gambetta never traveled without a box of cigars. Often in his excursions he carried it under his arm. Recalling, during one of his visits to Bruyères, the Leghorn hat, I had dubbed this box "the myrtle."

I don't know how my traveling companion managed. For myself, I passed a perfect night—happy dreams, gentle sleep, and gentle warmth. I awoke ten minutes before reaching Orange, fresh as a fish.

His lordship, Edmond Adam, informs me that the night has been full of accidents. The train was delayed an hour, which is a serious matter for a train with a fast reputation. We have, it appears, been in misfortune. I had no suspicion of it. O what a fine conscience is mine! Confess that I would make a great saint if I were not such a pagan.

I make an apology for a toilet in the railway carriage. Just imagine! I find the station at Orange crowded! Gent is a master-mind; he will have everything prepared as for a battle. It promises well; it is a 17;* and the morning is divine. The sun is warm. The earth glistens and opens, and is already beginning to feel the emanations of the spring. Forward! I feel glorious. Let the people come on! I am ready.

ORANGE, 9:30, *February* 17, 1876.—We are at the station. I get out of my old rags, and discern the lofty stature of Alphonse Gent, who is running along the different carriages to ascertain where I am.

I straightway drop into the arms of the most serene Adam. I unpack myself gradually and here I am on the quay. The crowd is waiting outside, and amid a thousand shouts of "*Vive la République!*" we pass through the gate. An open carriage was ready for us. We got into it with the different leaders of the local Democracy; and then began, throughout the length of the prettiest little town in the world, an interminable oration in which the women took the largest share.

Naturally, the longest route was selected; and, it being a market day, our triumphal march was executed in slow time. An hour had to pass before the procession reached the repository,† the residence of M. Monvier, son of our late colleague.

The dwelling is fine and spacious, surrounded by a delightful park, which the people invaded.

These enthusiastic vivats must be responded to. I sacrifice myself, and win the right to rest for half an hour in a Louis XV. bed-chamber, fitted up as if to receive a king again. Nothing is wanting. A fire, a complete toilet, and a charming little impromptu breakfast. I do honor to everything.

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* An allusion to one of my suspicions with regard to the number 7.

† "*Reposoir*," the altar on which the Host is temporarily deposited after being borne in Catholic processions.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

But time skips, and my friends come to fetch me to the heart of the town, to the banquet which is to bring together the Republicans of the circumscription.

New procession, heart-stirring repast, enthusiastic toasts. But the people must have their turn. An immense livery-stable had been fitted up for a meeting-place. Everybody enters as he pleases, until more than 3,000 persons are present, and I am forced to mount an improvised tribune.

It is, indeed, the sort of audience I love—workingmen, peasants, humble folk whose native generosity, the virginity of reason, has not been violated by the touch of civilization. It is for them I fight, for them I go beyond myself, for them I speak with all my soul, without care for appearances, for the press, for stenography, for the *beau monde*. And what a collision of feeling, what a sympathy, what a mutual love we have felt for each other, piercing and thrilling us through, this audience and I!

I talked with them of our hopes and our duties, our past glories and our past shames. I gave the pretensions of the reaction and of Cæsarism their just due.

I paid public homage to Gent in the presence of his fellow-townsmen. I have passed on, and he has been elected. I am proud of my work and satisfied with myself.

This over, we had to leave and continue our journey. A deputation had come from Carpentras, begging us to pass through this pretty town, which has been too much laughed at and is too little known. I yielded. We stepped into a carriage and undertook a tedious journey of sixty kilometres across fields, so as to take in Carpentras on our way to Cavaillon.

But we had to get away from Orange first, and I thought at one moment that we would never find an outlet, so thick and dense and loving was the pressure of the crowd around us. It was necessary to shake every outstretched hand, and only after a thousand speeches would they leave the course clear, and not without overwhelming us with benedictions and flowers.

At last we are outside of Orange on a highway lined with olive trees, on a plain stretching out to the foot of Mount Ventoux, crowned with eternal snows, under a sky of lapis-lazuli, which a sun worthy of Attica strikes with his golden arrows.

We exclaim in unison:

"Is this Greek enough?" We light a myrtle. I drink in the beams of Mithra* and plunge myself in thought. I think out my speech for Cavaillon.

We gallop through the loveliest villages. Everywhere the people run flocking around us. The children, the women know my name and associate it with that of the Republic. The peasants leave the furrow and stop the carriage. They ask the news of the rest of France, and depart with joyous air and humid eyes. For they have learned that in three days France will be freed.

After two hours and a half of a mad race through the plain, the richest in the world, we turn the base of Mount Ventoux and get a glimpse of Carpentras, like a white crown on a vast hill. Carpentras, that old Celtic nest, Carpenteracte, has still an old Gallic and almost sacred air, surrounded as it is with plane trees, green oats, and long and gloomy cypresses.

At the outskirts of the town we were met by our late prefect, the candidate of the day, Ch. Ponjade, with the greater part of the inhabitants. We are obliged to move slowly in order to shake hands with all these good people. Among them are the young girls of the place in festal attire, with hands full of flowers. The cortege advances, and we climb step by step the monumental stairway that leads to this lofty and ancient city, an acropolis gilded by the sun of the South.

The crowd visibly grows thicker, and soon it becomes impossible to advance or retreat! We try entreaties, but without avail. They have us and they wish to keep us. I resign myself like a brave man, and let these worthy people gratify their desire.

At last the public passion is calmed, and we resumed our ascent. Behold us at the culminating point, an immense forum surrounded by high walls. Ranks and classes are all confounded. I catch sight of a colossal projection, under which I cause the carriage to be halted, and there, standing before that immense crowd, I give full rein to all my political feeling.

May Apollo pardon me! It is the climate alone that is responsible for this. But I cannot contain myself in this wonderful atmosphere. It seems to me that all this country is but an enormous rostrum, and, for the first time, I feel within myself organ tones enough to venture on haranguing Immensity. They understood what was passing in my soul, they answered the cries that I uttered, they completed for themselves the thoughts that I had only sketched.

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*An allusion to my stories of the Juan Gulf, which Gambetta preferred to the volumes I had published up to that time, on account of one story—"Patrie."

We separated regretfully, they keeping me, and I carrying them away with me in my heart. Oh, what a life! and how can it be prolonged?

We issued from the magnificent embraces of a whole people, weak and thirsty, and yet afraid to stop in the surrounding villages lest we should miss our journey. We heartily quenched our thirst in a miserable hut, whose wretched inhabitants will never forget me, I hope.

At last, for I must abridge, we reached Cavaillon about five in the evening, in the most magnificent sunset that ever served to frame a popular festival.

CAVAILLON, *February* 17, *evening.*—I say nothing of the Isle, which we hurried through at a trot, and where I was not able to say anything to the people, who are at bottom thoroughly Republican, the authorities having forbidden me to speak.*

I entered Cavaillon.

I am now in my circumscription of Vaucluse, where I have accepted the invitation to engage in a hand-to-hand battle against fraud and organized robbery. The whole city is afoot; all along the boulevards every head is uncovered and bent, and every hand applauds. The Republic hovers above me and fills the air. An immense cortege surrounds us and conducts us to the hotel prepared for our reception, and in which is to be held the political meeting announced by our friends.

Before going up to the apartments prepared for us, I felt compelled to address some words of gratitude and some counsels of prudence to this enthusiastic population. At last we separated. Here began the Legitimist counter-demonstration, of which a garbled account must have reached your ears, and of which I shall give you the true story.

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*Gambetta only said these words and they had a great success—" Au revoir, until better times!"

As soon as we had retired to our rooms we heard a veritable uproar under our windows—shouts, hisses, insulting apostrophes. I made inquiries and learned that several carriages and omnibuses had just arrived from Avignon and unloaded under our windows a band of one hundred and thirty or two hundred individuals picked up in the vilest places—panders, prize fighters, ex-convicts, professional thieves and assassins—whom the fine gentlemen of moral order had hired to treat us to a charivari.

They were unfortunate in arriving late, but they did their best to make up for lost time, and, by my faith, they succeeded rarely. In the midst of them might be seen the Mayor of Cavaillon in person, and the leaders of the Legitimist party, directing their maneuvers and exciting their passions. All went famously. I advised our friends to disperse, in order to free the people of Cavaillon from all connection with what was going on. "Let the hissers hiss; we shall take note of these nice blackbirds." No sooner said than done.

Just after this resolution, which was immediately put into effect, the disturbers withdrew, and under the guidance of the rustic patricians (*patricièns du crû*) gave themselves up to drunken orgies in the neighboring taverns.

Our friends were calm, or pretended to be so, and we went to take our place at the banquet that had been prepared for us. At this juncture we received intelligence from Avignon, warning us that our enemies had organized a regular ambuscade and enjoining us to adopt the strictest precautions if we did not want to be victims of the most odious outrages.

The most tragic emotion spread among the guests. Naturally, I tried to dispel all these apprehensions, but I have to confess my words produced no effect. Our friends knew the country better than we did. They were much disturbed and conjured up the most sinister memories. They predict the fate of Marshal Brune's fame, who was assassinated by a ruffianly rabble in 1819. They cite the names and exploits of the bandits who figured in the manifestation of five o'clock. In short the anguish was general, and my attempts at irony were powerless. The bloody shadow of Brune hovered over the feast.

It was here that his Senatorship Adam proved his extraordinary value, and acted like a regular general on the field. He calms and orders about everybody; he has arms distributed; puts every man in his right place; and, sword in hand, is ready to receive the assailants, no matter who they are. It was an inspiration of genius to give him to me as a mentor. Without him I would not, perhaps, have been here; his coolness and energy saved everything without fuss and without weakness.

Useless to tell what followed, except in its main features. You have read the story in the papers. I resume. It is clear to me that the organizers of all this disorder grew frightened at their work and shrank back before the responsibility they had assumed. When their bull-dogs were drunk they lost all control over them. They had a glimpse of the frightful conflict that was about to be let loose, *and they came to beg of me* to intervene in the interests of order for which they could no longer be answerable.

I hastened to act and met complete success. I showed these wretches what true moral force was, and have been able to unravel a horrible situation without effusion of blood.

Nevertheless, about eleven at night, when I had to go to the country seat of one of our friends where I was to sleep,* our carriage was assailed by some brigands. Adam did effective work with his cane; I saw him even reach his hand to his revolver. Happily the horses dashed off at full speed, and our enemies had only a useless demonstration for their pains.

All is well. Here I am in a delightful villa. I sleep like a choir-boy, and wake next morning fresh as a rose of Provins and as ruddy.

We go across fields towards Oregon (on the banks of the Durance, where Bonaparte had a narrow escape from being strangled, in 1815). The entire village came to the station to cheer us and to protest against the dreadful scenes of the night before. Brave people, I reassure them with a word, and announce good news to them.

Then we move on Marseilles, by Salon, the country of roses, keeping close to the undecided course of the Durance.

What a river is this Durance!

The naïad who presides over its current must be the most shameless wanton among the daughters of Peleus. No one knows where her bed is, she changes it every day, she swells without rhyme or reason, and overruns the country with her outbursts contrary to all law.

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* The Chateau of St. Estève.

Along the railroad the people came in crowds to salute and cheer us. We are hailed with shouts of "*Vive la République!*"

In good Latin, I say to myself this is a propitious augury.

MARSEILLES, *February* 18, 1876.—Here is the real field of battle; here we must conquer or die! To conquer every where else and fail here would be to win but a hollow victory. The lukewarm, the tremblers, the cowards would see their ruin in my defeat. We must conquer them. I am going to make ready for it.

I disembark and assemble my troops. I enkindle their spirit. My meetings have been interdicted. I shall hold a hundred of them. I am sure of the number. I have them. I wish to feel the pulse of opinion, and I go to the great lyric theater. I do not know how the rumor ran through the city that I had engaged a box, but the news spread like a train of powder, and Marseilles was present. The crowd filled the square; the carriage was stopped; I had to descend and mount slowly through a human wall, the flight of steps that led to the theater. The people cheered us; within the hall was packed.

As I entered they were paying the "Moses" of Mebul. Strange thing! the Pharaoh was singing

"Lo! the sun appears and all nature bows!"

The spectators rose with shouts of "*Vive Gambetta! Vive la République!*" The performance was suspended. The public and the actors could not tire of applauding. At last I was able to restore silence and the performance went on again.

The test of popular feeling has been made, the victory for to-morrow is assured!

My sole thought now is to manage my exit so as to escape a crushing. I left Adam and some friends at the edge of the box and stole behind the curtain. But I had reckoned without the vigilance of the public, and the same oration was renewed on my leaving. I was conducted back to the hotel. There were gathered the greater number of my friends and I kept up a conversation with them till one o'clock in the morning.

I have put on the walls my last proclamation, in which, without any ambiguity, I have left them to choose between two policies.

This proclamation has become the very bulletin of victory.

It is done, and done well.

SATURDAY, *February* 19, 1876.—Another meeting, another address.

In the evening another meeting of all the committees. I described anew the nature of to-morrow's ballot. The evening was magnificent. Adam was cheered to the echo. He is now hopelessly Marseillais and for the greatest good of the National Republic.

As for myself, worn out as I am, I am going to sleep, tranquil as to our success, but resolved to leave Marseilles for Nice, so as not to die of fatigue in the bosom of triumph.

SUNDAY, *February* 20, 1876.—Here we are on the way to Nice.

I sleep, I feel only half alive, I am utterly exhausted.

I have assisted at all that has passed like an automaton, doing things mechanically without being conscious of them.

I long to get away, to reach Bruyères, the sea, silence and sleep.

MONDAY, *February* 21, 1876.—Great joy! But I can hardly support it, I am so weak.

When shall I get away?

TUESDAY, *February* 22, 1876.—At last, we leave Nice and mankind.

Here we are at Bruyères.

I am going to sleep.

I sleep.

I have slept.

I will tell you to-morrow all the good this country is doing me, the cure this retreat has wrought upon me—but I will not say much about these things until I have first thoroughly enjoyed them.

Yours, before long and entirely,

LÉON GAMBETTA.

GENERALS SHERMAN AND McPHERSON.

IN the March number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, among the "Unpublished War Letters of Generals Grant and Halleck," there was printed a dispatch from General Grant to President Lincoln, which the length of the article made it necessary to abridge. But so general a desire has been expressed to read the letter unabridged, that I comply with the requests of my correspondents, and now publish it entire:

GENERAL GRANT TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISS., *July* 22, 1863.

HIS EXCELLENCY, A. LINCOLN, *President of the United States*,
Washington, D. C.:

I would most respectfully but urgently recommend the promotion of Major-General W. T. Sherman, now commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, and Major-General J. B. McPherson, commanding the Seventeenth Army Corps, to the position of brigadier-general in the regular army. The first reason for this is their great fitness for any command it may ever become necessary to intrust to them. Second, their great purity of character and disinterestedness in anything except the faithful performance of their duty, and the success of every one engaged in the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Third, they have honorably won this distinction upon many well fought battle-fields. I will only mention some of his services while serving under my command.

To General Sherman I was greatly indebted for his promptness in forwarding to me, during the siege of Fort Donelson, re-enforcements and supplies from Paducah. At the battle of Shiloh, on the first day, he held with raw troops the key points to the landing. To his individual effort I am indebted for the success of that battle. Twice hit, and (I think three) horses shot under him on that day, he maintained his position with his raw troops. It is no disparagement to any other officer to say that I do not believe there was another Division Commander on the field who had the skill or experience to have done it. His service as Division Commander in the advance on Corinth, I will venture, were appreciated by the (now) General-in-Chief beyond those of any other Division Commander. General Sherman's management, as commander of troops in the attack on Chickasaw Bluff, last December, was admirable. Seeing the ground from the opposite side of the attack, I see the impossibility of making it successful. The conception of the attack on Arkansas Post was General Sherman's. His part of the execution no one denies was as good as it possibly could have been. His demonstration on Haine's Bluff, in April, to hold the enemy at Vickburg whilst the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi; his rapid march to join the army afterwards; his management at Jackson, Mississippi, in the first attack; his almost unequalled march from Jackson to Bridgeport, and passage of that stream; his securing Walnut Hill, on the 18th of May, and thus opening communication with our supplies—all attest his great merits as a soldier.

The siege of Vicksburg, the last capture of Jackson, and the dispersion of Johnston's army, entitle General Sherman to more credit than it usually falls to the lot of one man to earn.

General McPherson has been with me in every battle since the commencement of the rebellion, except Belmont. At Henry, Donelson, Shiloh and the siege of Corinth, as a staff officer and engineer, his services were conspicuous and highly meritorious. At the second battle of Corinth his skill as a soldier was displayed in successfully carrying re-enforcements to the besieged garrison when the enemy was between him and the point to be reached. In the advance through central Mississippi, last November and December, General McPherson commanded one wing of the army with all the ability possible to show, he having the lead in advance and the rear in return. In the campaign and siege, terminating in the fall of Vicksburg, General McPherson has borne a conspicuous part. At the battle of Port Gibson, it was under his immediate direction that the enemy was driven, late in the afternoon, from a position that they had succeeded in holding all day against an obstinate attack. His corps, the advance always under his immediate eye, were the pioneers in the advance from Port Gibson to Hankerson's Ferry. From the North Fork of Bayou Pierre to the Black River it was a constant skirmish, the whole skillfully managed. The enemy was so closely pressed as to be unable to destroy their bridge of boats after them. From Hankerson's Ferry to Jackson the 17th Army Corps marched upon roads not traveled by other troops, fighting the battle of Raymond alone; and the bulk of Johnston's army at Jackson also was fought by this corps entirely under the management of General McPherson. At Champion Hill, the 17th Army Corps and General McPherson were conspicuous. All that could be termed a battle there was fought by two divisions of General McPherson's Corps and Hovey's division of the 13th Corps.

In the assault of the 22d May on the fortifications of Vicksburg, and during the entire siege, General McPherson and his command won unfading laurels. He is one of our ablest engineers and most skillful generals.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN RHODE ISLAND.

Those who favor certain changes in the present constitution of Rhode Island are sometimes accused, unjustly I think, of a disposition to malign the institutions of the State. On the contrary, I think they are proud of its history, and seek to bring its present institutions into strict accordance with the principles upon which it was founded.

For many years before the adoption of a constitution the suffrage was limited to land-holders and their eldest sons. When this limitation was adopted it embraced a very great proportion of the adult male citizens of the State. But the development of manufactures had so changed the character of the population that not more than one-half of the adult male citizens had the right to vote. Attempts had been made from time to time to procure an extension of the suffrage under the authority of the Legislature without result. In 1841 a movement was set on foot to procure a written constitution, with a liberal suffrage and a just representation in the Legislature, through a popular movement, but without the sanction of any existing law. The friends of this movement claimed that a written constitution had been adopted by a majority of the adult male citizens of the State, and proceeded to elect officers and organize a government under it. This government was suppressed by military force in the summer of 1842, and the General Assembly provided by law for a convention to frame a constitution, which was adopted in the autumn of that year. The members of this convention comprised many of the leading men in the State of both the old political parties—Whigs and Democrats—who had united under the name of the Law and Order Party. The friends of a liberal suffrage were not represented in the convention. The men who controlled the convention were strongly attached to a limited suffrage, and very reluctantly yielded to the popular demand for its extension. The constitution adopted provides that all male citizens having the prescribed residence and owning a certain interest in real estate, shall have the right to vote; that all *native* male citizens who pay a tax on personal property shall have the right to vote; that all *native* male citizens who voluntarily pay a registry tax or perform certain military services, shall have the right to vote, but only tax-payers shall have a right to vote upon questions involving the imposition of taxes or the expenditure of money. The effect of these provisions is to disfranchise citizens of foreign birth and to create a large class of voters subject to the control of politicians; these are known as registry voters. Under the constitution, and laws in pursuance thereof, persons desiring to secure the benefit of this provision must register their names, in person, on or before the 31st of December in each year, and pay the tax early in the following January. The registration thus occurs at a time when no election is pending, and when working-men have little inducement to lose their time by a visit to the office of the town or city clerk, or to pay a dollar for the privilege of voting. The result is that the number of registry voters is limited, and the taxes of those who do register are paid by aspirants for political office. It is very generally admitted that the practical operation of this provision in the constitution has been mischievous, but, while few citizens defend it, the politicians who profit by it have hitherto defeated all efforts to procure its repeal.

In 1881 a numerously signed petition was presented to the General Assembly for an act providing for a convention to consider a revision of the constitution to be submitted to the people for their adoption. The committee to whom this petition was referred reported that the General Assembly had no power to pass such an act, and accompanied their report with an argument in defense of the existing system in relation to citizens of foreign birth. The petition was renewed at the subsequent session of the General Assembly, and the opinion of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State was asked by the Legislature as to its power to provide for a convention: the answer of the judges denied the power. Soon after there appeared in the "Providence Journal" an article understood to be from the pen of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley, criticising and controverting the opinion of the judges; afterward Chief-Justice Durfee published a pamphlet defending his opinion and that of his associates, to which ex-Chief-Justice Bradley has since published an elaborate reply.

The constitution provides for its amendment in the following manner: The proposed amendment, having been voted for by a majority of all the members elected to each house of the General Assembly, is to be published, and if voted for in the same manner by the next General Assembly, a new election of members having intervened, it is then to be submitted to the qualified voters, and if adopted by three-fifths of those voting thereon, becomes a part of the constitution.

In the opinion of the Justices of the Supreme Court no lawful change can be made in the constitution except in this mode of amendment; on the other hand, ex-Chief-Justice Bradley contends that this power of specific amendment does not exclude the power of the General Assembly to provide for a convention, and he defends this position by an exhaustive review of the subject, historically, and by a critical examination of the constitution of the State. If the opinion of the judges be correct the sovereign power of the State is permanently vested in two-fifths of the qualified voters; if the opinion of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley be sustained the sovereign power is where Roger Williams and his associates placed it—in the hands of the "major part in civil things only." Evidently this is a question on which men may differ, although the usage of the States of this Union is consistent and uniform and sustains the opinion of ex-Chief-Justice Bradley that the Legislature may provide for a convention, whether the existing constitution does or does not provide a mode of specific amendment. But I do not consider it a question of much practical importance; whenever a majority of the people desire a convention it will be provided for by an act of the Legislature, and the constitution recommended by the convention, if addopted by the people, will become the fundamental law of the State, and the courts organized under its authority will recognize the validity of the power which creates them.

The practical question is, whether such a convention is expedient and desirable? Those who deny the expediency say that the people are satisfied with the present constitution, and that the limited suffrage for citizens of foreign birth is prudent and reasonable: it is said that any such citizen may qualify himself to vote by investing one hundred and thirty-four dollars in real estate; but those who take this position overlook the fact that this class of our people reside in the cities or large manufacturing towns, and can make no profitable investment in real estate with less than the outlay of one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars. They further claim that the registry tax, which nobody defends, can be readily repealed by the specific mode of amendment provided in the constitution, although all attempts to obtain its repeal in this way have hitherto failed. Those who favor a convention claim that the disfranchisement of citizens of foreign birth is unjust, and produces discontent among a large and constantly increasing class of citizens of the State; that citizens of foreign birth, as a class, are as well qualified to vote as native citizens engaged in similar occupations. It is sometimes said that these citizens "have come among us without our invitation, and that upon their departure there is no restraint;" but this is not the case; they have come among us invited by the ample reward here given to faithful industry and by a cordial welcome from a people inclined by the traditions of their origin to extend hospitality to men of all nations and of every creed, and, upon their departure, there are all the restraints that keep men in the homes which they have chosen. They only ask that no invidious distinction shall be made between them and other citizens of the State and of the United States. Advocates of a convention say further that the registry tax will never be repealed until the majority of the people have the opportunity to act upon the question. It would be easy to show by statistics, to insert which would, however, extend this article beyond its prescribed limits, that, as the result of disfranchisement of citizens of foreign birth and the practical operation of the registry tax, a very large proportion of the people of the State take no active part in its government. It seems reasonable that, after the lapse of nearly half a century, the people should have an opportunity to consider a general revision of their constitution.

I speak for no party, but I think I represent the views of many thoughtful citizens when I say that the welfare of the State would be promoted by a constitutional convention. There are those who think that an article prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should form a part of the constitution of the State; and if such a prohibition is to be made at all it should be in the fundamental law, and not be a subject of party agitation at each annual election. There are those who think that the suffrage should be extended to women upon the same terms as to men. The petitions for this change in the constitution have been presented by such large numbers of men and women that both Houses of the General Assembly at the session in January, 1885, voted in favor of a proposition to submit an amendment to this effect to the people, but either by accident or design too late for its publication according to the provisions of the constitution. There are those who think that a more equal representation of the people in the Legislature should be provided for. There are those who desire a change in the mode of appointment of judges and in the tenure of the judicial office. There are those who desire constitutional restrictions upon corporations and upon the power of the Legislature to expend the money collected by taxes from the people.

Whether a majority of the people desire any or all of these changes can only be ascertained by submitting the question to them for their decision. If a convention shall be held and shall submit a revision of the constitution to the people, and it be approved by them, it will become the fundamental law; if rejected, all will acknowledge the right of the people and accept the decision. So long as the party in power refuses to provide for a convention there will be a sense of injustice among large classes of the population. Those who defend a limited suffrage often take the trouble to explain that the right to vote is not a natural right. This expression may sometimes have been used by the advocates of impartial suffrage, but what they mean is, that it is a right which ought to be conferred by society upon all who are qualified for its exercise; strictly speaking, it is no *right* at all, but a *trust*, imposed upon the individual by the State, to be executed in good faith for the public welfare. I have no fear of what is called universal suffrage. I think that the power to vote should be imposed upon the citizen to be exercised for the welfare of the State, and that every resident citizen, without distinction of sex or race or place of nativity, should be clothed with this power and made to feel its responsibility. I think the danger to the institutions of the State lies not in the direction of the extension of political power to the people, but in its limitation to special classes of the citizens. A government of the people by the people for the people, if it means anything, means a government by the permanent will of the majority of the whole people lawfully expressed. Abraham Lincoln, as was his wont, stated the case in concise and accurate language when he said that "government by a minority is either anarchy or despotism."

ABRAHAM PAYNE.

II.

Mr. Payne, in the preceding paper, refers to a report made to the General Assembly upon the subject which he discusses, and elsewhere he has said that that report was written by me. These facts may justify me in presenting a few paragraphs by way of reply to Mr. Payne's attack upon the constitution and laws of Rhode Island.

Mr. Payne caused to be published in the Providence "Journal," under date of November 1, 1885, a paper which tends to elucidate the preceding paper and to mark with distinctness the difference between him and the constituted authorities of Rhode Island in reference to the matter he here discusses. In that paper he says:

> "If there be any practical meaning in the declaration that the sovereign power is in the people, no act of the General Assembly could have compelled the people to elect delegates to a convention. Such an act would be simply a request issued to the people, and providing a mode of proceeding in case they should elect to comply with the request. In the case under consideration (the Dorr Constitution) the request was issued by a mass meeting; if the people chose to comply with the request, to send delegates to the convention, and to accept the recommendation of their delegates, and adopt the constitution framed by them, it is difficult to see why their act would not be as valid as if the request had been issued by the General Assembly."

Mr. Payne's contention, therefore, amounts to this: No matter by whom a convention may be called, no matter who may elect the delegates, but if delegates are elected, and a constitution is formed, and is voted upon, and declared to be adopted, though all of these proceedings be without any form of law and without reference to the constituted authorities, such a constitution would become the fundamental law of a State.

My contention is, that when a State constitution contains a provision for its own amendment, in which the Legislature is to take the initiatory proceedings, that the only ways in which such a constitution can be altered or changed is either in accordance with the provision contained in the constitution or by revolution.

There is a margin of ground for discussion between the contentions of Mr. Payne and myself involving the right of a legislature to initiate changes in a constitution in other methods than those prescribed in the constitution. It is quite enough to say here, that my contention denies the validity of such a proceeding, and that I do not understand Mr. Payne to assert its validity.

I think a constitution may be defined to be the instrument in a State under which a government is formed, or continued, and the powers of government are distributed and its agencies are limited. A constitution determines what shall be the qualification of voters, and limits their power. It limits the powers of the legislature, of the executive, and of the judiciary. The limit imposed by the constitution on the people themselves is the power here brought into consideration.

It appears to me that as a consequence of the argument of Mr. Payne, that by the term "people" he does not limit himself to the class in the State who are voters, who hold the political power in the State, as I do; for, when he undertakes to limit the power to alter a constitution to a class, he looks to the constitution for his authority to indicate the class, and if he is to acknowledge the authority of that instrument for the designation of a class in the State who are the repositories of power, it is difficult for me to see how he is to escape from accepting the constitution as a whole.

The term people, when made use of in the sense of electing delegates to a constitutional convention, means the people clothed with the elective franchise (see "General Principles Const. Law," by Cooley, Boston, 1880, p. 267). This term is used in a broader sense in connection with certain constitutional guaranties.

Mr. Webster, speaking upon a question similar to that which is being considered, said:

> "I have said that it is one principle of the American system that the people limit their governments, national and State. They do so; but it is another principle, equally true and certain, and, according to my judgment of things, equally important, that the people often *limit themselves.* They set bounds to their own power. They have chosen to secure the institutions which they establish against the sudden impulses of *mere* majorities."

Washington, in his farewell address, says:

> "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In this paragraph Washington recognized that there were but two methods of changing a constitution—one by the method prescribed in the constitution, and the other by usurpation.

Curtis, in his "History of the Constitution," says:

> "The existence and operation of a prescribed method of changing particular features of a government mark the line between amendment and revolution."

Judge Cooley says:

> "The people, in the sense used in constitutions, as being the source of authority, is the body of electors created under the constitution, and they can amend a constitution only by legitimate modes, which must either be prescribed in the constitution, or, in the absence of a prescribed mode, by authority of the law-making power."

The judges of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, in an opinion given by them, are in accord with the authorities quoted. Madison, and even Calhoun, expressed opinions upon the general question here in issue in accord with these authorities.

Mr. Payne objects to the present constitution of Rhode Island, because it requires a property qualification for the voters who are authorized to vote upon questions involving the expenditure of money or the imposition of a tax; because it requires the payment of a tax of one dollar, or the performance of military duty, by persons who vote for officers, and because it makes a distinction in the qualification to vote between native and naturalized citizens.

The first and the last of these provisions, which have incurred the disapprobation of Mr. Payne, received the warm approval of the late Chancellor Kent, and I think that they each have their foundation in justice, for a man ought not to vote away the property of another unless he shares the burden he imposes upon his neighbor. This is a wholesome provision, and in operation has wrought no mischief. The distinction between the qualifications of the naturalized and native citizens is based upon the difference between natural and assumed allegiance. It is painfully apparent to every observer of the operation of our political system that the alien-born have but half a home in the land of their adoption.

Jefferson called attention to this subject in his "Notes on Virginia." He said:

> "Nothing can be more opposed (to our system) than the maxims of absolute monarchy. Yet, from such, we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they have imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another.

> It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children," etc.

In view of this authority, it is not at all surprising that Senator Beck, of Kentucky, a sterling Jeffersonian Democrat, should be reported as objecting to the admission of Dakota into the Union, because of the alien birth of a large proportion of its population.

Martin Van Buren, that other Jeffersonian Democrat, said, with prophetic truth, in the convention for framing a constitution of New York in 1821, of the then impending proposition to fix the qualification of electors:

> "It will give the city of New York about twenty-five thousand votes; while, under the liberal extension of the right on the choice of delegates to this convention, she had about thirteen thousand. That the character of the increased number of votes would be such as would render their elections rather a curse than a blessing, which would drive from the polls all sober-minded people; and such, he was happy to find, was the united opinion, or nearly so, of the delegation from that city."

Forty-seven per cent. of the population of Rhode Island are either alien-born or the children of the alien-born. Its industries have induced so large a portion of this class of people to come to reside in the State. The stability of the institutions of the State has nothing to apprehend from the native population.

The requirement of the non-property tax-paying voter to register his name and to pay a tax of one dollar is not a very great burden upon this class of people. No compulsory process can issue for the collection of the tax. Mr. Payne says that this tax is paid by other persons. If this is so, is such payment legal? It has been twice decided in England that the payment of a tax by one person to admit another to vote, with the intent that the person so admitted shall vote for a particular candidate or party, is an illegal payment, and that such payment does not qualify the person whose tax is thus paid to vote; and Cushing, in his "Law of Legislative Assemblies," believes that these decisions would be held to be law in this country. If this view of the law be correct, the evil of which Mr. Payne complains arises in administering this provision of the constitution, and not in the constitution. Any extension of the elective franchise beyond a proper limit brings in a less desirable class of voters. Usurpations and revolutions may be had without as well as with force, and may be resorted to even under the color of the forms of law, but because they are peaceably effected they are not the less dangerous to our American system of government, and there is developed, in this country and in England, a spirit, in certain classes of the population, of lawlessness which ought not to be encouraged, especially in this country, in any revolutionary or lawless act.

The policy of government and people in America ought to be directed in the line of the franchise laws of Rhode Island, to induce every laboring man in the land to obtain a home; for when he has a home for himself and family he no longer will be a subject of anxiety or care to those who have the real interests of the State at heart.

The landed qualification for naturalized citizens stimulates this class of persons to acquire homes. The possession of a home is a bond for good citizenship. Every laborer in the land ought to be encouraged to and to be assisted in obtaining a home, for when he has a home he will be a friend of order and law and opposed to riot and tumult.

Every man ought to be entrusted with the privilege of voting who has intelligence enough to know what is for the public benefit, and the integrity to use this privilege for the benefit of the public; but, unhappily, the State has no standard by which it can ascertain the exact intelligence and integrity of all its citizens. The possession of real property affords evidence of intention to remain in the locality of the property, and, inasmuch as the property will be affected by the action of the government, the holder of the property will become interested in the government so as to protect his property. Then, generally, the possession of property affords some evidence of the industry, economy, and prudence of its owner. At any rate, it has a tendency to bind the naturalized citizen to its locality. Property ought not to be a qualification to vote, but it affords evidence that its owner may have the proper qualifications. Under any rules yet devised, many men will be allowed to vote who are unfit repositories for the trust, and many others will be denied the privilege who would faithfully execute the trust. In this country there is more danger of extending the privilege of voting too broadly for the public good than there is to be apprehended from restricting it within too narrow limits.

W. P. SHEFFIELD.

PLAN OF THE TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN.

Not long after the extra session of Congress was called to meet in July, 1861, Senator Breckinridge was promptly on the ground and took his seat. This was in exact accordance with the purpose for which he was sent—not at that time fully understood. But when he gave utterance to his secession views, and made his speech in aid of the disunion movement, and support of the Southern Confederacy, the entire animus of the movement was disclosed. I wrote a reply to that speech, intending it for publication, as a citizen of Maryland, and of the United States. It referred to every point he had made in favor of disunion ; defended the President, as supreme ruler of the nation and its armies, in every action he had taken to save the Union ; and showed the design of the conspirators against the Government in all they had done, to the first drop of blood shed to unite the South, and, as they vauntingly thought, to cut off the North, and establish their own independence as The Nation. As soon as it was printed, I sent a copy to the President through Attorney-General Bates. Mr. Lincoln returned his grateful thanks, saying it was the best defense of his rule that any one had ever made. Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President, also expressed his gratification, as also did the various members of the Cabinet. This paper was largely circulated by the War Department as a "war measure."

Col. Scott showed me a paper from the President concerning this and other articles that I might write which would be valuable to the country.

During all the summer months of 1861 my time was mostly given to the preparation of writings to put the people in possession of the true theory of our Government and to define and defend the war powers it possesses.

In the fall, in compliance with an understanding from the Assistant Secretary of War, Col. Thomas A. Scott, indorsed by Mr. Lincoln, I concluded to go West and inform myself as to the military and political situation in that quarter. I promised to write anything valuable I obtained, and also to submit my writings for the Government to the Department (meaning to Mr. Lincoln), in advance of their publication : which was done. I soon found that, in the West, the cause of the Union was deemed hopeless, even by its strongest adherents.

Some of my recent articles had been copied into newspapers in the West, so that as I visited the various military camps I received a cordial welcome from the officers in command. I visited them all. It was a matter of much surprise to me to find so many people in that section impressed with the Southern doctrine of State Rights. Every now and then some one would say : "I am not surprised, Miss Carroll, that you are a Union woman, because your State is in the Union ; but would you be if this were not the case ?" It struck me there was danger then in the great North-west. Leaving Chicago, I went on to St. Louis, where I remained for some weeks.

While prosecuting my writing I was also diligently inquiring as to the best means of averting the dangers which threatened the Union.

At the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, where I went in search of books that I wanted, I met the brother of General Albert Sydney Johnston, who happened to be the librarian, and had read some of my papers in the press. Being the brother of the most famous soldier in that section of country, I gained from him a great deal of information as to what was expected to be accomplished. He had once lived in my vicinity, and readily told me his views on the prospect. This led to a very warm discussion, and drew many into the library to listen. He expressed astonishment that I, a Southern woman, should be working so vigorously against my section, and after all it would amount to nothing ; that, by spring, the whole thing would be at an end ; Price would have redeemed Missouri, and Buckner the whole of Kentucky ; and, before spring, even, the party of peace would be at the front, and demand concessions from your Government or strike for independence." "Independence, indeed !" said I, "before spring your boasted independence as a nation will be at an end." "How," said he, "are you going to reduce the Mississippi ?" I looked him in the face, surrounded by his friends, and said, "yes ; before spring all the strongholds in your Mississippi will have vanished as thin air."

They all sneered, and thought me, no doubt, a very foolish calculator. However, Mr. Johnston continued to lend me books, and treated me with due attention. As the brother of Gen. A. S. Johnston, I took note of all he said. I also took notice of the opinions I heard expressed by the various persons whom I met. I went to General Fremont's. He was absent on one of his expeditions. His wife was in command in St. Louis.

While assuming great confidence in the Union cause, I must confess my apprehension of danger grew daily more intense, and my determination to find some solution for the difficulties of the situation grew stronger.

President Lincoln was relying on the great Mississippi to defeat the armed power of the South, and all with whom I talked said it never could be opened, and that there was no possible way to turn that strongly fortified river, impregnable to any advance on it from Columbus to Memphis.

When I saw that battle-torn regiment, 7th Iowa, as it fled into Benton Barracks, that memorable autumn morning after the battle of Belmont, it sickened my heart, and a conviction fastened upon me that there *was* a way of escape; that either the Tennessee or Cumberland River might afford the needed depth of water for the passage of the gun-boats into the heart of the South. I meant to find out, if I had to remain in St. Louis a month longer. It struck me the river pilots ought to be able to satisfy me as to the depth and width of all the Western rivers. I resolved to seek them, and inquire, for I knew the high military men would never inquire of them, as I told General Grant long after. I heard that the wife of one was in the hotel where I stopped. Her husband was a pilot on one of the transports at the battle of Belmont. I went to her room, and made many inquiries, and gained some information. She was then anxious as to her husband's fate, but promised to send him to me as soon as he should return to the city.

As soon as I heard of his return from Belmont, I sent for him myself, when he came, and I learned what I wanted to know, and found that the water in the Cumberland River was deep enough for the gun-boats at some seasons, and the Tennessee River at *all* seasons, the thought flashed on me in an instant, that *here* was the true way to the solution of the military problem, that here we could do all that it had been designed to do on the Mississippi, with none of the difficulties which that river presented.

Judge Evans, of Texas, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of that State, had fortunately called at that moment. I was greatly excited at this thought, and, meeting him in the hall, I inquired of him if such a movement could not be made. He was a Western man, born near the Tennessee River, and had lived near the foot of the Muscle Shoals most of his life. He concurred, after a little reflection, that the right way would be as I proposed, to transfer the national armies from the Mississippi to the Tennessee River. I said, "It shall be done ; I will have it done," with some emphasis, and I then asked him to come and join me in obtaining from the pilot, Mr. Scott, information as to his special knowledge of the matter. He told us that every one of the pilots believed it certain destruction to attempt to reduce the fortifications on the water of the Mississippi River. I wrote at once to the Hon. Edward Bates, Attorney-General, who had been the one first to suggest the gun-boats for the Mississippi expedition, and to Assistant Secretary of War Col. Scott, and then to President Lincoln. I next proceeded to Ohio, and then to Covington, Kentucky. On every hand the talk was only of storming the impregnable Mississippi. Stopping in Buffalo, on my way to Washington, I met there, among other friends, ex-President Fillmore. He seemed anxious to learn my opinion of the dark look of things, and what I thought would be the result. He expressed his faith in the discovery I revealed to him, and asked if President Lincoln had heard from me, and advised me to lose no time in submitting my views to the Cabinet at Washington. Soon after arriving in Washington City, I took the papers which I had prepared, and called with them at the War Department on the 30th day of November, 1861. There I saw Colonel T. A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War. He said he had received my letter from St. Louis, and had showed it to the President, who was anxious to see me, and hear what I had to say. I then opened the paper with maps and diagrams, and read slowly, explaining to Colonel Scott. He was a good deal excited, and said earnestly, "Will you give me this ?" I said, "It is for the use of the Government I have prepared it. Will you take it to the President ? If you have this fully executed you will not only save this Union but cover yourself with glory." Then I left him, without a thought of myself, thinking only of the plan, and feeling conscious that it would in Colonel Scott's hands be faithfully executed as I had advised, to the salvation of the Union. And it was.

Early the same evening it was in the hands of President Lincoln, and fully understood as coming direct from me. Colonel Scott said to me afterward, and spoke of it again not long before his death, that he never saw a greater manifestation of pleasure than Mr. Lincoln expressed as soon as he saw my solution of the great problem of the war.

Mr. Lincoln had unbounded confidence in Colonel Scott's knowledge of the railroad system of the South, and its use in war. He at once understood the plan in all its bearings. President Lincoln had reserved to himself, as supreme commander of the army and navy, control of the Mississippi expedition, and had been waiting for the building of the gun-boats which were in progress when I was in St. Louis. His order was to let him know when they were completed. I knew all that was going on pretty well, but I thought no more of myself than if I had had no connection with the military operations, and in conversation generally made no allusion to the probability of a change of plans in the department of the West, knowing all the time, however, that it had been my great privilege to have placed in the hands of the Government the plan for the transfer of the national armies from the Mississippi River to a new base in North Mississippi and Alabama, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and being assured by those who received it that it was the first and only idea of such an action that had ever been presented, then or afterward.

Of this fact there never was, and never can be, the shadow of a doubt.

Mr. Lincoln's terms of approval were intensely strong. The army and gun-boats had gone up the Tennessee River, carrying astonishment and consternation to the South, and had demonstrated the wisdom of the plan of advancing upon that line.

When the news reached the Capitol at Washington, of victory in Tennessee, Judge Evans, of Texas, hastened to my lodgings, and exclaimed: "You have accomplished your work. The army is on the march upon the Tennessee, and the decisive point is gained." I cannot express my joy at that eventful moment. But in my heart I ascribed it all to the Providence of my Almighty Father, who had so ordered it all, and endowed me with ability to do this work for the safety and glory of my country.

I went to the War Department and saw Mr. Tucker, Assistant Secretary in place of Colonel Scott, who was then in the West. Mr.

Tucker said to me: "I know from Colonel Scott, who told me before he left, Miss Carroll, that you were the one who had designed this plan, and that he himself was going West to assist in having it executed." I had a letter from Mr. Tucker, expressing his interest in my claim, just before my last terrible illness.

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, First Comptroller of the Treasury, and a valued friend of mine, requested a copy of my plan soon after the great victory for the Union had been achieved and all hearts were being cheered by the blessing. He said he wished to leave the copy of the draft as a legacy to his children to remember me. Some years after Mr. Whittlesley's death, his son sent it to me from Mansfield, Ohio.

In the House of Representatives, February 24, 1862, when Mr. Roscoe Conkling introduced his resolution to find out, and award merit to those who planned these military movements, I was present, and heard the names of one and another military man spoken of as the probable author of the plans.

Several, both in the House and in the Senate, knew all the facts of the matter, but kept silent from prudential motives. The desirability of silence occurred to my own mind, and was also suggested by Mr. Lincoln and the War Department, so that no expression was then given to the true facts of the case. Some, however, who knew about it, thought it wrong to have no proclamation of the facts at that time, and could scarcely be restrained from saying so. The discussion being continued some time, one claiming the honor for his military preference, and one for another, a member from New York, a Mr. Olin, said, "Let the Secretary of War be requested to give us the information." Then Mr. Thaddeus Stevens made a motion to reconsider, and the original resolution was referred to committee on military affairs, February 25, 1862.

There it slept.

ANNA ELLA CARROLL.

THE PROGRESS OF KANSAS.

On the 30th of May, 1854, President Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Slavery had broken down the barriers of the Missouri Compromise and invaded a territory dedicated to Freedom, and the "irrepressible conflict," long dreaded and inevitable, was thus inaugurated upon the prairies of Kansas. Seven tragic years followed—years filled with the noise of contention; with fightings by day and burnings by night; with startling revelations of human heroism, patience, self-sacrifice, desperation and depravity, the scene closing with a natural calamity in the form of a drouth, when for seven months not a drop of rain fell upon the parched and gaping earth; and Kansas, on the 29th of January, 1861, was admitted into the Union as a Sovereign State.

On the day of her admission the young State was wrapped in a mantle of new-fallen snow. But scarce had the snow melted in the breeze and sun of spring before the country was enveloped in the flames of civil war, and with it came, for Kansas, four years crowded with trials greater than had marked the preceding seven years. Kansas was not, like the other Northern States, a spectator or an occasional participant in the struggle. On her eastern border lay Missouri, a bloody battle ground from first to last; on the south, the Indian Territory, its population divided between contending forces. Kansas was repeatedly invaded, her infant settlements laid in ashes, and on one black day more of her people's lives were sacrificed, on her own soil, than had been lost in all the quarrels, assassinations, skirmishes and forays of the Territorial period of seven years. During the Civil War it may be said that the entire able-bodied male population of Kansas was in arms, engaged in offensive or defensive warfare. The report of the Provost Marshal General of the U. S. Army, made in 1867, shows that Kansas contributed more soldiers to the army, in proportion to population, than any other State of the Union; and that the per centage of Kansas soldiers killed or wounded was also greatest.

At the end of eleven years, then, during which Kansas had scarcely known the meaning of the word peace, the young State faced the future with almost empty hands, yet mindful of her motto—alike a history and a prophecy—"*Ad astra per aspera,*" "To the stars through difficulties."

At the date of her admission Kansas had a population but little in excess of the number given by the census of 1860, viz., 107,206. During the Civil War, the development of the State practically ceased. The horrors of the "drouth of '60" had been spread over the West by disheartened fugitives, and to these were added the too true stories of the perils and losses of the war. Few immigrants sought to remove to the scene of actual or possible conflict. In the summer of 1864, however, many of the Kansas volunteers returned to their homes; the end of the war was evidently approaching; immigration began again; and the census of 1865 showed that the population had grown to 140,179—an increase of 32,973 during five years, or about 6,500 per year. This increase, however, was really acquired during the year preceding the census.

The Constitution of 1859, called in Kansas "the Wyandotte Constitution," under which the State was admitted, had defined its territorial limits as they have since remained, discarding what is now the State of Colorado, and leaving a parallelogram 400 miles long and 200 miles wide, and embracing 52,218,000 acres—a country which may be described as a rolling prairie one-third larger than England. And if, in 1865, the entire population of Kansas, men, women and children, had been evenly distributed over this immense area, each human being would have had nearly one square mile to himself or herself.

To reach this region, destined to be the scene of the most remarkable development in the history of the North American continent, there was, in 1865, but one line of railroad, touching the State at only two points on the extreme north-eastern border, Atchison and Elwood, and but one water-way, the Missouri River. No other Western State had begun its career of development under similar disadvantages.

To counterbalance every disadvantage there was the great fact, which has by degrees become known, not only throughout the

United States and Canada, but all over Europe, that in the exact geographical center of the Republic lies a body of 52,218,000 acres of land, nearly every acre of which, as agriculture is practiced in old and densely populated countries, may be subjected to the plow. Time has developed the fact that, underlying these acres, there are, by the latest estimates, 2,500,000,000 tons of coal; that there are valuable deposits of lead and yet more valuable mines of zinc; and that all over the State there are quarries of building stone. But the great fact was the existence of a vast body of arable ground lying ready for the farmer; and the accompanying knowledge that, of these acres, the greater part could be had for the taking, or purchased at a very low figure; that the price of one acre in the older States would secure 160 acres in Kansas. In this point of view it may be said that Kansas started, in 1865, with advantages such as no other Western State had ever enjoyed, in the existence of the Homestead Law and the land-grant railroad system.

The Homestead Law, in its original form, perhaps the most beneficient act ever passed by the Congress of the United States, was, after the war, made especially liberal as regards the ex-soldiers of the Union, allowing them to deduct from the five years of settlement and cultivation required by the act, the terms of their military service. This provision not only greatly stimulated immigration, but affected its character, and Kansas began, on the passage of the act, to fill up with a brave, hardy and patriotic population, accustomed to the discipline and endurance of army life, and bound together by the strongest ties, those of attachment to a common cause in the past, and of military comradeship. The system of land-grants to railroads, once universally supported, in Congress and out of it, by the people and by their representatives, and now as universally opposed, gave Kansas railways which the State would probably have never had otherwise, and threw upon the market millions of acres of land, contiguous to the lines, sold at low prices and on long time. The grantees made haste to dispose of the lands, for excellent reasons: to realize from the sale, and to promote the settlement of the country and thereby provide themselves business for the future. The fact that the land was granted in alternate sections prevented, as a rule, the sale of great blocks to individuals, and the railroad as well as the government land was thus sold in "quarter sections" of 160 acres—the area that experience has shown sufficient for a single settler and his family. While the "land-grant system" led to abuses, and has served its time, it was an aid in the building up of Kansas in 1865 and for years thereafter, that no historian of the State can justly ignore.

In five years, from 1865 to 1870, the population of Kansas increased from 140,179 to 364,399, or at the rate of 159.95 per cent.—the largest percentage of increase the State has ever known. It was during these years that the "disbanded volunteer" was seeking a new home, and the era of railroad building was fairly inaugurated, the "Kansas Pacific" road having been completed to the west line of the State in 1869. In 1870, had the distribution of population, we have before used as an illustration, taken place, the Kansan, who in 1865 stood alone in the midst of a mile square, would have found himself one of a group of four persons.

The next period of five years, from 1870 to 1875, would probably have shown an equal ratio of increase, but for the financial crash of 1873, followed, in Kansas, in 1874, by a simultaneous visitation of drouth and grasshoppers. After these came an "aftermath" of liars, who scattered over the East and greatly exaggerated the calamity. But in spite of hard times, grasshoppers and "aid seekers," Kansas had acquired by 1875, a population of 528,349 inhabitants, and our illustrative group in the center of the "section" had grown to six persons.

From 1875 to 1880 Kansas made great progress. The population in those years swelled to 996,096, or at the rate of 88.52 per cent.; and the population per square mile increased to twelve persons.

In the years from 1880 to 1885 the population increased 272,466, making the total population 1,268,562, or fifteen persons to the square mile.

Thus, commencing in 1865 with 140,179 inhabitants, Kansas attained, in twenty years, to 1,268,562. But during the year 1885 occurred the most remarkable immigration ever known, and the population of the State is now fully 1,350,000.

This population in all its increase has shown a striking uniformity in character, the native born maintaining to the foreign born inhabitants an unvarying ratio of 8 to 1. A curious illustration of the fallacy of prophecy based on "scare" is shown in the proportion of white to colored persons. At the time of the famous "exodus" it was predicted that Kansas would be flooded with indigent colored people from the South. The census shows that the white population is 1,220,355, and the colored population 48,207, or 25 whites to 1 black. In 1865 the population was 9 whites to 1 colored. It should be said, also, that the 48,000 people of color in Kansas are in no sense a public burden. They have done their full share, with their strong arms, toward the upbuilding of the State, which has been the scene of the first successful occupation and settlement of public lands by persons of African descent.

If the test of population is not deemed a fair one, and it is asserted that Kansas has filled up with poor people crowded out of the East and attracted by cheap lands, on which they have not been able to accumulate wealth or even a competency, the answer is the production of official figures. In round numbers the true valuation of property in Kansas in 1860 was $31,000,000 ; in 1865, $72,000,000 ; in 1870, $188,000,000 ; in 1875, $242,000,000 ; in 1880, $321,000,000 ; and in 1885, $550,000,000. These figures show that the State has increased in wealth even more rapidly than it has in population.

The value of the farm crops of Kansas for the five years ending with 1870 was, in round numbers, $59,000,000 ; for the next succeeding five years their value was $135,000,000 ; for the next five years, $264,000,000 ; and for the five years ending with 1885 the farm crops of Kansas aggregated in value $503,000,000. The farmers of Kansas have produced, in twenty years, crops the value of which aggregates the enormous sum of $963,000,000.

The growth of a country in population and in wealth is not a gratifying fact if with it there is not a corresponding progress in intelligence. A million taken from or added to the population of China is a matter of indifference to the world at large. It is possible to imagine a country growing populous, and even rich, without contributing to the world's improvement ; a country filled with great land-holders, controlling a hopeless and ignorant tenantry; or a country covered with great herds of cattle and sheep owned by a few rich men, and watched and tended by semi-barbarous herdsmen, scarcely more intelligent than their four-footed charges.

Kansas has made as great progress in the matter of popular education as in material wealth. In 1861, the first year of her existence as a State, Kansas expended for the support of common schools only $1,700 ; in 1885 the expenditures for the same purpose aggregated $2,259,479. In the five years from 1880 to 1885 there was expended on the common schools of Kansas $12,630,480, and during the twenty-five years of her life as a State, Kansas has given to the cause of common school education $30,219,202. And this money has been well spent. In 1880 there were in Kansas only 25,000 persons over ten years of age who could not read. The security against ignorance and its resultant ills is the presence of an army of 8,219 school-teachers, who "hold the fort" in 6,673 school-houses, this army being maintained at a cost of nearly two million dollars a year for salaries alone. The greater part of this expense is met by self-imposed taxation, but there is in reserve the permanent school fund of the State, which now aggregates $3,500,000, with a million acres of land, yet unsold, destined to increase it to fifteen or twenty million dollars. The interest of this fund is, by a constitutional provision, sacredly set apart for the support of common schools. And crowning the common school system are the three State institutions, virtually a part of it,—the State University, the State Normal School, and the State Agricultural College,—all under the control of the State Legislature, supported by the State, and never to become exclusive or separated from the cause of free, popular, practical education.

The influence of the newspapers of the State, while no figures can ever measure it, will be acknowledged. These have increased from 27 in 1860 to 581 in 1885.

During the same period the churches have grown in number from 97 to 3,115.

The great features of a country's progress are its advance in population, in wealth, and in intelligence. These include everything. And, to sum up, the census reports establish the fact that the growth of Kansas has been unparalleled in the history of American States. In 1860 the thirty-third State of the Union in population, Kansas is now the fifteenth. Having in 1865 only 243,712 cultivated acres, her fields have enlarged in twenty years to 14,252,815 acres. Paying taxes in 1865 on 3,500,000 acres, the assessor now places on his roll 27,710,981 acres. In 1865 Kansas estimated the value of her live stock at $7,324,000, the investment has grown to $117,881,000. In 1864 there was not a mile of railway within the borders of the State; there are now 4,750 miles, and hundreds of miles are to be added during the present year. In 1865 the State gathered her children in 640 school-houses; 6,673 are now crowded with Kansas youth. In 1860 only ten Kansas towns had a population exceeding 500; in 1885 ninety-one towns had each over 1,000 population, and four cities—Topeka, Leavenworth, Atchison and Wichita—had each over 15,000 population.

The question may be asked, has this growth been due to transient or to permanent causes? There have been numerous instances of equally suprising growth, from temporary or speculative reasons, as in the oil regions of the East and the mining regions of the West, followed by utter collapse. Is this history to repeat itself in Kansas? Is what seems prosperity only a seeming; the result of the stimulating treatment of land speculators, individual or corporate?

It should be borne in mind, in considering these questions, that the reliance of Kansas is in her soil. The State does not depend on oil-wells which may cease to flow, or on placers that may be washed dry, or on quartz veins that may pinch out. Kansas is, as has been said, a great tract of 52,288,000 acres, containing a larger number of cultivable acres than any other State in the Union; in fact, Kansas is the name of the largest agricultural area on the face of the globe, inhabited by a homogeneous population and governed by the same laws. But passing mention has been made of the coal, of the builing stone found everywhere, and of the lead and zinc deposits, for the future of Kansas rests on the fertility of her fifty-two million acres. Thirty years of cultivation, in the eastern section of the State, has witnessed no diminution in the productiveness of the soil. Kansas does not own an exhausted or worn-out field. Of the 52,288,000 acres, only about ten million have ever been broken by the plow. If in twenty years $963,000,000 worth of agricultural products have been turned off, with, at most, less than one-fifth of the State under cultivation, what may be expected during the next twenty years, while the remaining four-fifths are being converted into fenced fields and pastures?

It can now be stated, with absolute certainty, that great areas in the Western third of Kansas are becoming more fertile; better fitted and adapted to cultivation. Kansas has enjoyed the advantages growing out of the modern science of meteorology, and the records of faithful observers have demonstrated the reality of climatic changes, as has, also, the experience of thousands of practical farmers. The face of the earth has changed with that of the sky, and the hard, trampled buffalo-pasture has been transformed, from the Missouri to the Colorado line, into mellow acres covered with high and waving grass—natural meadows, ready for the plow and the following reaper.

But the most assuring prophecy of the future of Kansas is the character of her population. From the date of her territorial organization to the present time Kansas has attracted the best blood and brain of the civilized world. Hither, thirty years ago, came thronging a host of bright and generous men, to oppose the aggression of slavery; and when the Civil War was over, a hundred thousand soldiers of the Union established homes on our broad prairies. No State in the Union can boast of a braver or a more intelligent, enterprising, sober and law-respecting population; and no country in the world can point to achievements or results rivaling those wrought by the citizens of Kansas. These people have wiped a desert from the map of the continent, and replaced it with a garden; they have pushed the plains to the foot-hills of the mountains; they have dotted the treeless prairies with forests; and they are harvesting, each year, crops exceeding in value the products of all the gold and silver mines of the United States. The limits that bound the progress and development of a State having such a citizenship and such resources cannot now be defined; but it is certain that, for at least a quarter of a century, the growth of Kansas will equal, if it does not excel, that of the past.

JOHN A. MARTIN.

ENGLISH RULE IN INDIA.

THERE is a string of phrases about the English occupation of India which the genius of the English people has stereotyped into a cant. Security from foreign aggression, domestic peace, suppression of dangerous rites, protection for women and children, equality of all classes before the law, diffused education and extended commerce, railways and public works, and other benefits of the undefined entity called "civilization," introduced by a "superior" to an "inferior" race (whatever those words may mean); these are said to be the many blessings of English rule in that country. It is taken for granted in a general way that Englishmen saved India from anarchy and ruin, and gave her order and the beginnings of civilized life. A great many good people, on both sides of the Atlantic, who get their knowledge from the usual sources, honestly believe that she is very much better off with her present rule than she otherwise would be.

But the truth is this : India has given to England wealth and fame ; England has brought upon India penury and shame. Instead of being a means of civilization, English rule in India is almost an excuse to keep up barbarism in the nineteenth century. It is an attempt, by a certain class of Englishmen, to repeat in the East the regretted days of the "Conqueror" in England, when every native was a "villain" and all rights belonged to those who "came over." Instead of raising, it is degrading the people. The goods coming from it are at present remote and negative, while its immediate effects have been simply disastrous. The fiction of "England's mission" and "India's progress" is kept up by the agents of three interested industries—the military, mercantile, and missionary—aided by the co-operative journalism, in behalf of privilege and power, in which the modern Muse so sadly prostitutes herself. Distance and difference of language increase the difficulty of Indian thought and feeling on the question being known to the Western public. If I mistake not, this is the first time that, through the courtesy of the editor of this REVIEW, a native of India gives his version of her story in a publication of standing. Fully alive to the responsibility of my task, I will try to be as calm in my narrative as the case will permit, though I must preface it by saying that, should England continue in her treatment of India the self-satisfied cynicism which is at present her wont, the history of the English in India, no matter how Englishmen tell it, can be written on the native side, as it has heretofore been, only in blood.

Never within the records of history have there been such widespread poverty and misery in India as her unfortunate people have had to bear since the planting of the English flag. Every walk of life has been gradually usurped by a grasping monopoly whose boast is that they are not of the people. The children of the soil are to-day, virtually, serfs, working away their lives for a scanty board. Free imports, which have enriched English capitalists, have killed the manufacturers of the country, maimed its industry, and made its trade pass into foreign hands, and the people have to look to Europe for the merest necessaries of life. As if this was not enough to keep down the wealth of the country, it is further exhausted by an increasing annual drain, now over £40,000,000, in the shape of exports, for which there are no corresponding imports. This amount, equal to a sum higher than half the gross State revenues, represents interests on foreign debt and on foreign capital invested in India, pensions and salaries to Englishmen in Europe, the ever-increasing deficit of the government made good, and part of the savings of foreigners remitted in this form, all of which items are constantly forcing away larger and larger amounts of the very food from a starving people. Thus the formation of capital and a moneyed class by native industry is simply impossible, and there is being rapidly attained that dead level of poverty of a whole people which the Socialists of the West believe to be the immediate prelude to the dawn of the new day. Any signs of life in the country can be seen now in the seaports and a few centers of government alone, but the interior everywhere presents only ruins and destitution. The ruined industries have thrown increasing numbers upon an impoverished soil, only to struggle until nature fails, when they lay themselves down to die. Forty millions of the peasantry, or fully one-fifth of the subjects of the "Empress of India," are, on the telling of the official statistician, in a state of chronic starvation. To these even one meal of coarse grain in a day is a precarious luxury. The extravagance of the Government, its indifference to the needs and sufferings of the people and its oppressive taxes, have induced famine after famine, at the rate of one in every five or six years. Ten millions, by the official returns, have died of acute famine in the last twenty-five years, but in reality twice the figure would not very much overstate the fact. The national debt has steadily increased, is now near £250,000,000, while fully eighty per cent. of the people are more or less in the hands of the money-lender. Every means of raising money has been tried: free-trade England preaching to all the world untaxed bread as the first necessity of civilization, taxes India's native salt from 1,500 to 2,000 per cent. on its cost value; Christian England, sending missionaries to every corner of the globe, is compelled to eke out her Indian revenues by utilizing the opium habit of China; yet the average annual deficit of the Indian Government has for the last seventy years amounted to £1,000,000. But there is now a plan on hand to add another two millions sterling to the military expenditure of the country, and "otherwise increase the efficiency of the services," in view of prospective war with Russia. It is superfluous to say that all the high-paid offices are almost exclusively filled by Englishmen, to whom India is at best but a luxurious exile. Free imports, forced exports, and official extravagance are to India the three brass balls one sees over certain establishments in Western cities—the symbols of hunger, misery, and despair. India is in pawn, and her people on the verge of bankruptcy.*

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* The increase in the exports and imports of India is exhibited as a mark of prosperity by some of those economic sciolists who imagine that figures can feed and tables can clothe. But from her peculiar position India loses by both her exports and imports. This will be seen roughly as follows: In 1883 the exports were worth £83,000,000; the imports, £63,000,000 (including bullion in each case). In other words, £20,000,000 worth of exports had no corresponding imports, but were lost in foreign countries, together with the *entire profit* on the whole of the exports. This profit is estimated to be at least £20,000,000, according to the rates at which Indian goods are delivered in the European markets; so that at least £40,000,000 of the exports and profits of India represent nothing but the *yearly* drain to foreigners (on the items stated in the text) in part payment for the privilege of English rule. Nadir Shah, the foreign invader, who carried off the largest amount of spoils from India,

Nine-tenths of the people of India are to-day made up of her peasantry, perhaps the most industrious, the most teachable, the most thrifty, the most heroic peasantry on earth. But they say there is a just God, and the average Indian *ryot* is a mere pauper. He can just pay his cesses in a good year, and would fail altogether in a bad year but for the money-lender; and there is a bad season in some district or other every year. He lives on coarse rice or millet in the best of times. In bad times he is not sure in the morning if his family will have one meal during the day. He has then to borrow for seed at exorbitant interest, often work without cattle, and to use branches of trees when the plow is in pawn. Rent days send him again and again to the money-lender, until both his present property and future prospects are mortgaged. He is always in need, always in debt, and always liable to be oppressed by whoever has power over him, be it the tax-gatherer or the money-lender. His haggard features, his shriveled form, his bent stature mark him a luckless child of fate. When there is little chance of a harvest the money-lender closes his advances, and the farmer is thrown upon the mercy of barren nature. He ekes out an unmentionable living on weeds and unmarketable grains. (His meals now are often as fatal as starvation.) There are weeds that can be eaten by people in distress, but salt is indispensable to make them bearable. Salt, however, is a government monopoly and a costly luxury to the poor.

Thus fare nearly eighty per cent. of the people of British India.

This salt monopoly originated with Clive for the payment of

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took only £32,000,000, once for all, a large part of it consisting of jewelry and plates. But the imports show another vital loss to India, namely, that so much money goes out to the foreigner which was formerly distributed among native artisans. Whatever the abstract merits of free trade in the minds of economic pedants, in the case of India, where the open lands are all crowded and well-nigh exhausted, and the Government lends no hand to settle a destitute and increasing peasantry on unreclaimed tracts, while there is no emigration, its effects can be but disastrous. The facts show it to be so, and the figures fail to conceal or alter the facts. Increased imports, instead of being a measure of increased consuming power, represent only the starvation of millions thrown upon lands hitherto considered worthless. Indeed, prices of necessaries have in many cases doubled, while wages have remained stationary. The so-called cheap imports are paid for by forced exports, which in the end increase the prices of raw materials and make living dear. "Free" trade means to India simply *forced* extortion.

his army, mutinous for higher pay. Anti-Corn-Law England sells to the Indian peasant for from $15 to $20 the salt whose cost value is $1. Next to water, salt is a necessity of Indian diet. The poor need it more than the well-to-do. There was great smuggling at one time, and extra precautions are now used. Many used to make "earth salt" by washing the earth with salt found lying on the surface, and to boil their food in the liquid. For this they were punished. They went out of bed at night to lick it in the dark, and orders were issued that the police should collect and destroy all salt found above ground rather than that the law should be violated or the sacred rights of monopoly infringed! Privation in salt has produced a disease akin to leprosy in thousands of men and cattle. Agriculture has suffered, as well as arts like bleaching, glazing, glass-making, extraction of ores, the salting of provisions, and curing of fish, on account of this salt duty. Such is an instance of the "clock-work" system of the Government of India over which the whole Anglo-Saxon world now and then clap their sides in great self-congratulation. Satan in chains, brooding vengeance in hell, could not have concocted a scheme more effective to spread disaster and confusion among God's innocents.

"How does it compare with native rule?" is a very common and pertinent question. Very unfavorably, indeed. Even in the existing native States, which have suffered from commercial competition, because they dare not levy imposts, the peasantry are not in debt, nor do they suffer from frequent famines. The reason is that in India the landlord has always been the best possible one, namely, the State; but the English Government has stepped in as a private corporation and absentee rack-renter, doing no duties toward its tenants, and extorting more than its rights. Its sole aim is to get up a revenue with the least possible thought spent upon it. Fallow and cultivated lands are charged the same in English territories, the result being exhaustion of the soil from want of rest, while the native rule is to assess fallow land only one-eighth of the cultivated. The English Government, unlike the native, further checks improvement by taxing wells sunk at the personal cost of the cultivator. Its assessment is based on the tenant's produce in a good year, of which it appropriates, on an average, forty per cent., puts its value in cash, fixes regulation times for collecting, and leaves the machine to do the rest. The result is that, often compelled to find cash before his harvest is in, the same amount in bad seasons as in good, the luckiest farmer must resort to the money-lender nine times out of ten. Native rulers take payment in kind, of from a fourth to a third of the produce of *the year*, according as it is good or bad; they make postponements, and even partial or total remissions in bad times, while the arrears of rent are allowed to stand without interest, thus saving the peasantry from the two great curses of usury and ruinous civil suits. Pasture land is free in native India, but English India has a Forest Department and Forest Laws, which have increased the value of grass and wood the same way as that of salt, so that the cattle are deteriorating, and manure and fuel are scarce. Of local cesses there are few in the native territories, but a good many in the English. Lastly, the worst native tyrant could be beseeched, cajoled, frightened; but there is no appeal to the tyranny of a corporate machine.*

The pretense that native anarchy and misrule made the "conquest" of India by the English not merely a blessing, but a necessity, is false. It was the English themselves, who, by their artifices, prolonged and aggravated the native anarchy which they offer as an excuse for their own misrule. More than once foreign conquerors or native chiefs have suppressed anarchy in India, and established their power in the confidence and affection of the people, in the course of a very short time,—but the English rule is not established yet, because Englishmen never conquered India either by arms or by sentiment. Their achievements can be written in three words, used consecutively by one of their own poets—treason, strategem, and spoils. All the talking classes of Englishmen, however, have kept up a continual slander on the character of the Indian people, whose greatest fault was in being over-reached by their Christian brethren. Calumny is the homage that wrong bears to right. With the ruling classes of England morality is but the art of securing success and appearing "respectable:" thus, with great indignation they punished Editor Stead for shocking their flaunted virtue by disclosing their concealed vice.

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* Englishmen have dilated a little too much on one period of anarchy in the history of India, in bringing about which they had as much to do as anyone else. But, at the worst, the capricious cruelty of any native tyrant sinks into insignificance beside the organized and gigantic oppression of the English. It is truer now than even in the days of Clive and Hastings that the little finger of the Anglo-Saxon is thicker than the loins of a Surajah-ud-dowlah or a King Theebaw. Bengal was taken possession of by the English in 1757, and in 1760 *one-third* of its people were carried off by a famine resulting from the monopoly established on rice. The last great famine in India (1877), in which the mortality was over 5,000,000, followed in the track of the hunt after the "scientific frontier." This "land of plenty," whose prosperity tempted the avarice of successive conquerors from Semiramis to Tamerlane, is now, after a little more than a century of English rule, a mere blotch on the face of the earth, where, from one end to the other, a wretched nation writes in tears the story of England's "prestige" in the book of shame.

The power that first checked the tide of invasion from the North-west was that of the Sikhs, of the Punjab, who brought the restless Afghans more completely to terms than England has ever succeeded in doing. Since the fall of that power the warlike tribes of Central Asia have been too much engaged in self-defense against Russian advance to think of any aggression on their own account, while the Afghans have been distracted by domestic quarrels. After Nadir Shah, Russia is the first power that has meditated an invasion of India, and if England succeeds in warding it off, it will be because she will have the vigorous backing of the whole Indian people, who have begun to have a co-operative will of their own, and understand very well that a Russian usurpation at this time would rob them of the only treasure they have left—hope.

If the English connection has been the means of removing a few social evils which grew, here and there, during a period of suspended vitality and temporary disorganization of the Indian nation, it has demoralized them wholesale, paralyzed their resources, reduced them to helplessness, tied them round with the red tape of a galling officialism, and flung them into the dungeon of pauperism, to be constantly jeered and insulted by their unsympathetic jailers. The process of healing a sore or extracting a tumor by killing the patient is bad surgery. To try to correct social evils by imposing political helplessness is exploded philosophy. The United States would not act wisely to place herself under the English crown in order to overcome the Mormon difficulty. Japan is learning "civilization" without paying a greedy foreign pedagogue. *Suttee* burning and self-immolation of devotees were never extensive practices in India, and attained their greatest limits during the early days of English rule, when the old authorities of the people had lost power, and the new rulers were too busy in removing the good things out of the country to give thought to its internal condition. *Thuggee* was born under the English *régime*. Mahratta *dacoity*—

the *Burgee*—arose in a spirit of rivalry to English spoliation, and was beneficial in so far as it retarded the outflow of a few flecks of gold. But this cant about England's "mission" in India is an after-thought only. Clive and Hastings would have laughed at it.

The goods from English rule to India may be summed up in one word—Education; not the education through books and schools alone; but the education of circumstances, and, above all, the lesson of adversity, that best teacher of nations as of individuals. The contact with the living energy of the modern West has given the people the consciousness of a new life. Its bold science, its protean art and its buoyant aspirations of freedom and democracy have, for the first time in many centuries, aroused in them a keen desire to live, while they have seen the glimpse of a new world, not of vanities and illusions. At the same time, the shock produced by the concentrated miseries of a system of centralized selfishness have rudely awakened them to the hard reality of existence, quickened their sympathies and brought their imagination once more into play. It has made a bond of common suffering among all sections and classes of the people, which, aided by the new means of intercourse, the railway and the press, is fast breaking down the barriers of province and caste, and there are already signs that they are beginning slowly, but in right earnest, to cultivate the last art of human life—the art of organization.

Book education, railways, civilization, a new life, and even a religious awakening, are not goods in themselves. To India, particularly, they have hitherto given nothing but a hope. The direct effects of each are evil. Indian railways to-day represent profits on foreign capital—often first made in India—native exhaustion, and the rule of militaryism. Many of them were built in order to facilitate the movement of troops. They have exported thousands of tons of grain from centers of starvation to centers of a trumped-up war. The loss to the State on guaranteed railways in 1884 was £589,730; the total loss in the twenty-five years ending therein was £22,416,370. Education has made those who are receiving it keenly alive to the miseries and indignities of their condition; open to insults from the ruling race by making them talk of "rights;" unhappy at having no other vent but sedition for their newly-awakened powers; while it haunts them with the sensation of one who discovers he has made a fool of himself. Of a new civilization we have got only the dregs; of a new religion, only an insufferable cant, and from the imported new life we have received only kicks.

Indeed, the moral discontent of the thinking, which has kept pace with the physical suffering of the masses, is the other painful feature in the life of modern India. It has affected not only those who are receiving English education, but all those who come within their influence. The generation known as "Young India," the product of English schools, is a particularly unfortunate race. The allaying of their moral hunger is as much a problem for the Indian Empire as feeding its peasantry. They represent a social anarchy, and conceal, under their incoherent utterances, a deep discontent of mind that will shape the future of India more powerfully than all the mock policies and parchment measures of the dull ruffians who, under the name of "statesmen," misrule the affairs of that country. Violently torn from the past, they awake to feel more keenly than ever that the only thing real in life is pain. Their "paternal" government is to them a veritable stepfather, a Murdstone to David Copperfield. While their widowed mother country is undergoing "civilization" they have been thrown adrift upon an unkind world, labeled, even as was young Copperfield, "This is a worthless generation of vipers." Let no one wonder if, one of these days, they inflict a terrible bite upon the paternal hand. They have nothing to lose in this world; no, not even a good name. They attempt only to meet with repression; they aspire only to be snubbed. By a cruel fate they find themselves the veriest stepchildren of Mother Earth, with a present that is lost, a future mortgaged; with no place in this world, while the Gospel of an Asiatic seer, as interpreted by English tyrants, tells them that the gates of heaven are also closed against them.

England claims to have suppressed infanticide in India, but she is trying to smother the awakening life of her people in its bud. She has fixed the limits beyond which the country shall not grow; she has drawn the line beyond which the native shall not pass. The people have, of course, been deprived of arms. All their old methods of self-government have been strangled by red tape, and they are studiously excluded from the new. It would be a miracle if they should ever thus evolve into a self-ruling nation. Free-trade England believes in open foreign markets for English enterprise, but she has a high tariff against Indians entering the public services of their own country. It is answered, whenever they demand their rights as English subjects, that India is not England, and that the Indian people are yet "in the infancy of civilization." But India is England for English free trade, for English capitalism, for English red tape, for English law courts. In the United States the chattel slave of yesterday, imported from a barbarous country, is to-day the possessor of equal rights with the highest of men, which he uses with as much good to the State as any other class of citizens—a standing testimony against the hypocritical philosophy of waiting indefinitely to give the masses their powers "until they are fitted," as if there was any other way of learning the use of privileges than by familiarity with them. But England will not elevate the Indian without making him pass through the "infancy of civilization." And, like policy, like result, for, as a matter of fact, native talent, whether in statesmanship or the arts, is found, now, only in the native States. A blight seems to have fallen upon the mind as well as the body of the unhappy people who have come within the shadow of the Anglo-Saxon. Yet England must have a mission. This story of "England's mission in India" would form the bulkiest chapter in Carlyle's "Statistics of Imposture." It is the very culmination of the hypocrisy of modern times.

And who are the gods manufactured to rule over us? Lads plucked from school, spoiled by the "cram" of a competitive pass, and demoralized forever by a false success in early life. It is no exaggeration to say that the English school-boy is a young savage. Compulsory Greek keeps him from study and hazing becomes his amusement. At an age when liberal studies should begin to expand his mind and social restraints should curb his egotism and form the heart, he is at once placed as a ruler over millions of men. Puffed up by fulsome eulogies of the prestige of his traditions and the greatness of his destiny, he begins to stalk with the air of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, and can think only in the strain of *Veni, vidi, vici*. Comparing himself with the meanest and worst types of natives, with whom alone he comes in intimate contact, he fancies himself a veritable god. Restrained in education, with irresponsible license, he remains narrow in culture and his expression assumes a vapid dogmatism. Fully evolved, he is a curious compound of an overgrown school-boy, an irresponsible savage, and a cynical philosopher.

It is a mistake to suppose that the *personale* of the Indian Government has at all improved since it was transferred to the Crown. There was a certain straightforwardness about the knavery of the "honorable gentlemen" of John Company which put people on their guard, and was never so dangerous as the cultivated conceit and machine-made hypocrisy of a close corporation of half-educated competition-wallahs. The best of governors-general is powerless against their combination, as was seen recently in the case of the Marquis of Ripon. *L'état c'est moi* is more literally an article of faith with them than ever Louis XIV. dreamed of making it.

But there are other Englishmen in India beside those in the services. The majority of them, however, official or non-official, come from that lower middle class, peculiar to England, which has furnished Dickens with all his mean characters, from Pecksniff to Uriah Heep. Constantly ground between the millstones of the upper and the working classes, they have neither the independence of the one nor the dignity of the other. Accustomed to look up to their "betters," they are the worst of bullies to inferiors. They avenge by crushing others abroad the risk they have escaped of being crushed at home.

I am now brought face to face with the saddest part of my wretched tale. In the most exclusive country of Asia no foreigner is treated to such wanton cruelties and consistent insults as the native in India by his alien rulers. This is the most striking iniquity of the English domination, and a very mirror of its character. It needs no power of prophecy to say that this grievance will be at least the proximate cause of the next serious trouble in India. It is something whose nature no sophistry can disguise, no hypocrisy can smooth. Even the inexhaustible supply of English cant must at this point flow in vain.

It is said that the Indian of to-day lives on scanty meals and plenty of heels. Whether it is in the red-tapeism of the public services, which are worked so as to keep down the national spirit; or whether it is in the ordinary intercourses of the business world, the street, the park, or the railway car, all classes of Englishmen make it a rule to keep the natives in systematic degradation. A native may be turned out of a car if an Englishman wants it; he may be insulted on the street upon the flimsiest excuse; it is risky for him to walk in the public parks kept up at his own cost. He dares not resent, for the slightest show of resistance is met with physical violence, which may result in death, while the offender escapes with only a paltry fine. The highest punishment usually awarded to an Englishman for wantonly killing a native is six months' light imprisonment, with chances of remission on a memorial to the government from his brethren. Native judges have no jurisdiction over English criminals, except in the three cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, where they are but a small minority. So much for equality before the law. The Anglo-Indian ladies have not a little to do in keeping up this constant trouble. No wonder that the natives are so much prejudiced against them, seeing the hardening effects these Lady Macbeths have upon their husbands' hearts.

It is said by Anglo-Indians that the natives are used to insults, and are not so very sensitive, either. As a proof they point to the fact that Indians are often insulted by their own countrymen—the police constables and the servants of Englishmen. Simply recalling the fact that the Sepoy Mutiny was caused by supposed indignities which any English soldier would have swallowed down with a bottle of beer, I will give two extracts from a leading Anglo-Indian paper, which will show the truth about the case better than any words of mine. The "Times of India" (Bombay) wrote not long ago :

> "Native gentlemen have *often* to endure rudeness when they call on Englishmen ; but they suffer it not from the white man, but from the servants —their own brethren. There are few things so difficult as to make a native servant pay proper respect to a native gentleman who calls."

The same paper, in a subsequent issue, says :

> "We have no hesitation in saying that Englishmen in India, as a rule, show a far more intelligent interest in the well-being of their horses than the ordinary stay-at-home Britons ; the reason being that in England owners are usually obliged to trust to their grooms to manage their animals, while out here the *syce* (groom) never dares to usurp the functions of proprietorship."

Yes, things are so arranged in Anglo-India that the servant of an Englishman, who dares not touch his master's horse or dog, may insult a native caller, no matter how high his social position, while the master chuckles behind him. What a confession from the rulers of an empire—the protectors of a country from foreign aggression—that they cannot protect their visitors from the insults of their menials ! Could hypocrisy go further ? From the days of the factor of the East India Company to those of the modern constable, court-harpy, and money-lender, the policy of Englishmen in India has encouraged the most degraded native characters, and pampered the parasites and vultures who live upon the infamy of degenerate times.

But I must close. It is a tale of ruffianism, of sorrow, and of shame. Civilization has brought back to us, in the nineteenth century, the darkest days of human suffering. Wherever you go through the vast dominions of the "Empress of India" you see a population starved, luckless, cowed, crest-fallen, brooding thoughts of darkness or despair ; while stalks hither and thither the Anglo-Saxon, riding over their breasts, spitting in their faces, spreading desolation and leaving a nightmare wherever he has passed. The peasant slowly stoops to pick the food that allays no hunger, wondering wearily if death is as bad as life, while the wounded ego of the awakened mind mournfully asks if indeed it is for a trumpery British "prestige" that it must put up with a condition in which life is one long suffering, and to be born a shame.

There is a half truth in England's boast that she is the mother of freedom. English liberty is a reaction against the English egotism which has made Englishmen the conquerors of nature and the oppressors of men. Freedom was born wherever England has been because the tyranny of English rulers is always the most unbearable. It is against this tyranny that Milton wrote and Hampden bled. It is for this tyranny that the Magna Charta was drawn and handed down from bleeding sire to son. It is against this tyranny that an English colony signed the Declaration of Independence in the blood of their own brothers of the cradle. It is because of this tyranny that Catholic Ireland has raised the broadest plank in the politics of the age, and in Africa was born an heir to Mohammed the First. And it is this tyranny that will, in India, make the mortified spirit of the old Hindu cry out from beneath the ashes of centuries, "Vandals, forbear ! tread not upon us ! we are the most inoffensive of men." For it is a tyranny that would make stones speak and the dead start up to life again.

Our quarrel is not with the English people, but with the Anglo-Indian conspiracy against the life of India. The body of the English people, her producing and useful classes, are as much the victims as ourselves of the organized selfishness and hypocrisy of the blustering dullards who disgrace the English name in every corner of the globe and live on the robbery of half the world. Nor do we altogether despair of receiving justice from England, which, of all countries, has ever had a "remnant" of great and good men. The case of the Indian to-day is not a question of nationality or patriotism, but of humanity. Patriotism is but a lame virtue, one-eyed and deaf, and should not be separated from universal philanthropy save when external aggression makes a distinction between "you" and "me" a disagreeable necessity. We see enough of English patriotism in the East, and the iniquities committed in its name, to be convinced, with Dr. Johnson, that patriotism is often but the last refuge of scoundrels. I consider it a privilege that, through good and evil, our lot has been cast, our interests united, with those of the working-men of England and the Western proletariat, one with us in suffering, and the pioneers of social reorganization upon the basis of facts. Since the days of Buddha, India has held her life in suspense, waiting for that new world, without illusions, in which ideals and facts shall harmonize, justice shall be seen, and love realized; and she has not waited in vain. For there has already begun the last heavenward movement of mankind, in which all distinctions will die, all sentiments combine, and the heathen of the past will reach his *nirvana*, the wandering Jew will find a rest. Thoughtful men all over the world are beginning to see the *fact* of the solidarity, the oneness, of the human race, which will yet save society when the metaphysical, unrealizable *idea* of brotherhood shall have proved powerless against the ravages of individualism. None but the willfully perverse can much longer deny that, flowing from that common humanity which has worked and suffered everywhere and in all times to continue life and civilization, the right to live, the right to work, and the holy right to serve their fellow-beings are the common heritage and possession of all. The writer, particularly, can hold up his heart, having lived in this land where all nations meet, this nursery of hopes, where the cheery breeze wafts from the Atlantic to the Pacific and back again strains sweeter than ever were sung by the Æolian harp, "Broad is this earth, gracious is nature, there is room enough for all the children of men."

I am convinced, however, that the English Parliament, as it is now constituted, will not do anything for India. It has not even tried to since the days of Burke. We have been disappointed by it at every turn. It is a Parliament of idlers and snobs, with whom party gain and a mock prestige are more objects than statesmanship and the good of the people. Whig and Tory are but the reverse and obverse of the same counterfeit coin. There is little choice between Whig cant and Tory dullness. The people of India have been treated by both parties like a flock of sheep—now fleeced by Tory Jingoism, now emasculated by Whig free trade, while fortunate Anglo-Indians keep on saying grace as they dine on the juicy mutton.

Come from a civilization of the past, ready to accept the civilization of the future, we have one appeal to make to the free citizens of this New World, whose life began in a protest against the oppression of which we to-day are the victims. The people of India are bearing their ills patiently in the single hope that injustice and cruelty cannot long rule the fortunes of a nation. Their rulers heed not their sorrows and their wails of woe die in the winds and waves ere they could reach these distant shores. But when the time comes for them to bring their case before the verdict of nations, let us hope that the American people, at least, will not let considerations of race, language or commerce weigh against the eternal rights of man which they wrote in the Declaration of Independence.

AMRITA LAL ROY.

AN ARCTIC JOURNAL.

In the March number of the North American Review, I gave a brief outline of the life of my husband, the late Dr. Octave Pavy, and narrated certain acts of injustice which have come to light since the return of the expedition party in which he lost his life.

Commander Greely's book on the expedition appeared after my article and the extracts subjoined from the Surgeon's Arctic Journal, had been put in type, and no additions to it or omissions have been made in consequence of that publication. Within the limits allowed me in these pages, I can only say that the falsity of many assertions in Commander Greely's book and the fact that they can be proven to be untrustworthy, both by the oral testimony of survivors and documentary evidence (including personal letters from the commander himself in direct contradiction of his recent statements), will enable me to prepare such a refutation as shall demonstrate that, in slandering the surgeon, he made what lawyers designate as an aggressive defence—to forestall the evidence in my possession of his utter incapacity as an officer.

Commander Greely, in his book, dares to say, *after* reproaching Dr. Pavy, that he does not reproach him because he is dead! I respond, thus publicly, that Dr. Pavy himself, at Fort Conger, demanded, *in writing,* an official investigation on his return, and I now call on Commander Greely to unite with me in demanding a Congressional investigation. I do not fear the result of such an inquiry; Dr. Pavy did not fear it; does Commander Greely fear it?

I now proceed to give such brief extracts from Dr. Pavy's Arctic Journal as the space allotted to me permits. The originals were described as "undecipherable" by the Signal-Office authorities.

EXTRACTS FROM ARCTIC JOURNAL.

February, 1883.—So far, the history of this expedition would be best written by Mark Twain; but later on, it shall come perhaps better from the pen of Victor Hugo.

1882.—As medical adviser, as one on whom may fall, at some future day, all the burden of sick and disabled men, and that responsibility, perhaps, in the face of starvation and destitution, it is my right, my duty, my imperious duty, to speak the truth, the *whole* truth. (In any such event I would, perhaps, be censurable only in my own mind.)

September, 1882.—Speaking of the retreat, the commander of this expedition says that "the steam-launch could go where the 'Proteus' could not." This is absurd. It is silly. A sailor could refute it. For example, if it (the launch) was taken in a nip, loaded as it would be on the retreat, it could not raise itself, being too low in the water. It is very difficult to say whether a ship like the "Proteus," built expressly to ride the nips, would ride them, between two fields of ice, elevated as much above the water as the paleocrystic floes are. (See Nares' opinion.) It is a pernicious idea which Greely entertains, that the launch can go where a ship cannot, in following the coasts. Show by Nares the danger of there being fields of ice, and the danger of being more easily entangled in a floe, and of being drifted; furthermore, with the greatest chances of being caught in the young ice. Let us not tempt fortune. We cannot say at what time of the approaching year the pack will commence to move south. Strong tempests from the north may break it, and then it will fill the channel. This year, it is a remarkable fact, that we have not had a single storm from the north. If a ship cannot reach us here, but awaits us at Littleton Island, we have two chances in ten; but, if there is no ship in Smith Sound, I doubt if, out of twenty chances, we would have one of saving ourselves. I said to Greely, in regard to his plan: "I approve the plan of starting in the first half of August, but to specify a day or hour, is unwise, foolish. All depends on the ice, which, like time and tide, waits for no man." Take the example of the "Proteus" (1881). We entered here (Discovery Harbor) the 10th of August. Before that, and even afterward, the harbor was not entirely open. The ice has always encumbered the channel. In regard to "making the Etah Eskimos support us," as Greely proposed, and again in regard to the Eskimos of Smith Sound, will we find them north of Whale Sound? In Kane's Expedition they were at Etah; in Hayes' case they were south of Whale Sound; with Hall, at Foulke Fiord; with the "Pandora" at Whale Sound. Besides this, shall we be able to turn Cape Alexander? How pass Whale Sound? We ought to take all these calculations into consideration; leave nothing to chance, especially as reflection and foresight cost nothing.

The tragic end of the expedition proved that, while it cost nothing to offer the wisdom of foresight, it cost nineteen lives to reject it.

Without sufficient clothing, without enough shoes, with inadequate food, and twenty-five men exhausted by a voyage of hundreds of miles, how are they going to pass the winter? The strongest point Greely uses in combating the fact of our poor supply is, that a ship has been sent this year, and has not been able to reach here on account of the ice of Smith Sound, but that we will find it there. Common sense ought to show him that if a ship cannot reach us, we have no chance of reaching Littleton Island; and, furthermore, if there is no ship there at that time of the year, how can we hope, with either open water or ice, to reach Upernavik. We have a whale-boat, it is true, but have no one who knows how to manage it. This lack of nautical experience, and the danger impending because of its absence, bears greatly upon our security. There is little possibility of our wintering at Cary Island, or even anywhere, without clothes, fuel, shelter, or provisions.

SURGEON TO COMMANDER.

I deem it of the highest importance, even of absolute necessity, to be informed of your project concerning our future stay in the Arctic, as well as your plans and means of escape.

My stock of medicines, from the first very incomplete, and even now absolutely deficient in essential drugs, is very much reduced, especially in what I may be called upon in the future to use the most often. Your plans will be in this emergency entirely my guide as to the divers expenditures at present, and the reserve for the future. Since the ship is not coming, and the fall work cannot be changed, it is necessary to decide as to our future spring work. Hence, as surgeon of the expedition, I wish to be officially informed of your plans, so far as there is no private matter in them, so as to shape my course in the use of my scanty and ill-chosen medical stores.

Dr. Pavy had no voice in the selection of the medical stores or the consulting library, since he was in Greenland when the equipments were prepared in Washington.

Let us prepare for all emergencies, against all odds, and then we will be able to say, in case of disaster: "Come what may, we have performed our whole duty."

COMMANDER TO SURGEON—EXTRACT FROM LETTER.

While holding in high estimation *your medical skill*, I cannot bring myself to concur in your opinion that our prospects are gloomy, as the general tone of your letter implies. Our diet, our warm, dry quarters, our exemption from scurvy, the past year, our success in the field, all appear to me as guarantees that the winter will pass safely.

SURGEON'S NOTES.

This evening Greely called Jans and Frederick Esquimaux into the room, and gave them a glass of rum. Greely is beginning to be careful of them, since it only just dawns upon him that he may have need of the aid of the Esquimaux of Smith Sound. For several days Jans has been nearly barefooted for want of shoes. I was obliged to give him a pair of my own boots.

Greely, in the men's quarters, laid out his plans for next year, viz.: "To go to Booth Bay if the ship is not at Port Foulke; send a party to Cary Island

> to get provisions upon the coasts;" and he says: "We will make the Esquimaux keep us all winter." The poor devils, who have perhaps not enough for themselves! I remember Greely laughing when I was speaking of Sir Geo. Nares, who wished to stop and leave them provisions.
>
> If we are obliged to return and pass the winter, we will have just two or three months' rations of bread, and then, what a responsibility!

This statement will let some light into the inquiry, how much food was left at Lady Franklin Bay?

> MEMORANDUM.
>
> Let us not tempt fortune; take care that her wheel does not wear out, the spokes fall, and leave us flat on the ground. All these doubts, precautions, and forethoughts are my right by virtue of my duty, my respect for the flag, and the interest, health, and lives of the men placed in my medical charge by the United States Government. And these sentiments are not in the least prompted by any idea of personal fear or pusillanimity. Let us think, prepare, and be prudent before we enter these difficulties, without waiting until we are enclosed as in a box; but, when once in the action, let us dash.

This paragraph was prophetic, and too applicable, later on. Of the retreat, at a point near Cape Hawks, Lieutenant Lockwood says: "We were in peril and found we were really working for our lives." Here the party were "enclosed as in a box" and were threatened with all the dangers of exposure on a moving ice-pack. Dr. Pavy had earnestly requested to carry provisions, in advance, to Cape Hawks from Fort Conger. The request was declined. Lieutenant Greely wrote of the situation and the provisions at that point, when they came to it, as follows: "I cannot but feel that we are now in a critical situation, not knowing what can be depended upon. Owing to the grave uncertainty of the future the entire amount (the cache at Cape Hawks) was examined, and what was serviceable taken, a considerable quantity of which was so moldy that it was barely eatable." Lieutenant Lockwood makes the statement that Dr. Pavy wanted to go with supplies from Fort Conger to Cape Hawks, and, because it was one hundred and fifty miles southward, mentions it somewhat in derision. The preceding quotations bear upon the doctor's offer, the commander's decline of it and the existence of the first real peril which Dr. Pavy prophetically and emphatically indicated. In the same letter the surgeon further says:

> When we are speaking of the consideration of the inevitable and of peril of men in our charge, I would consider myself guilty not to call your attention to these prudential matters. It has been, I am sure, customary in Arctic expeditions to confer with the surgeon.

DETACHED MEMORANDA.

September, 1882.—It would seem proper to burn ships under the sun of Mexico, and in the rich lands of the Incas (referring to Cortez) but not so in the glacial climate of the Arctic. What would have happened to Ross, if, in his attempt to escape, he had burned his boats and stores? We know what would have been the fate of the detached members of Kane's Expedition, if they had not had the refuge of the "Advance" and its fare, poor as it was.

October, 1882.—This evening Lockwood and myself talked concerning our chances of retreat. I told him that if there was no ship at Littleton Island, we have not one chance in a hundred to escape.

October, 1882.—With the timidity or the moral apathy of Lockwood, who does not say anything, and who does not wish any responsibility before the absolutism of Greely, and with the situation of Kislingbury, who cannot say anything, my official situation in respect to the future, which I foresee plainly, is terrible. If Greely exercised his activity of mind in the proper direction, with the same avidity with which he exercises it to oppose me, he might accomplish some good things.

January, 1883 (memorandum).—In speaking of expeditions, Greely said, "Ah! it is all question of luck. If I had not thought that I was lucky I should never have come up here." This declaration of Cæsar and his fortunes, as the only argument in lieu of reasoning, is very little consolation to us, however much it may be to him. How can an Arctic commander expect to have the confidence of his men, and above all of his officers, if they are intelligent, when he expresses such theories?

It is false to say that to succeed it is not necessary, indispensable, to have projects, matured plans, and a fixed base for many theories. It was by the reasoning of Nordenskjöld that he was led to the discovery of the north-east passage. What respect can any one suppose that officers will have for an Arctic commander, a creature of chance; a creature of intrigue; who lacks dignity and personal worth, and who is full of moral infirmities. Instead of hiding them, he displays them prominently. What friendship and regard can a commander inspire who is completely unfit for command; being always in readiness to cast off the responsibility, however slight?

SURGEON TO COMMANDER.

February, 1883.—I think that the United States Government has a right to expect that a commanding officer of her forces will depend for saving the lives of his men on something else than luck!

Memoranda.—The various plans, Jewell and others tell me, are that we will go to Cary Island if we do not find a house or vessel at Littleton Island; there we will get the provisions of the English, transport them to the coast, and pass the winter. And this trifle (?) accomplished, one fine morning, we will, according to Greely, "set out from Littleton Island to find the Esquimaux and make them support us." Another plan is, that we will pass the winter at the

Cary Islands, living on the 3,000 rations of the English! How can one belittle himself by such follies and such lucubrations!

January, 1883.—I was in the room when Greely was talking to the men. Really if this man knew what contempt could be discerned and listened to, among the men, after he had gone out, he would have been ashamed. I cannot really comprehend how this man will feel when, later, if our retreat should prove disastrous, we become obliged to return here; nor how, after having asserted that he is very certain we will not pass another winter here, he can say that he has thus spoken "merely to encourage the men." But then, more than this, how can he explain away the fact that he has not economized the provisions; used more of this, less of that, etc.? It is very easy to see that Greely will find some way, when the day comes, to cast off the responsibility. That has been his usual plan, and in this case he will say that he has spoken of all his plans to Lockwood, and that he always approved them.

And really Lockwood ought to be responsible on account of his lack of moral courage. He said to me one day: "I don't care, after all. I am not responsible."

SURGEON TO COMMANDER—MEMORANDUM.

I have made a pressing official request for your plans. No reply. I learn by hearing you talk to the men that your plans are matured, and are now given publicly in the enlisted men's quarters; still, you have not thought proper to inform me, so that I might be allowed to look forward and have in my mind coming events, which, if disastrous, bear in my department as well as others. And part of the trouble and peril will encumber me, as surgeon in charge.

MEMORANDA.

Greely often quotes military rule! I would like to know if it is the custom in the army for a commander to hold council with enlisted men or with staff officers!

Dr. Kane, himself in a situation perhaps less critical than ours may be, and notwithstanding his indomitable will, personal, and tried bravery; notwithstanding his adventurous spirit and the important object of the mission, with the lives of his men at stake, gave way to the voice of reason, of humanity, and consulted the needs of his men, justice, humanity and equity.

Now that Greely at last sees our danger, when it is in fact perceptible at a glance, he tries to avoid seeing but one side; avoids anything but the bright side; and tries to stimulate himself with the opinion of Private Whistler. It is a sort of "Dutch courage," like a man who is afraid, and goes to drinking to drown it. Why does he not look the danger of the future in the face calmly, like a man, and provide against all the chances. Then he can say, like the sailor "good-bye, rat," and await the future.

Apropos of the necessity to economize provisions I have said, it is well to hope and to say that a ship will come. The ship may come. But it may not, or may not reach reach us; so, let us be prudent. We now see the danger of having burned our vessels [*vaisseux*]. Let that be an example to us.

Let us provide bread in advance, by care, or, like Hayes and Ross, we will be obliged to return here and remain (Tegethof and Franklin), in consequence of the impossibility of reaching Littleton Island.

We have burned our boats [*bateaux*]; let us not burn our house. And that will be the case if we squander everything we have—bread.

If we admit, *à priori*, that we will go down to Littleton Island in eight or ten days with the launch, as has been stated, or in a few weeks with the boats, without finding any serious difficulty, as is predicted ; and, passing over the fact that in that water we need not retreat, but wait for a ship, and that in such case the ship would be able to come to our rescue, I will add that we reason against the experience of previous expeditions, to say nothing of the only fatal one, in these waters. Even starting at a more favorable time would be fatal to us. With the other expeditions a quantity of provisions was transported by the Esquimaux for Hayes, Peterson, and Kane, when they retreated. It is not certain that after we have passed Smith Sound we will find open water for the boats. Hayes did not, and his experience with damaged boats, from dragging them over the ice, could be ours with the English boat. The place where Hayes camped—Booth Bay—and that in September, was very favorable. Nevertheless we see how they suffered. What will be our fate if we are obliged to camp in Smith Sound ?

February, 1883.—Lockwood said : "As to knowing whether, in seven months, we will be at Cary Island, it is merely a question of red or black." I asked him if, in case a ship does not arrive this year, he expected to winter near to Cary Island ? Answer, "Yes." I asked : "But, admitting that you arrived there, which is very doubtful at that time of the year (you have read Hayes?), do you think we can pass the winter on the fuel that we may find there ?" Greely said, "Yes ; we will be under half rations, and in June I will put all on a floe, and start !" That is enough to show upon what futilities the fate of this expedition depends, if a ship does not come to take us this year.

Our expedition has accomplished a very considerable work, but now is the time for forethought and prudence. If fortune is forced, history teaches us what will be the result. Take the example of Hall, who, if he had known how to stop in time, would not have yielded to his paramount desire to reach a higher latitude, and in consequence brought about wreck, and the "Polaris" drift southward.

Rice and Long have gone to see the launch, and think that Greely has not yet gone. The commander ought at least to make a start, if only for the sake of decency, when our launch is in peril.

I consider indifference, and failure to counsel, under our existing circumstances, equivalent to felony.

I have tried, as far as possible, not to hurt the feelings of Mr. Greely. Upon questions not bearing upon my duty, I have not given my opinion, even when asked.

A second letter contained paragraphs that tend, officially, to throw blame on my advice, in regard to the Esquimaux' habits. I knew that this [advice] was contrary to the ideas of Mr. Greely, which he had publicly manifested. The future of the sledge journeys, however, proved that I was right.

In the present situation, far from any place where we can have justice; when the house is burning, it is no time to make war with words.

On a question so grave as ours—when facts are clearly known and clearly stated—Mr. Greely falls to hair-splitting, to roundabout statements, which certainly confuse, but do not deceive.

Greely attacked me because, in my medical report, I recommended shoes. If, afterward, I speak to him of that need, he will say to me, "Why did you not remind me of it?" If I speak now of it, he will say that I am "attacking him." He reproached me as "disloyal," for having, in my report, recommended other needful sanitary measures. Greely wishes to play on words in a situation so important and so imminent. I do not.

DETACHED NOTES.

April 21, 1883.—For the last four or five days Lockwood has been experimenting upon a barrel to find the latitude of Fort Conger. To-day he told Israel that he found it to be 83° 50′. That is the man who wants, above all, to beat the English.

April 25, 1883.—In the matter of astronomical observations, five or six days ago, Lockwood, who was taking observations on the barrel, came into the room and said to Greely, "what is the latitude found by the English?" Greely replied. Lockwood said: "Well, I find it 82° 34′." "Very well," said Greely, "that is good: that is perhaps where their error lives. Lockwood record those observations." Lockwood said: "They are only observations for experience." Some days afterward he took a latitude which put the barrel at 83° 53′.

Greely criticises Nares, saying, that, if the admiralty had been informed one year before of a certain thing he did, Captain Nares would have been shamefully degraded. At this saying, I take the defence, against my own will, for I have sworn myself to say nothing; but I cannot longer endure to see heroes attacked by a pigmy.

Before dinner, Greely, reading of Ingefield's expedition, spoke of it to Lockwood, making fun of his geographical labors, and of Ingefield.

This evening in reference to the magnetic book of Ralston (Kislingbury present), Greely wished Lockwood to be told to fill the blank left by Lockwood's forgetting to make observations. What a way of making scientific records! And that, by a man who attacks the scientific honesty of Dr. Bessels and Sir Geo. Nares!

In a conversation (Jewell present), Lockwood says, that one could go in a launch to Britannia; that, in November, he saw the ocean clear.

This evening I heard Greely saying before the men, apropos of the mean temperature: "That of the English is not reliable."

In reference to the aurora, which Greely pretends to have seen at 11 o'clock and 15 minutes, but which I find he has marked at 10 P.M.; it was not an aurora. Ralston protests against it, and says it was the reflection of the moon.

December 29, 1882.—Greely, in speaking to the men yesterday, said it was strange that up to the present time not one of us had died; that in our own country one of us would probably have been dead by this time; and that it would be positively preferable if one of us could take upon himself all the evils, disasters, and so on, of the whole, and die! The author of this sentence, to exhibit the same in action as word, was seen yesterday, October 13, 1882, making a scrap book with our magazines. He permits this breach in the Army!

Another aurora claimed to have been seen. It was the sun. To say otherwise would be to utter absurdity.

January 8, 1883.—I go with Brainard to Dutch Island. Carry a watch, try to read the hour; cannot. Lockwood says that he read the hour at Dutch Island the 21st of December, 1881. Mistaken. That was impossible.

During the dinner conversation to-day, the subject being the New York Geographical Society, Greely said: "Judge Daly is a fraud." Lockwood asks: "Why, if he is a fraud, is he President of the Geographical Society?" Greely also spoke of Dr. Hayes's stupid plan of Port Foulke, and says that it makes him indignant to talk about it. During the day he found it possible to attack others also, among them Schawatka and Gilder.

Greely to-day examined his thermometer. Mercury frozen. He said that the English expeditions "did not know the point of congelation of mercury," and that their mercury was not pure.

Coming up to Fort Conger Greely ridiculed the charts of Nares. I found them very accurate, so that one could follow them plainly and easily. This stupid vanity is like the man in all he does.

Apropos of the use of the word "we," made by Dr. Bessels in his book of the "Polaris," Greely said, that he never wrote anything except "I;" that the expression, "we," was not employed even in second-class country editorials. If this man had common sense, he would understand that be could think what he pleases, to be sure, but he ought, at least, to keep such thoughts to himself.

My desire to go to the Arctic regions was so notorious, wherever I lived, that I, more than any other, can brave human opinion, and counsel preparations for the retreat south. Personally, I would prefer to pass another winter here, with the promise of making discoveries, and of reaching a higher north latitude. It has generally been customary in other expeditions, and principally for the honor of the flag—which is essential wisdom—for the commander to consult with his officers. For example, Belcher, Hall, and others. I can but recall the noble figure of Dr. Kane. I do not see that the honor of the flag seems to be at stake at present, or that it seems to demand a sort of forlorn hope. We must rest content with what we have accomplished, which is more than was hoped of us. Starting as a purely meteorological expedition, we have added to that work a remarkable geographical advance.

Greely wishes to go to the north; and has not enough foot-gear to go to the south. In the exercise of my duty I have recommended watch, care in this regard. Without care, in what state will our health be next summer? In my counsel, I will speak of the alteration of the condition of our health, if we are obliged to retreat. Cite the example of the "Polaris." Show the resemblance of Kennedy Channel to the north waters—open water in the middle waters.

As much as our duty compels us to remain next spring where we are,* even in the face of death, and as much as I would be opposed to a retreat for the entire party in the spring, so much, also, am I opposed to working northward under the circumstances.

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* At Lady Franklin Bay, Fort Conger.

MEMORANDUM.

It is not our fault that we are here still; it is the fault of the plan of sending us without a supply-ship, and with no protection to assure our retreat. Regarding our retreat, I would advise, instead of sending a sledge to take photographic views—from simple personal vanity—a plan intended to employ the sledge to save those photographs which have been taken in the past, and to take all documents, and to carry provisions to the south.

According to the testimony of the survivors, there were carried, on the retreat, photographs, original negatives, a pendulum-weight of 90 pounds, bear rugs, etc., and the commander's full parade suit and sword; while the men were restricted to eight pounds of luggage, and, according to a letter in my hands, were obliged to cut the tops from their socks to reduce their package.

MEMORANDUM.

If I were asked what are, in my opinion, the three cardinal qualities for the solid base of an expedition, the question of moral bravery being established, *à priori*, as equal among its members, I would say: First, common sense; Second, common sense; Third, always, and unto the end, common sense.

Two unprecedented facts occurred in the Lady Franklin Bay Polar expedition: Highest North and Health, both attained against physical odds. Lockwood, Brainard, and Surgeon Pavy were the authors. The death of the two victims chronicled the progress of science. Duty was performed at a nation's bidding, and ended by a nation's neglect.

LILLA MAY PAVY.

NATIONAL AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

MONEY derived by taxation from the people, in a representative popular government, should be expended only for those objects which are of supreme necessity, and which can be secured by the State alone, or to an extent so far beyond the possible results of individual action as to justify governmental interference upon considerations of the general welfare: the greatest good of the greatest number. This principle undoubtedly authorizes the several States in the Union to appropriate from their revenues for a system of free public schools, and, under certain conditions, might warrant an expenditure from the national treasury for the education of school populations in such States as, from any cause, are unable or unwilling to provide for general instruction. The definition of this power is necessarily vague and uncertain. It must be left to the final judgment of those who are intrusted with its exercise. Legislation is the science of compromise and adjustment. It has no syllogisms and no mathematical demonstrations. If practical advantages result, either from observance or from violation of established maxims, it is enough.

The proposition to tax the people of the United States seventy-nine million dollars, in addition to the amounts they now pay for education, to support common schools in the several States and Territories of the Union, is therefore a complex problem, and its just solution must depend upon many conditions not yet clearly ascertained.

The necessity for education as a permanent element of our national life is admitted. The public school system is everywhere ineradicably established. It is inseparable from our civilization, and is imbedded in the purposes and convictions of the people. It is recognized in the organic law of every State. It has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, without any intervention on the part of the General Government, or any attempt at national control or supervision. Its beneficent functions, not only in morals and manners but in politics, are fully recognized; and those who demand a change in the agencies by which those results have been attained should show cause, affirmatively, for the modifications which they propose. This the advocates of the measure that recently passed the Senate attempt to do, by the averment that, in certain States of the Union, there is a menacing mass of infant and adult illiteracy, with which those communities are unable to cope. No indisposition or disinclination is alleged in any quarter; the question is one of ability and capacity. Neither has it been denied that these illiterates belong almost exclusively to the colored race. No mendicant was so shameless as to claim that assistance was required for the education of the Caucasians. Divested of its drapery, therefore, the plain question is, whether the nation should contribute to the support and maintenance of common schools for colored children, the descendants of the slaves who were liberated and enfranchised in the Southern States by the operations of the Civil War. It does not concern the manumitted slaves, for there is no person of school age now in the United States, black or white, who was not born free.

The answer to this assumed necessity for contributions toward the education of colored children in the late slave States is a bill to distribute seventy-nine million dollars from the treasury among all the States and Territories of the Union, in proportion to the illiteracy of their entire population, and not upon the basis of the illiteracy of those of school age, which could alone be remedied, nor of the colored illiterates, for whose instruction it is actually intended.

In three fundamental particulars, therefore, the pending measure is radically and essentially dishonest. The degrading implication that any State or Territory, north of the Potomac and the Ohio Rivers or on the Pacific slope, is unable or indisposed to maintain the free common school system without national aid, is as false as it is impudent, and yet they are all included in the bill. As an independent proposition, the assumption that Massachusetts, New York or Kansas required pecuniary assistance for the next ten years to support their public schools would be regarded with derision, and the offer of such aid would be rejected with contempt.

The inclusion of those illiterates above the school age as a basis for the acquisition of the money by the Southern States, approaches the frontier of grand larceny. It is without justification either in morals or reason.

The exclusion of the same class in the distribution of the money in those States, completes this exhibition of legislative jugglery, under which twenty million dollars are to be given to States and Territories that do not ask it, and nearly sixty million dollars to the States lately in rebellion, ostensibly for the education of the colored children therein. But the practical result of the scheme will be, that, out of the sixty million dollars distributed in the South, nearly forty millions will be devoted to the education of white children, and less than twenty millions to the colored children, for whom it is all nominally appropriated! How much of of this fragment of twenty millions the colored race would ultimately receive at the hands of those who have shown such devotion to their welfare hitherto, is left to conjecture. It is perhaps not unjust to suspect that the white leaders in South Carolina and Mississippi will not exert themselves inordinately to elevate the blacks to such a condition of intelligence and independence that the suppression of acknowledged majorities by violence and fraud will at last become impossible.

Assuming for the moment that the seventy-nine million dollars would be impartially distributed and honestly applied to the objects for which it is designed, statistics do not disclose the existence of any conditions in the Southern States that call for national interference. The total school population in 1884 in those States was 6,249,902; an increase from 1882 of 375,539. The entire expenditure for school purposes for 1884 was $17,053,467; an increase from 1882 of $2,232,495. But it is a very significant incident of this computation, that, while the colored school population is about one-half of the whole number, the white children receive more than two-thirds the aggregate amount that is alleged to be devoted to the equal education of both. The expenditure, *per capita*, for the enrolled school population of both races is about five dollars; and, while this is inadequate, it is steadily increasing from year to year with the growth of the tax-paying capacity of the people. There is a subtle and contagious energy in the idea of universal education, which is being slowly communicated through the South, rousing its apathetic lethargy to new life. If left to the operation of those forces which have been so potential elsewhere, the whole lump will soon be leavened; the fatal virus left by the inoculation of slavery will be eliminated, and a more powerful and enduring civilization will be builded upon the ruins of the old. It should not be forgotten that the former social fabric was erected upon compulsory ignorance. A few educated leaders did the thinking for each community. A slave who learns to think learns not to be a slave. When the soul is emancipated the body cannot be enchained. The war was the least part of the revolution that has occurred in the South. The liberation of the slaves emancipated their masters from a servitude more dangerous and more degrading than slavery; and the subsequent agitations have resulted from the gradual readjustment of the dislocated social and political forces to their new environment. Had the Republican party been courageous or intelligent enough to have attempted the reconstruction of the South through its brains, rather than through its numbers, the most lamentable chapter in our history might have been unwritten. The true regeneration of the South dates from the final withdrawal of national intervention in 1877, and the disastrous failure of the experiment should be an instructive lesson to those sciolists who again invoke governmental control and supervision of local affairs in the States, upon any pretext whatever, unless the wrongs to be redressed, or the dangers to be averted, are so immediate and so formidable as to admit of no other remedy.

The perpetual lamentation about the impoverishment of the South has no just basis, and appeals for charity on this account are either cowardly or insincere. There is no part of the country that has made more substantial progress since the war ended; none that is richer in every element of an enduring and opulent prosperity. Soil, climate, timber, metals, coal, harbors, navigable streams, combine to afford every essential requisite of a wealthy, strong and tranquil civilization. Perhaps the most absurd fallacy is the reiterated declaration that, by the act of emacipation, four billion dollars of property was destroyed; as if the transfer of the ownership of four million human beings from their masters to themselves annihilated their value to the State! Slavery was the most extravagant industrial system that was ever devised, and statistics abundantly show that free labor in the South, even under the most unfavorable circumstances, has already become more economical and profitable. Financially, the Southern States are just as competent to educate their infant illiterates without national aid as any other of the States and Territories of the Union. What they require is vigorous preaching of the gospel of work.

Reared in the idea that labor is degrading, in every emergency they prefer to beg rather than to dig. If there is a flood, a cyclone, an exposition, a tax due on whisky or a race to educate, they cry out lustily that they are poor and appeal to Congress for relief. Professional pauperism offers an easy method of subsistence, but it is not consistent with an elevated manhood. Mendicancy is a recognized calling, but it is not a hopeful characteristic for an entire community. Its occasional success, however, received a brilliant illustration in the "loan" of seventeen hundred thousand dollars to the New Orleans Exposition—the most stupendous case of bunco-steering in the annals of recorded time.

Another favorite argument in support of the educational gift enterprise is founded on the assertion that the Southern States did not share in the donations from the public domain for school, college and university purposes. Speaking literally, in the case of two or three of the original thirteen this may be true, but as a general statement it is wholly incorrect. The State of Mississippi received nearly one-sixth of its entire area for various public uses; a gift that, properly husbanded, would have produced a fund whose income would have defrayed the entire expenses of the State Government. But it was squandered with such shameless knavery that defalcation seems to have been the recognized standard of official morality. The step from larceny to repudiation was short, and the contamination of the State became complete. The Peabody Education Fund has one million dollars in repudiated Mississippi bonds, which have been declared valid by the highest tribunals of the State, and the trustees of that noble charity have denied further participation in its benefits to the people upon the ground that they are debtors and defaulters.

Florida belongs in the same category. Repudiated bonds of that State are included in the endowment of Mr. Peabody, for which he expressed his confident expectations that provision for the payment of principal and interest would be made. The trustees declare, in their report, that Florida is in a prosperous condition and amply able to discharge all her legal and equitable obligations; that she is able to make abundant provision for her own common schools and no longer needs aid from the fund to which her people also are debtors and defaulters.

And yet, both these States stretch out their unclean hands in a passionate appeal for national sympathy and benevolence. Common schools are as indispensable to the safety of the republic as the army or the navy; but, if they are to be supported by the General Government, the money should be expended by its own agents under the direction of Congress. Appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors, for the construction of railroads and for experiments in agriculture, are annually made to be spent in the different States, but it has never been claimed that on this account the control and supervision should be relinquished to local authorities. So, if ignorance exists in such measure as to threaten suffrage or to impair prosperity, the nation may unquestionably remove it, as it may build a breakwater or dredge a channel for commerce; but it should be done as a national purpose through national agencies.

Probably the best method to accomplish this result would be by the establishment of training schools for teachers, educational cadets like those instructed in the military and naval schools at West Point and Annapolis. By this plan the General Government could elevate the standard of education without interfering with the freedom of State action. Symmetry, unity, and cohesion could be attained. Skilled supervision would increase the efficiency of the entire corps of instructors. Economy of administration would be secured and the States would be relieved of the largest item of expense which now attends the common school system. Such a force of teachers, wisely trained for their work, supported while pursuing their studies by the Government, and enlisting in its service after graduation, could be assigned to duty upon the frontier of illiteracy, the advance guard of a peaceful army, whose conquests would enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and whose victories would increase the opportunities of human happiness.

To such a scheme as this no constitutional objections appear. The most rigid particularist could discern no violation either of the spirit or the letter of the Constitution. All parties could consistently unite in support of a measure which neither infringed upon the reserved powers of the States nor permitted those powers to prevent the accomplishment of a great deed of national duty and justice.

JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

MORE ABOUT AMERICAN LANDLORDISM.

IN the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March, Mr. Henry Strong and Prof. David Bennett King attempt to show that the American people have no reason to concern themselves about the growth of landlordism, arguing that the tendency in this country is to the diffusion instead of the concentration of land ownership, and that, in the absence of special privileges and laws of primogeniture and entail, there can be no such landlordism here as in countries where its evil effects are admitted.

The assertion that the tendency is to the greater diffusion of land ownership, is, by Mr. Strong, based upon the census reports and his own experience in selling railroad lands and loaning money on mortgage, and, by Prof. King, upon general report and the cutting up of bonanza farms, cattle ranges and railroad grants.

As to the census reports, they do indeed, as cited by Mr. Strong, assert a reduction in the average size of farms from 153 acres in 1870 to 134 acres in 1880. This statement is, however, as I showed in a controversy with Prof. Walker, in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, in May, 1883, utterly inconsistent with the returns for 1860, 1870 and 1880 of the number of farms by classes of specified area, tabulated together in the Census Compendium. Those tables showed, for the decade ending in 1880, a regular progression toward farms of larger size, ranging from a decrease of 37 per cent. in the smallest class (under three acres), to an increase of 668 per cent. in the largest class (over 1,000 acres). Professor Walker then seemed incapable of explaining his own figures or throwing any light on the discrepancy, but since that time the third volume of the full Census Reports has been published, and in it the classification of farms by specified areas for 1870 is stated to be according to *improved* area, while the classification for 1880 is stated to be by *total* area. This makes it as impossible to institute any comparison between the two sets of returns as it is to understand why such a classification should be made on one basis for one census and on another for the next.

I refer to this matter as explaining how it is that opposing writers are able, from the same Census Report, to quote figures which indicate opposite tendencies. But leaving the curiosities of the census to those who have time to dig them out, and accepting as the best we can now get the figures which show a decrease in the average area of American farms from 153 acres in 1870 to 134 acres in 1880, let us see what such a decrease may mean.

It certainly does not mean, as Mr. Strong implies, anything inconsistent with the statement of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW that the proportion of tenant farmers is increasing, and in nowise shows any tendency to the diffusion of land ownership. These returns, it must be noted, are not returns of landholding, but of cultivated farms. They do not, as Mr. Strong seems to suppose, include the vast amount of land held by speculators, railroad companies and syndicates, the great stretches of timber and mineral land which have passed into the possession of individuals or companies; they do not even include the cattle ranches and stock ranges, as is readily seen by a reference to the tables showing the amount of live stock on the enumerated farms, to which is added in a note a computation of the cattle on stock ranges and ranches. It is probable that, under the instruction that "wherever there is a resident overseer or manager there a farm is to be reported," some of the great bonanza farms would be returned as several farms, and it is also probable that farms made up in whole or part of land obtained by dummy entries would, for some time at least, be returned as having separate owners and therefore as separate farms. On the other hand, orchards, nurseries and market gardens, which the growing concentration of population in cities must have proportionately much increased, are all returned as farms. Thus, the little patches cultivated by Chinese or Italians around San Francisco, or the small vineyards or orange groves which have been planted about Sonoma or Los Angeles, would each count as a farm, while such a "wheat factory" as that of the late Dr. Glenn might count as several farms, and the enormous ranches, and great tracts held on speculation, would not count at all. And, further than this, it is to be remarked that, with the exception of new sections like Dakota, into which the tide of agricultural immigration has been pouring, the largest increase in the number of farms has been in the cotton States, and has for the most part meant no cutting up of ownership, but simply a change from the plantation system of cultivation to the small agricultural tenant system of Ireland.

But, more important still than all this, it must be remembered that it is only in a stationary community that decrease in the average size of holdings would indicate the greater diffusion of ownership. In a community advancing in population and the arts, the intenser uses to which land is put beget a general tendency to decrease in the size of holdings. As society develops, the stock range is succeeded by the farm; the farm of extensive culture by the farm of intensive culture; the grain field by the market garden; and the market garden, in its turn, is cut up into city lots. But while this division is going on, the ownership of land may be in reality concentrating and landlordism increasing, since what would be a very small stock range would be an enormous farm; what would be a very small farm would be an enormous market garden; what would be a small market garden would be a very large city lot. Take, for instance, the area occupied by the city of New York. As compared with the old Dutch days, the size of the holdings has enormously diminished, and where they were then measured by acres and hundreds of acres, they are now measured by feet and inches. But, where each family once owned its own home, the family that owns its own home is now the rare exception; where each house was once surrounded by garden and orchard, a lot of twenty feet front now carries family upon family, living, on top of each other, in tiers; where the ownership of acres once gave a man only the opportunity to earn a living from Mother Nature by the sweat of his brow, the ownership of square feet now enables him to live in luxurious idleness on the toil of his fellow-citizens. Thus, while, in New York, the average size of holdings has greatly decreased, the power of landlordism and the evils of landlordism have greatly increased. The ownership of a narrow lot on Wall Street or Broadway may give greater command over the labor of others than the ownership of a square league in New Mexico.

Now, what has gone on and is still going on in New York—what any American may see going on in the outskirts of any growing city, where farm land is being converted into market gardens or suburban villas, and market gardens and villa grounds are being converted into the sites of factories or divided into city lots—is precisely what is going on in the country as a whole. There *is* going on that cutting up of railroad grants and of great tracts held on speculation, to which Mr. Strong and Prof. King refer; the ranch is being subdivided into the farm, the plantation into the cotton patch or orange grove, and the farm of extensive culture is in some cases being turned into smaller farms of intensive culture. But all this does not prove that the ownership of land is not concentrating or that landlordism is not developing. For, simultaneously with this division, a re-formation is going on by which field is being added to field, and farm to farm, and lot to lot, and, though the average area may be smaller, the average value (in which and not in area is the true measurement of landlordism) may be far greater. Considering how rapidly the country has been developing during the decade; considering how the cutting up of Southern plantations into tenant holdings has increased the number of farms where there has been no division of ownership, and how, in the Northern and Western States farms which by the score and even the hundred have passed into the hands of single individuals or corporations, are yet returned as separate; and considering how the great aggregations, such as the twenty-eight ranges recently advertised by the Central Pacific Railroad Company for lease in the State of Nevada, of which the smallest is 30,000 acres and the largest 600,000 acres, the million acre estate in the Pan Handle of Texas just fenced in by a company of Chicago capitalists, the millions and millions of acres owned by the Distons and Elkinses and titled or untitled foreign capitalists, and the great stretches of appropriated iron and coal and timber lands,* are all excluded from the enumeration—a decrease in the average total area of farms from 153 acres to 134 would be, in reality, negative indication of a strong tendency the other way.

Prof. King says, "One need but to go into any good farming community and inquire how the numbers and size of the existing farms compare with those of twenty-five years ago to be convinced" that "there has been a constant tendency pretty much everywhere to subdivide the land and disperse it among a larger and larger number of owners." As to this point, I have made a great deal of inquiry of well-informed men in various parts of the country, and save when social development has brought about a cutting up due to the putting of land to intenser uses (which is probably what Prof. King had in mind), I have found a general agreement that the size of farms is increasing and that property in land is concentrating into relatively fewer hands.

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* Three parties in Detroit are said to own ninety-nine hundredths of the timber land of Michigan.

"It has become a postulate among farmers that in order to make a farm pay you must live on it yourself," says Mr. Strong. He has evidently got hold of a copy of "Poor Richard's Almanac," and in his innocence has mistaken its date for 1886. It *used* to be a postulate that "he who by the plow would thrive, himself must either hold or drive;" but all that has been changed. If Mr. Strong will look, he will now find, from New York to California a growing class of farmers who live in cities and never touch the handles of a plow. I can show him, in Brooklyn, farmers who live 1,500 miles away from their farms. And such American farmers may doubtless be found in Paris or London.

But it is not worth while to rest anything on personal observation, even where, as in this case, it may be confidently invoked, since there are other things to which appeal may be made. We may admit the correctness of the census statement of a diminution in the average total area of farms during the last decade; but if we take for comparison the basis on which the classification by area for 1860 and 1870 is now said to have been made—that of the improved land in farms—a basis certainly better adapted to show the deeper and stronger tendencies, insomuch as in the long-run the division of land into farms will follow the tendencies of cultivation, we find a different result. Dividing the total area of improved land in farms for 1870 by the number of farms returned for that year, we get an average of 71.023 acres. Doing the same thing with the totals for 1880, we get an average of 71.034 acres. Thus, though the average total acreage of American farms has diminished, the average improved acreage has actually increased. The increase is in itself slight, but, under the conditions previously pointed out, is exceedingly significant. It shows that the tendency to a larger scale of cultivation has been strong enough to even more than counteract the reduction in average resulting from the growth of population and from such special causes as the conversion of Southern plantations into tenant farms.

But to satisfy ourselves of the existence of this tendency in American agriculture it is not necessary to apply to observation or to resort to the census tables. When, on a winter morning, one sees the weather-cocks pointing south he does not have to go outside or to hang out a thermometer to tell that the weather is growing warmer. And from what may be seen in any city one may confidently infer that agriculture is tending to a larger scale. He has but to note the tendency in all other branches of production and observe the agricultural machines with which the stores of dealers in such articles are filled. The mechanical inventions which are revolutionizing agriculture *must* give rise to such concentrating tendencies in that industry as similar inventions have given rise to in other branches of production. The small farmer is disappearing by virtue of the same law under which the hand-loom weaver has disappeared. Whether this effect be good or bad, it is of the nature of modern progress. It is idle to ignore it, and, unless we are prepared to throttle invention and raise a Chinese wall against advancing civilization, it is useless to resist it.

Last summer we had accounts of the dreadful ravages of the cholera in Southern Europe, just as, during that first period of our national life, now fast drawing to a close, we have had accounts of the dreadful ravages of landlordism in countries where there was not, as with us, a virgin continent to overrun.

Let us carry ourselves forward in imagination to the coming summer, and imagine ourselves on board a trans-Atlantic steamer filled with returning tourists. Let us imagine that, on the second or third day out, a whisper runs among the passengers, as they emerge from their state-rooms, that the doctor has reported to the captain that one-fourth of the crew are down with cholera. Can we imagine one of these passengers as he sits down to breakfast nonchalantly remarking: "What a pity it is that we had no reports yesterday and the day before, so that we might be able to tell whether cholera has been increasing on board."

Or can we imagine another to chime in: "Cholera increasing! That is nonsense. Since only one-fourth of the crew are now down with it, three-fourths of the crew have evidently got well of it, and if the others go on getting well as rapidly, there will not be a sick man on board by the time we reach Sandy Hook."

We cannot imagine men under such conditions talking in this way. And yet this is precisely the way in which Mr. Strong and Prof. King meet the analogous fact that, by the last census, more than a fourth of American farmers were tenants.

The reason why, from the fact that one-fourth of the ship's company were down with cholera, no passenger would hesitate to infer that the disease had been increasing and was still tending to increase, is that the normal condition of ships' crews is not to be down with cholera, and, since the whole ship's company were presumably well when they left port, the fact that one-fourth were now ill, indicates progress from health to disease, not from disease to health.

So with tenancy. It is not the normal estate of man, and is so far from being the primary condition of American agriculture that we have been accustomed to look on the American farmer as necessarily the owner of the acres he tilled.

Mr. Strong would have us think, and Prof. King really seems to think, that tenant farming is, in the natural order of things, the intermediary stage through which "agricultural laborers" are enabled to pass into a condition of land owners, just as, in the older handicrafts, the condition of journeyman was the intermediary condition between that of apprentice, with which all craftsmen must begin, and that of master workman, to which all could aspire. The truth is just the reverse of this. Tenant-farming is the intermediary stage through which independent tillers of the soil have in other countries passed, and are in this country now beginning to pass, to the condition of agricultural laborers and chronic paupers.

But sufficiently startling as is the fact that in 1880 more than one-fourth of American farms were cultivated by tenants, this of itself does not fully indicate how largely our agricultural population have already been divorced from the soil. Tenancy is only the later form of the disease; the earlier form is the mortgage.

The idea of holding agricultural land for its rents, as is done in England and Ireland, has been foreign to the American land-grabber. His notion has been to sell it, and then to move forward in advance of settlement and get more land to sell again. In lieu of cash he has been ready to sell on mortgage, which gives a security transferable to investors who do not wish the risk of speculation nor the trouble of tenants. And on the other hand, the purchase of land on mortgage has conformed better than tenancy to American ideas and to the hopefulness general in a new country.

What the proportion of mortgaged farms is, it is of course impossible to say, but considering the extent to which mortgaging prevails in the older sections of the country, and the fact that in the newer sections the great majority of the smaller farmers begin with a mortgage, I am disposed to think that fifty per cent. may not be too high an estimate. Taking the country all through, mortgaging is certainly more common than renting. Yet if the number of farmers under mortgage merely equals the number of renters, the farmers who really own the land they till are already in a minority in the United States!

But it needs no reference to census tables or special facts to prove that under present conditions the small American freeholder is doomed. Here are certain broad facts of common knowledge: Our population is increasing. We have now practically reached the limit of our public domain. In agriculture, as in all other branches of industry, the march of invention and the improvement of the processes of production and exchange tend steadily to the requirement of more capital. The value of land is rising. The rate of interest is falling.

Given these conditions, and wherever land is treated as private property, whether in the Eastern Hemisphere or in the Western, in the first century or in the twentieth; on the earth or on the moon, it necessarily follows that the ownership of land must tend to concentrate, and an increasing proportion of the people to become tributary to the rest.

For when land has all passed into private possession, new comers, whether they arrive from other countries or through the gates of birth, can get land only by donation, heritage or purchase. Few can get land by donation or heritage (already the large majority of the children born in the United States do not inherit land) and, since as land increases in value it becomes harder to get it by purchase, the landless, as compared with the landed, must steadily increase.

Further than this, the land-owning class must absolutely diminish. Not only do the accidents and misadventures of life constantly operate to shake individuals from the landed to the landless class (and while descent is easy ascent is difficult), but to those who do not have an abundance of capital it becomes more profitable to rent land than to own it. For land, being the species of property least liable to accidents and most certain to augment in value by social growth, those who wish to make long and secure investments can afford to give more for it than it is worth to those who must put to personal use such capital as they can get.

Here is a farmer, the owner of his own farm, who needs more capital, or, what is the same thing, believes he can put more capital to a profitable use. He can borrow on his farm to one-half its selling value at six per cent. But he can sell it outright for its full value, and then get the use of it as a tenant for a rent amounting to not more than four or even three per cent. Obviously, therefore, he can get the use of the largest capital at the lowest rate by selling his land. Or if he finds that he can profitably use more land, the cheapest way for him to get it and the capital to cultivate it, is to sell what he has and rent a larger area. He may in this be abandoning a certainty for an uncertainty, and contingencies he did not foresee and chances on which he did not calculate will tell against the class, if they do not in all cases tell against the individual. But this disposition to take chances—to abandon the bird in the hand in the hope of seizing two in the bush—is characteristic of our race as it was of the Romans, and it is especially characteristic of our time. We make of life a gamble, and our institutions, our education, our literature, our ideals and even our religion all foster the spirit. What, practically, is the lesson of Sunday-school and Church? Is it not "Be good, that you may die rich and *leave* a lot of money?" Who are our envied men? Are they not those who by desperate chances and lucky hits, if not by deeds which differ from those of highwaymen only in degree, have amassed wealth? To how many of the boys and girls now growing up does life seem to offer anything comparable to the hope of becoming rich? The rich man who heeding Christ's injunction, should sell all he had and give to the poor, would with us be in danger of being sent to an insane asylum or of having a guardian appointed at the request of his relatives. The man whom we deem sane is the man who, like an English clergyman of the last century, *leaves* 687 pairs of boots, 980 pairs of pantaloons and other things in proportion, provided he *leaves* them in the potential form of "gilt-edged" securities or well-selected real estate.

"Peasant proprietary" or "occupying ownership," which are the names European economists give to that system of ownership which we have regarded as typically American, may exist for a long while among a population whose natural increase is restrained, where emigration is not thought of, where son follows father in the old ways and labor-saving machinery is little used, and where local attachments are strong. It may exist for a long while among such a people as the rural population of parts of France. But among a people such as ours, restless, aspiring, used to emigration, almost without local attachments, accustomed to welcome the new rather than to venerate the old—a population increasing in numbers, grasping for wealth, among whom invention succeeds invention and labor-saving machine displaces labor-saving machine—the economic tendencies that make for change to work upon plastic material.

This economic advantage to the farmer of small capital in renting instead of owning land where it has become very valuable, and a class having large means to invest has grown up, has been the great agency which *in spite of* the difficulties imposed upon the transfer of land has so concentrated ownership in Great Britain. At the accession of James II., England was hardly as far advanced on the road to landlordism as the United States is now. For not only, as stated by Macaulay, were the majority of English farmers owners of their farms, but there still remained large areas of commons, and much of the land for which rent was paid was held on customary rents, instead of rack-rents as with us. But by the beginning of this century the small occupying owner—the prototype of our typical American farmer—had almost entirely disappeared. He had not been violently dispossessed ; he had simply yielded to economic conditions which gave him promise of greater advantages in selling than in holding. Of the representatives of this class some had emigrated, some had become tenant farmers on a larger scale, some had joined the increasing population of the cities or had gone abroad to fight the battles of the British oligarchy or to assist in holding down and governing British colonies and conquests, and some had sunk to the condition of agricultural laborers, with whom, until within the last few years the breath of a new life has begun to stir among the British masses, there was as little thought and as little hope of ever owning the land they tilled as there was of owning the moon.

And this economic cause was undoubtedly the main agency which in ancient Italy converted the little independent patrimonies of Roman husbandmen into slave-worked *latifundia* and tenant farms. In reading history we must remember the fore-shortening effect which time produces. The hill-tops are grouped together, and the great valleys and table-lands that lie between are lost to the eye. What we read of is the *extraordinary* things —the wars, the tumults, the crimes; but the ordinary life of the people passes unobserved, and the most potent of the agencies that produce change are least noticed simply because their influence is widest and most constant.

That our own "land-grabbers" had their antetypes in ancient Rome is true, and that fraud, violence, and legal chicanery were used to convert "the corn-land that was of public right" into private domains and make the small cultivator willing to leave what answered to the "quarter-section" of the American settler, is doubtless as true as with us. But the vicissitudes of life and the influence of the money-lender must have been still more potent.

"There is very little of useful practical comparison in anything Roman with anything American," says Mr. Strong. This is the true spirit of "spread eagleism"—the spirit of the "What have we to do with Abroad?" of a Republican senator. Perhaps it is as useless to argue with those who think this way as it is to point out the wrecks made by dissipation to the young fellow, who, rejoicing in the spring of his strength, thinks that dissipation doesn't hurt *him,* and that he can carouse all night and be "as fresh as ever" in the morning. But if, on his part, Professor King will look, he may see that the causes he thinks peculiar to Rome, and to which he attributes the disappearance of the small Roman cultivator, are in operation here. What is the competition of slave-labor to the competition of machinery, to the power of getting special rates from railroads, and to the advantages that the larger capitalist has in our speculative markets? If in ancient Italy the wealthy "discriminated most unfairly against the poorer farmers in regard to taxes and the use of the public lands," is it not also true that the small farmer here is taxed far more highly than the rich land-holder, and that the herdsmen of the great stock-raiser and the barbed wire of domestic and foreign companies drive American citizens off the public domain? If the legislative, executive and judicial powers of the Roman government were "almost entirely in the hands of the wealthy land-owners and money-lenders," what has been the case in the United States? That the ultimate power of making laws and changing constitutions is in the hands of the masses of the American people is true. But was not this in reality true, for a long time at least, of the Roman people? And what is the use of power to those who will not use it?

Human nature is not changed by the crossing of an ocean, and social laws do not vary with meridians of longitude; nor yet are they suspended by written constitutions. What went on in Rome and what went on in Great Britain has also begun here, and must go on all the faster that our life is quicker and the obstacles to industrial change are weaker.

How far we have gone toward landlordism is shown by the fact that rent in our new States is not unusually one-half the crop. When three per cent. bonds bear a premium, and money can be had at one per cent. on call, it requires no prophet to foresee that those whose anxiety is to obtain good investments will soon turn to landed "estates" of the English type, and, as soon as the movement fairly begins, the same social distinction which in England has attached to the ownership of land will begin to attach to it here, and will hurry on the movement.

As for the "foreign landlords" (of whom, despite Mr. Strong, we have many), who are already beginning to establish here "estates" of the English type, the prejudice against them is vulgar and irrational. If I must pay tribute to any one for the privilege of living in my native country, what difference does it make to me whether he lives three miles or three thousand miles away? And that Landlord Scully, of Tipperary, compels his Illinois tenants to doff their hats when they enter his "estate office" to pay the rack-rents from which he is said to draw $400,000 per annum to support him in London, no more fills me with indignation than does the fact that our own countryman, my fellow-missionary to Scotland, Mr. Ross Winans, will not let a native Scotsman, nor a native Scotsman's pet lamb, enter that great deer park of his that stretches across Scotland from sea to sea. Mr. Winans did not make the laws of Scotland nor Mr. Scully those of Illinois. Scotchmen have no right to complain of the one nor Americans of the other. If men will put saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, they must expect the booted and spurred to ride.

As for American landlordism, if it differs in anything from the worst Irish landlordism, that is solely due to the fact that our pressure of population is not yet so great. All the powers that the worst Irish landlord ever exercised are inherent in the absolute ownership of land recognized by American law. These powers were not, in Ireland or in any other country, given by special laws; they arise from the power of the owner to fix the terms on which another may use his property. Landlord Scully is as free to fix the terms on which American citizens may live on his Illinois estates as he ever was, (and far more free than he is now) to fix the terms on which Irishmen could live on his Tipperary estates. He may require that they shall make any improvements or conform to any rules, or wear any dress, or send their children to any school, or go to any church, just as readily as he can fix the rent on which he may choose to lease them his land. If they do not like his terms they are just as free as Irishmen have always been—to emigrate. And it is merely because the greater sparsity of population makes emigration easier that American citizens are not yet compelled to accept as hard terms as were ever imposed on Irish tenants. But emigration will not long be easier. We are on the verge of an event which is, in some respects, the most important that has occurred since Columbus sighted land—the "fencing in" of the last available quarter-section of the American domain.

As for any hope of checking the growth of landlordism by limiting the size of estates or any other half-way measures, that is idle.

In saying that Italy was ruined by great estates, Pliny undoubtedly took a superficial view—a view akin to that of those who rail against the great estates of British landlords, or denounce the land barons who are fencing in far greater estates in our own country. The great Roman estates, like the other things which Mr. Strong summarizes in the verdict "general corruption," were an effect, not a cause. What, from a primitive condition of substantial equality and hardy virtue, developed the monstrous wealth of the Roman patrician and the equally monstrous poverty of the Roman proletarian; what produced a state of society, having at one extreme bestiality and at the other brutishness; what rotted out the heart of a world-conquering power and rendered civilization helpless before the assaults of barbarism, was private property in land—the ignoring of the essential distinction between the gifts of nature and the works of man; the extension to the element on which and from which all must live of the same rights of property that justly attach only to the produce of labor. This is the primary evil from which "land-grabbing" and "landlordism" and exhausted fields and congested cities, and that unjust distribution of wealth which gives to some more than it is good for them to have and denies to others what is necessary to healthful life, must inevitably flow, with a rapidity proportioned to that of material progress. It is this that destroyed the Roman civilization, and it is this that must destroy our modern civilization, unless the axe be laid, not to the branches, but to the root of the tree.

Since man is a land animal that can only live on land and from land; since land is to him the store-house of all material, the necessary basis of all production, the place and the thing on which alone his power to labor can be put to any use, wherever one part of the people are made owners of the land and another part of the people are denied all legal rights to its use save as they buy or rent it, a fundamental tendency to inequality is set up, which, as population increases and inventions are made and the arts develop, operates with increasing force. In the necessary relation between man and the planet; in the simple truth, obvious to the veriest savage or the most unlettered child, that it is beyond man's power to make something out of nothing, and that men who are denied all right to the bounty of nature cannot avail themselves of their own power to labor, and hence must be forced into a cut-throat competition to sell their labor to those who alone can provide opportunity for its use, lies the explanation of all those social paradoxes that are so perplexing to men who search for explanations where they cannot be found. Why labor-saving invention is turning into a curse, and the opportunity to toil is considered a boon; why, with millions of acres of virgin soil, our roads are filled with tramps; why, with unsatisfied desires for wealth, thousands of willing workers stand idle; why biting want and actual starvation co-exist with what is called "over-production;" why, in the shadow of church and library and museum, are growing up those fiercer Huns and Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied; why great armies are marshalling in what is blindly termed "the conflict between labor and capital," and a war is in its incipient stages that may soon give cities to the flames—all this is clear to any one who will regard first principles. Given a world tenanted by human beings like ourselves, with its surface made the property of some of its inhabitants as we are making this continent, and though invention went to the length of enabling all possible wealth to be produced without labor, it would only be to make paupers of those who owned nothing but their labor. Given such a world, and though wealth rained down from the heavens as manna did upon the ancient Israelites, it would all become the property of a class, and, amid mountainous "over-production," those who had no rights in the land which intercepted the gifts of heaven could only be saved from starvation by degrading charity.

At the root of all our social difficulties lies a social crime—the crime of denying to the children born among us their equal right to the use of the material universe into which their Creator brings them.

Mr. Strong asks, "What has America omitted to do?" The answer is simple. We have omitted to apply to the most important of all social adjustments—the most fundamental of all human relations—the principle enunciated in our Declaration of Independence; and, in our treatment of that natural element on which and by which all must live, we have ignored the self-evident truth "that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain *unalienable* rights."

Until that truth is regarded, our Republic is a house built on the sand and our civilization must breed forces for its own destruction.

HENRY GEORGE.

A FAMOUS DIPLOMATIC DISPATCH.

THE world is full of reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln. A paper, given in *fac-simile* in this issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, will doubtless prove a new and surprising revelation of the man, even to those of us who supposed that we knew him best. This paper is a reproduction of the original dispatch of Mr. Seward, as corrected by Mr. Lincoln, conveying to Mr. Adams, our Minister at London, his first full instructions after the outbreak of the Rebellion.

Many military men, who have had access to Mr. Lincoln's papers, have classed him as the best general of the war. This paper will go far toward establishing his reputation as its ablest diplomatist. He had been President for only three months. Certainly, when he came to the office, the farthest thing from the thought of the people was to credit him with diplomatic knowledge or skill. But this paper, by its erasures, its substitutions and its amendments, shows a nice sense of the shades of meaning in words, a comprehensive knowledge of the situation and a thorough appreciation of the grave results which might follow the use of terms which he either modified or erased. These various corrections of Mr. Seward's dispatch, by the rail-splitter of Illinois, form a most interesting addition to the history of Mr. Lincoln and that of our diplomacy.

The paper is one that needs few comments to bring its remarkable character before the reader. The burdens of home affairs, which then lay heavily on the new President, will readily occur to every student of our history. The countless demands upon his time gave little opportunity for reflection. Prompt action was required in all directions and in everything, small and great. But, as his handiwork, now for the first time presented, shows, he turned with perfect composure from the home to the equally threatening foreign field, and revised, with a master-hand, the most important dispatch that had as yet been prepared by Mr. Seward. The work shows a freedom, an insight into foreign affairs, a skill in the use of language, a delicacy of criticism and a discrimination in methods of diplomatic dealing which entitles Mr. Lincoln to the honors of an astute statesman.

The opening of the dispatch is Mr. Seward's first draft as corrected by himself. Mr. Lincoln's revision begins with the direction to leave out the paragraph "We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain." He seemed to see no reason for harshly reproving Mr. Dallas; and so he modified the expression, "The President is surprised and grieved," to the President "regrets." With the multiplicity of facts crowding his mind, he yet did not forget that no explanations had been demanded of Great Britain; and so he wrote in the margin: "Leave out, because it does not appear that such explanations were demanded." He did not care to reflect upon the body of our representatives abroad, and therefore he struck out the sentence on that subject which is marked. He crossed out "wrongful" and wrote "hurtful," showing a knowledge of the exact value of words worthy of a Trench. A wrongful act implies intention to harm, but in the word "hurtful" the charge of intent is not found. In the unsettled condition of the question of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, he did not deem it best to threaten; and so, instead of "No one of these proceedings will be *borne* by the United States," he first substituted "will pass unnoticed," for "borne," and then, strengthening his own expression somewhat, he finally wrote "will pass unquestioned."

In discussing the question of privateers, Mr. Lincoln wrote "omit" opposite another threat in the expression, "the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy, and we shall avail ourselves of it." This last clause he struck out. An examination of the *fac-simile* will at once disclose the nature of the more extensive charges which were made. The close of the letter exhibits further examples of minor corrections which are of exceeding interest. The changes in one sentence are especially noteworthy. "If that nation will now repeat the same great crime," wrote Mr. Seward. "If that nation *shall* now repeat the same great *error*," said Mr. Lincoln. "Social *calamities*" he changed to "social *convulsions*," as if he had in mind that, in the end, the results might not prove calamitous, however great the convulsions. The paper will bear long study, and no one can examine it without acquiring a new and more exalted estimate of Mr. Lincoln's many-sided powers.

This dispatch is interesting, also, as evidence in answering the historical question, still earnestly discussed, as to whether Lincoln, Seward or Stanton was the master-spirit in the Cabinet during the war of the Rebellion. Each of these three great statesmen has advocates who claims an unquestioned pre-eminence for his chief. Some of them, with greater zeal and fidelity than knowledge and justice, seek to exalt the great Secretary of State or the great Secretary of War at the expense of the great War President. Surely no labor of love could be more futile. For, history will place each of these illustrious Americans on the most honored pedestals in the nation's pantheon and history will add that each of them supplemented, not overshadowed, his associates.

Stanton's iron will was felt at every important epoch of the war, but when his idea of policy conflicted with the purpose of the President the great War Minister was forced to yield. Seward, the ablest American diplomatist of the century, the American Talleyrand, found also in the man of the people a master who knew when to exact implicit obedience. This fact is demonstrated by the *fac-simile* of the draft of the famous dispatch reproduced in this issue of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It is corrected by the hand of Abraham Lincoln in words that certify to his statesmanship, as, without question, they saved this nation from a war with England which, at that period, would probably have resulted.

Many efforts have been made to obtain a copy of the draft which I now publish; but, even when backed by the authority of Congress, they have failed in securing it.

In the Forty-fourth Congress, first session, in the Senate, on Tuesday, June 6, 1876, Mr. Boutwell offered, for present consideration, this resolution, to which, he said, he supposed there would be no objection:

> "*Resolved*, That the President be requested, if not in his opinion inconsistent with the public interests, to furnish the Senate with a *fac-simile* copy of the original draft of the letter of the Secretary of State to the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, in May, 1861, in relation to the proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, recognizing the belligerent character of the Confederate States."

The resolution was considered and agreed to by unanimous consent.

No reply was made to the resolution, and that motion is the last the public have heard of it thus far. There can be no objection to its publication now, and I take pleasure in presenting it to the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

In order to make the comparison less difficult, I present, also, in full, the dispatch as it is printed in the official correspondence, page by page, and have noted the corrections made in the draft as addenda to each page.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

THE DISPATCH AS OFFICIALLY PRINTED.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.

[Extracts.]

I.

No. 10.] DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *May* 21, 1861.

SIR: This Government considers that our relations in Europe have reached a crisis in which it is necessary for it to take a decided stand, on which not only its immediate measures but its ultimate and permanent policy can be determined and defined. At the same time it neither means to menace Great Britain nor to wound the susceptibilities of that or any other European nation. That policy is developed in this paper.

The paper itself is not to be read or shown to the British Secretary of State, nor are any of its positions to be prematurely, unnecessarily or indiscreetly made known. But its spirit will be your guide. You will keep back nothing when the time arises for its being said with dignity, propriety and effect, and you will all the while be careful to say nothing that will be incongruous or inconsistent with the views which it contains. [*See Page* 1 *of fac-simile copy.*

II.

Mr. Dallas in a brief despatch of May 2 (No. 333), tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which his lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British secretary told Mr. Dallas that the then representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them, unofficially. He further informed Mr. Dallas that an understanding existed between the British and French Governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His lordship then referred to the [Page 2.

rumor of a meditated blockade by us of southern ports and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry. Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics, and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to

III.

arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates further than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to the department.

The President regrets [Page 3.

On this page, after the word department, the President drew a line around the sentence "We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain," and wrote the words "Leave out." He also similarly encircled the words "is surprised and grieved," and rendered the phrase "The President regrets."

IV.

that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British Government and the missionaries of the insurgents.

It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say, that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, are appreciated.

Intercourse of any kind with the so-called commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful to us for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover, unofficial [Page 4.

After the phrase "missionaries of the insurgents" the Secretary had added, "as well as against the demand for explanations made by the British Government," but the President wrote "Leave out, because it does not appear that explanations were demanded." As the Secretary wrote the second sentence, it read:

> "It is due, however, to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you, not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, *among our representatives abroad, are confessed and* appreciated."

The President wrote "Leave out" against the words italicized. In the last complete sentence on this page, also, the President substituted the word "hurtful" for "wrongful."

V.

intercourse is useless and meaningless if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful, here, whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent instructions are deemed explicit enough and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will, in any event, desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official, with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country.

When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department and receive further instructions. [Page 5.

After the words "domestic enemies of this country" the Secretary had added "confining yourself simply to a delivery of a copy of this paper to the Secretary of State." "Leave out" wrote the President. "After doing this, you will communicate with this department," was the language of Mr. Seward. "When communication shall have been arrested for this cause, you will communicate with this department," was the President's emendation.

VI.

Lord John Russell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French Governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication, however, loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources. We know, also, another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us, namely, that other European States are apprised by France and England of their agreement, and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition. The United States have been impartial and just in all their conduct towards the several nations of Europe. They will not complain, however, of the combination now announced by the two leading powers, although they think they had a right to expect a more [Page 6.

VII.

independent if not a more friendly course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance. Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us we shall be, as heretofore, frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own laws and the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports, which have been seized by the insurgents in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force, but passing by that question as not now a practical, or at least an urgent one, you will add that the blockade is now and it will continue to be so maintained, and we therefore expect it to be respected by Great Britain. You will add that we have [Page 7.

"As to the blockade," wrote the Secretary, "you will say that, by the laws of nature and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrections." For the phrase "the laws of nature," the President wrote "our own laws."

VIII.

already revoked the exequatur of a Russian consul who had enlisted in the military service of the insurgents, and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, consular or diplomatic, who shall either disobey the federal laws or disown the federal authority.

As to the recognition of the so-called Southern Confederacy it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is, of course, direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is direct recognition to receive its ambassadors, ministers, agents or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent right is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of those proceedings will pass unquestioned by the United States in this case.

Hitherto recognition has been moved only on the assumption that the so-called Confederate States are *de facto* a self-sustaining power. Now, after long forbearance, designed to soothe discontent and avert the need of civil war, the [Page 8.

"No one of these proceedings," wrote the Secretary, "will be borne by the United States in this case." The President first substituted "unnoticed" for "borne," and then corrected his own word by writing "will pass unquestioned."

IX.

land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new state is at once revealed. It is seen to be a power existing in pronounciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended capital by land. Under these circumstances, Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention [Page 9.

X.

to create, within our territory, a hostile State by overthrowing this Republic itself.

* * * * * * * * * *

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service you will say this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country. If Great Britain shall choose to recognize them as lawful belligerents and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the law of nations afford an adequate proper remedy. [Page 10.

After the words "overthrowing this Republic itself," Mr. Seward added this sentence, which Mr. Lincoln eliminated :

"When this act of intervention is distinctly performed, we, from that hour, shall cease to be friends, and *become once more as we have twice before been,)* be forced to be enemies of Great Britain."

Here the President seems at first to have decided to strike out only the words that are italicized, but subsequently he erased the entire sentence. After the last sentence on the page, following the words "proper remedy," the Secretary had written "and we shall avail ourselves of it. And while you need not say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it." "*Out,*" wrote the President.

XI.

Happily, however, her Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties. It invited us, in 1856, to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere, in all cases and forever. You have already our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuses it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation.

These positions are not elaborately defended because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

. . . .

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how, upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may

[Page 11.

After the second paragraph on this page the President wrote : "Drop all from this line to the end, and in lieu of it write 'This paper is for your own guidance only, and not to be read or shown to any one.'"

XII.

ensue between the United States and one, two or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptional from the habits as it is revolting from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come, it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own ; that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear, from you, our remonstrances and our warnings, or after having heard them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

The dispute will be between the European and the American branches of the British race. All who belong to that race will especially deprecate it, as they ought. It may well be believed that men of every race and kindred will deplore it. A war not unlike it, between the same parties, occurred at the close of the last century. Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the error that Great Britain committed in provoking that contest. [Page 12.

For our "remonstrances and wrongs," on this page, the President substituted "our remonstrances and our warnings." "Europe atoned by forty years of suffering for the crime," wrote Mr. Seward; "forty years of suffering for the error," wrote Mr. Lincoln.

XIII.

If that nation shall now repeat the same great error, the social convulsions which will follow may not be so long but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations, that it is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious constitution altered, or its honestly obtained dominions in any way abridged. Great Britain has but to wait for a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course, she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation, she will do well to remember that, in the controversy she proposes to open, we shall be actuated by neither pride nor passion, nor cupidity nor ambition, but we shall stand simply on the principle of self-preservation, and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, ESQ., &c., &c., &c. [Page 13.

The subtile corrections on this page have been noted in the preceding introduction.

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~~W.~~

~~No 10~~ ~~Department of State,~~
~~Washington May 25th 1861~~

~~Sir~~ X

Mr Dallas in a brief dispatch of May 2d (No 333) tells us that Lord John Russell recently requested an interview with him on account of the solicitude which His Lordship felt concerning the effect of certain measures represented as likely to be adopted by the President. In that conversation the British Secretary told Mr. Dallas that the three Representatives of the Southern Confederacy were then in London, that Lord John Russell had not yet seen them, but that he was not unwilling to see them unofficially. He farther informed Mr Dallas that an understanding exists between the British and French Governments which would lead both to take one and the same course as to recognition. His Lordship then referred to the

C. F. Adams Esqr.
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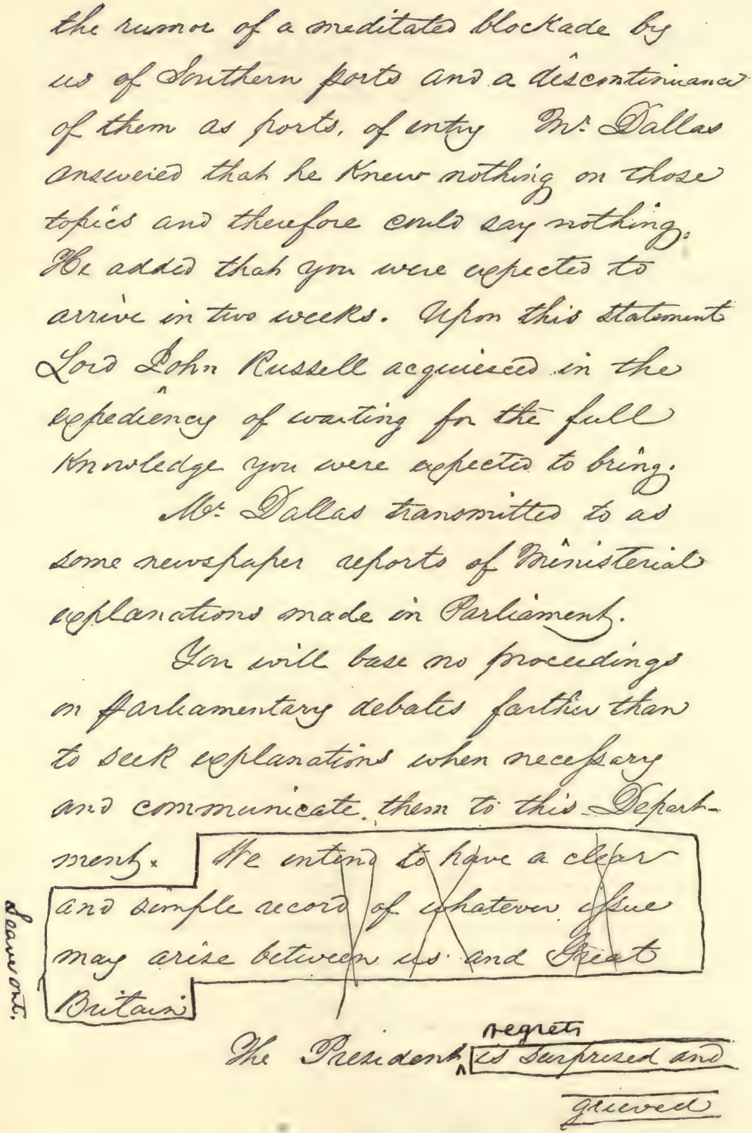

the rumor of a meditated blockade by us of Southern ports and a discontinuance of them as ports of entry Mr. Dallas answered that he knew nothing on those topics and therefore could say nothing. He added that you were expected to arrive in two weeks. Upon this statement Lord John Russell acquiesced in the expediency of waiting for the full knowledge you were expected to bring.

Mr. Dallas transmitted to us some newspaper reports of Ministerial explanations made in Parliament.

You will base no proceedings on parliamentary debates farther than to seek explanations when necessary and communicate them to this Department. ~~We intend to have a clear and simple record of whatever issue may arise between us and Great Britain.~~

Leave out.

The President regrets ~~is surprised and grieved~~

grieved that Mr. Dallas did not protest against the proposed unofficial intercourse between the British Government and the missionaries of the insurgents, as well ~~[illegible]~~ as against the demand for explanations made by the British Government.

Leave out, because it does not appear that explanations were demanded.

It is due however to Mr. Dallas to say that our instructions had been given only to you and not to him, and that his loyalty and fidelity, too rare in these times, ~~among our~~ ~~late~~ ~~representatives abroad~~ ~~are confessed~~ are ~~and~~ appreciated.

[Intercourse of any kind with the so-called Commissioners is liable to be construed as a recognition of the authority which appointed them. Such intercourse would be none the less hurtful ~~wrongful~~ to us, for being called unofficial, and it might be even more injurious, because we should have no means of knowing what points might be resolved by it. Moreover,

unofficial

unofficial intercourse is useless and meaningless, if it is not expected to ripen into official intercourse and direct recognition. It is left doubtful here whether the proposed unofficial intercourse has yet actually begun. Your own antecedent ~~present~~ instructions are deemed explicit enough, and it is hoped that you have not misunderstood them. You will in any event desist from all intercourse whatever, unofficial as well as official with the British Government, so long as it shall continue intercourse of either kind with the domestic enemies of this country. ~~confining yourself simply to a delivery of a copy of this paper to the Secretary of State.~~ ~~*After doing this~~ you will communicate with this Department and receive further directions.

Leave out.

* When intercourse shall have been arrested for this cause

Lord John Ruſsell has informed us of an understanding between the British and French Governments that they will act together in regard to our affairs. This communication however loses something of its value from the circumstance that the communication was withheld until after in knowledge of the fact had been acquired by us from other sources We know also another fact that has not yet been officially communicated to us namely that other European States are apprized by France and England of their agreement and are expected to concur with or follow them in whatever measures they adopt on the subject of recognition.

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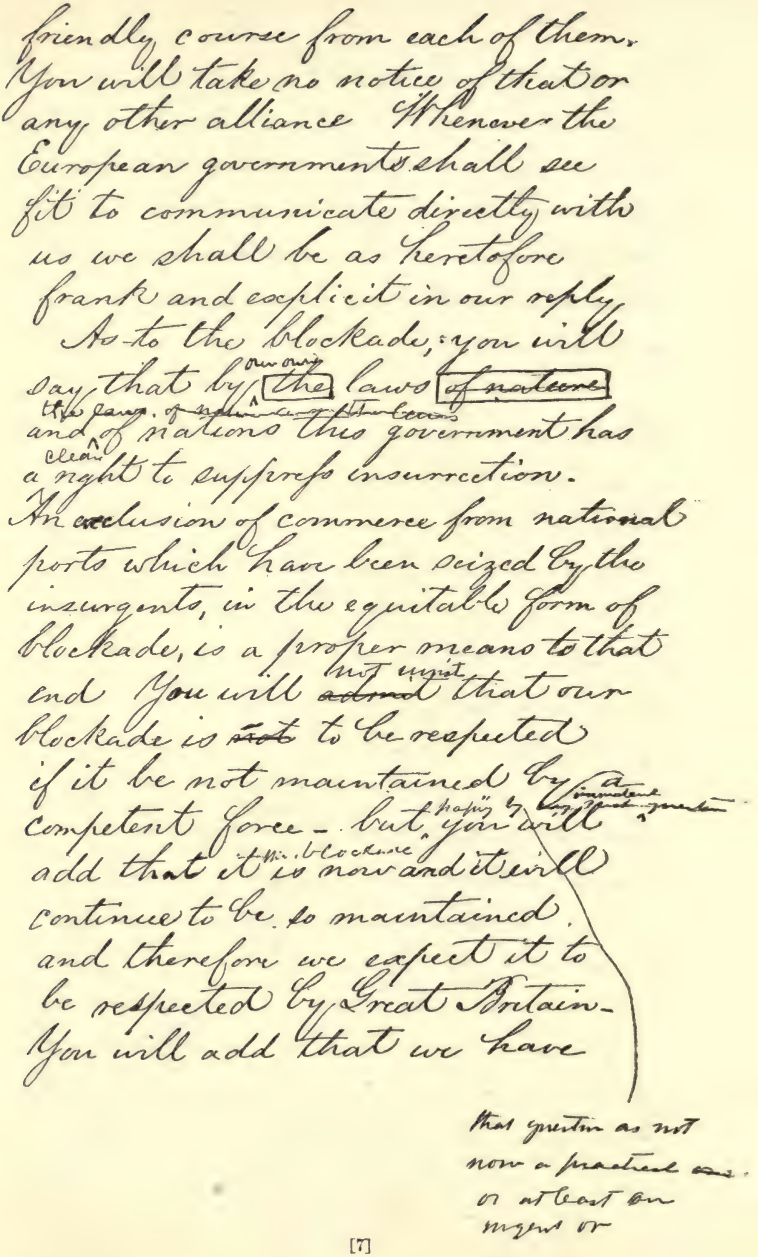

friendly course from each of them. You will take no notice of that or any other alliance Whenever the European governments shall see fit to communicate directly with us we shall be as heretofore frank and explicit in our reply.

As to the blockade, you will say that by our own ~~the~~ laws ~~of nature~~ the laws. of ~~[illegible]~~ and of nations this government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from national ports which have been seized by the insurgents, in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end You will not insist ~~admit~~ that our blockade is ~~not~~ to be respected if it be not maintained by a competent force — but passing by ~~[illegible]~~ question you will add that it the blockade is now and it will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain — You will add that we have

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already revoked the exequatur of a Russian Consul who had enlisted in the Military service of the insurgents and we shall dismiss or demand the recall of every foreign agent, Consular or Diplomatic who shall either disobey the Federal laws or disown the Federal authority

As to the recognition of the so called Southern Confederacy it is not to be made a subject of technical definition. It is of course ~~quasi~~ direct recognition to publish an acknowledgment of the sovereignty and independence of a new power. It is ~~quasi~~ direct recognition to receive its ambassadors Ministers agents or commissioners officially. A concession of belligerent rights is liable to be construed as a recognition of them. No one of these proceedings will pass ~~unquestioned~~ unquestioned ~~be borne~~ by the United States in this case

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the

the land and naval forces of the United States have been put in motion to repress the insurrection. The true character of the pretended new State is at once revealed. It is seen to be a Power existing in pronunciamento only. It has never won a field. It has obtained no forts that were not virtually betrayed into its hands or seized in breach of trust. It commands not a single port on the coast nor any highway out from its pretended Capital by land. Under these circumstances Great Britain is called upon to intervene and give it body and independence ~~resisting~~ by resisting our measures of suppression. British recognition would be British intervention

vention to create within our own territory a hostile State by overthrowing this Republic itself. When this act of intervention is distinctly performed, we from that hour, shall cease to be friends and (become once more, as we have twice before been) be forced to be~~come~~ enemies of Great Britain

Leave out

As to the treatment of privateers in the insurgent service you will say that this is a question exclusively our own. We treat them as pirates. They are our own citizens, or persons employed by our citizens, preying on the commerce of our country: If Great Britain shall choose to recognise them as lawful belligerents, and give them shelter from our pursuit and punishment, the laws of nations afford an adequate and proper remedy. And we shall avail ourselves of it. ~~And while you need not to say this in advance, be sure that you say nothing inconsistent with it.~~

Omit

Happily, however Her Britannic Majesty's Government can avoid all these difficulties It invited us in 1856 to accede to the declaration of the Congress of Paris, of which body Great Britain was herself a member, abolishing privateering everywhere in all cases and for ever. You already have our authority to propose to her our accession to that declaration. If she refuse to receive it it can only be because she is willing to become the patron of privateering when aimed at our devastation

These positions are not elaborately defended now, because to vindicate them would imply a possibility of our waiving them.

We are not insensible of the grave importance of this occasion. We see how upon the result of the debate in which we are engaged, a war may

~~Drop all from this line to the end, and in lieu of it, write~~

~~"This paper is for your own guidance only, and not to be read, or shown to any one –~~

enmity, between the United States and one, two, or even more European nations. War in any case is as exceptionable from the habits as it is revolting ~~to~~ from the sentiments of the American people. But if it come it will be fully seen that it results from the action of Great Britain, not our own, that Great Britain will have decided to fraternize with our domestic enemy either without waiting to hear from you our remonstrances and our ~~wrongs~~ warnings or after ~~having~~ having heard them. War in defence of national life is not immoral, and war in defence of independence is an inevitable part of the discipline of nations.

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If that nation ~~will~~ shall now repeat the same great ~~crime~~ error the social ~~calamities~~ convulsions which will follow may not be so long but they will be more general. When they shall have ceased it will, we think, be seen, whatever may have been the fortunes of other nations that it ~~will not be~~ is not the United States that will have come out of them with its precious constitution altered or its honestly obtained dominion in any degree abridged. Great Britain has but to wait a few months and all her present inconveniences will cease with all our own troubles. If she take a different course she will calculate for herself the ultimate as well as the immediate consequences, and will consider what position she will hold when she shall have forever lost the sympathies and the affections of the only nation on whose sympathies and affections she has a natural claim. In making that calculation she will do well to remember that in the controversy she proposes to open we shall be actuated by neither pride, nor passion, nor cupidity, nor ambition; but we shall stand simply on the principle of self preservation and that our cause will involve the independence of nations and the rights of human nature

I am, Sir, respectfully your obedient servant
W. H. S.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

In "The Mistakes of Grant," published in the December number, General Rosecrans says: "Four hours of precious time were lost by the delay of General Hazen, who, until he received orders through the regular channel, declined to be relieved by General Negley's division, sent for the purpose of enabling him to join his division commander." This seems to mean that from captiousness I delayed the movements of the army, on the eve of a great battle, four hours.

In this General Rosecrans is now, as he was then, mistaken.

The facts are that, on the afternoon of the 18th of September, I was posted with my brigade by my division commander, General Palmer, quite near to General Rosecrans' head-quarters, on the west side of the Chattanooga and Lafayette road, and several hundred yards away from it; so far as to be entirely out of the way of any passing troops.

This was just after withdrawing from Gower's Fort, a few miles to the south, and with orders from General Palmer to hold the command in readiness to join the division when notified. The command was kept ready and anxious to move all the afternoon, evening, and into the late night. Some time in the night, Major-General Negley came to me, saying he wished to place his division upon the ground occupied by my brigade. He brought me no message, he said nothing as to where I should go, nor did he intimate in any way that he came to relieve me, or that the movement of any troops depended upon that of mine, but merely that he wanted the ground that I occupied.

We were very anxious to end the march and get a little sleep, and were looking for the very orders now claimed to have been sent. General Negley had no troops with him, and seemed looking about for some good place to bivouac his command, and I supposed that that was what he was doing. About one hour later, Captain Druillard, of General Rosecrans' staff, brought me the order to move at once by the Lafayette road to Lee and Gordon's Mill, and join General Palmer, and on my way to report to General Rosecrans at his head-quarters, which I would pass.

In three minutes we were in motion, through fields and thick woods, the roads being filled with halted trains and troops asleep, and, on reaching General Rosecrans' head-quarters, I found there a great number of officers of rank, including his three corps commanders, the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Dana, and Senator Nesmith of Oregon. General Rosecrans in a very public way blamed me for detaining his army, and not permitting myself to be relieved by General Negley, who, he said, was a "major-general" and a "division commander." I told him what I have said here.

General Palmer, afterward, told me that, on his receiving his orders to proceed to Lee and Gordon's Mill with his other two brigades, General Rosecrans directed him to proceed at once, and that he, Rosecrans, would relieve me as soon as he could get troops to take my place, and in the great haste, just before a battle, he had forgotten to do it or to say more to Negley than to go and occupy the ground where my troops were.

At all events, no order or intimation came to me, looking to my relief, until Captain Druillard brought it.

The road was full of sleeping troops, and it is very probable that they were halted by order, until my brigade should pass, and then forgotten. At all events, I was not notified. My position was entirely away from the road, and could not in the slightest way interrupt the movement of other troops, and when I did move, it was only a couple of miles, where the division remained unoccupied for eight hours. It is not possible that any delay of the army occurred from any fault of mine.

W. B. HAZEN.

II.

"OUIDA'S" vehement arraignment of science in "Some Fallacies of Science" hardly disproves Sir Lyon Playfair's assertions concerning its beneficial influence on the human race. The Khartoum expedition, the defeat of the French in the war of 1870, the case of the 30,000 Parisian shoemakers, the lauded freedom of the village cobbler and the servitude of the shoe-machine attendant, and the imaginary revival of the defunct Athenian to lament the social status of modern society, are topics that possess intrinsic interest for the military engineer and political economist, though entering not into the broad question—"Has science increased the happiness of mankind?"

"Ouida" responds in the negative. The fundamental idea discerned throughout her criticism appears to be a love of antiquity and its crude pagan institutions in lieu of the beneficent fruits of modern human inquiry. She does not deny that the inventions of the age are wonderful and startling, but rather that they fail to make mankind happier.

Whenever and wherever we are more comfortable the happier we are. The locomotive, the electric telegraph, the telephone, each may "harass" time and even create some degree of "brain-pressure," yet even "Ouida" would not choose the rumbling stage-coach for the railroad car, nor the ancient mounted postman for the United States Mail, nor for the hasty dispatch of an important communication would she elect the mail-bag in preference to the telegraph or telephone! The resources of civilization give comfort to the body and mind, and thus originates happiness.

The science of chemistry would indeed augment but little the growing happiness of society were it confined within the walls of the university and school of technology, but "Ouida" forgets that when it enters the sphere of common life, when the fertility of our soils so often depends on its formulæ in the preparation of manures and fertilizers, when whole communities resort to chemical analysis to confirm or explode the unhealthy reputation of our watering-places and country lands, it then presents aspects that make it worthy of the dignity of a benefactress.

The army of chemists yearly issuing from the German laboratories may possibly tend to deprive science of some of that esteem which it has so long enjoyed, but when the knowledge acquired is put to a practical test,—when it is made subservient to the demands of an ever-advancing civilization,—then is man benefited by it and made happier.

Perhaps "Ouida" may consider astronomy to be of little value to humanity. But did this branch of science fail to add to the sum of human happiness, by perfecting the art of navigation, and thus facilitating and encouraging the present uninterrupted social and commercial intercourse between nations? Does not this frequent joining of hands over seas and continents banish war in favor of arbitration? Are not men therefore happier? Again, are we to forget the progress in metal-working and in steam-engines, whereby the old-time voyage of months is shortened into one of seven days? Are travelers not made happier?

Geology in disproving the Mosaic cosmogony did but little toward making us happier; but when it opened up to us the mightiest blessing of the age—coal—thereby augmenting enormously the supply of fuel and of light, comfort and increased happiness ensued.

Can it be possible that "Ouida" has forgotten the wonders of our anesthetics? Of ether in every-day surgery, and of cocaine in operations on the eye? Possibly the author of the sentiments at issue may be testing the scientific world; if so, I have been but a feeble interpreter of its position as bearing on our comfort and happiness. A. Kingsley Glover.

III.

In Ouida's article "Some Fallacies of Science," she says, "The scientists take for granted that the education of the schools creates intelligence." Would any impartial reader derive this impression from a careful examination of the works of Tyndal, Huxley, Spencer and others? The scientists have doubtless urged many measures that must be ignored, or adopted only in part; they often attach undue importance to certain pet hobbies—as who does not?—but the writer cannot understand that representative scientists have ever taught directly or indirectly that schools create intelligence.

Does not their very insistence on certain points, as, for example, on training the mind to seek truth, cultivation of the powers of observation, and close attention to natural laws of development, go to show, on the contrary, that their faith is in the development, not the creation of intellectual power?

Lucy G. Crozier.

IV.

I protest against the epithet "Aristocratic" being applied to American Protestantism, and simply because her material wealth and intelligence have kept pace with the growth of the country. As perpetual as humanity is the unequal division of material possessions—one man must have more than some other man. The very idea of an equality of wealth is chimerical.

Christianity makes no distinction between the rich man and the poor man as such—she says to all, "take up thy cross and follow me." Protestantism, therefore, opens its doors to both, and behold the rich and the poor are together. But wealth confers upon its possessor advantages which many of the poor cannot enjoy—notably, education, an opportunity to study, refinement, a finer appreciation of things. It is then not strange that the tastes of the well-to-do and of the poor should differ. And this I hold to be the only barrier, except envy or pride, which prevents the poor man from worshiping in the pew of the most pretentious Protestant church.

The member of the so-called "Aristocratic" church, whether wealthy or poor, generally appreciates "fine music." To his ear its magnificent flow is of the highest order of worship—to the "chapel Christian" (whose musical education has been neglected) it is "horrid stuff." Yet good music is not unchristian. The fault lies in an untrained ear, not in Protestantism.

Again, the member of the "Aristocratic" church appreciates a scholar in the pulpit. The "chapel Christian" does not take in the argument—he hears something which his limited views do not endorse. The sermon becomes an opiate, not a stimulant. Yet the "big preacher" is destroying infidelity and skepticism. So I hold that the congregation of the "Aristocratic" church represents primarily intelligence not wealth, appreciation not selfishness.

But Mr. Adams claims that fine clothes, not fine music and fine arguments, *do* elbow the plain Christian from the "wealthy church." And he may point to the "Te Deum" and the "Gloria" of what he is pleased to call the "housemaids and Irish laborers'" church as evidence that lofty music does not repel the vulgar ear; and to the measured lines of Latin (with Celtic accent) as proof that classic periods are not uninteresting to the poorly clad. But Mr. Adams forgets that the Protestant laity must *understand* what it hears—whilst the Catholic auditor is only expected to *listen.*

Permit me, however, to cite a few instances in which the plainly dressed sit in Christian fellowship next the "fine clad, gold-ringed" aristocrat.

One of the highest Episcopal churches in our city has no other members so actively conspicuous as its school-teachers and working women.

The writer visited, last Sunday, an up-town Presbyterian church in which there were enough shining coats and last-years' bonnets to show that plain people attend there.

Our wealthiest Methodist church, with Gothic architecture, heavenward spire, painted oriel, and loud-mouthed organ, is regularly attended by the poorest—including a rag-picker—and there would doubtless be others of his vocation could they appreciate the service. And I am persuaded that no member has ever said of him: "It would not be pleasant to find a ragged, dirty stranger in our cushioned pew next Sunday."

Fine clothes are not making our Protestantism more "aristocratic."

One word more in relation to what Mr. Adams has termed the "housemaids' and Irish laborers' church."

The Roman Catholic Church is not in harmony with our institutions nor abreast with our native American intelligence, accordingly its membership is supplied mostly from the ranks of the ignorant, poverty-stricken, abused Irish emigrant and his descendant. For this reason *only* is it the poor man's church. Notwithstanding this fact, the Roman church has privileges that only the rich man can enjoy. A desirable pew in the cathedral of our city cannot be rented for less than $22.50 per quarter.

Alas! thou outcast of Protestantism, do not leave thy "cocoa matting" expecting to kneel upon velvet carpet in the subdued and mellow light which filters through a hundred painted windows, unless thou hast $22.50 in filthy lucre with which to buy, not fine clothes, but the privilege of attending, even in rags, the church of the Irish working-man.

But is not this the church that Protestants may emulate "in more things than Architecture?" Yes, but not this particular edifice—not the Cathedral—but the one which washer-women really attend; where she can hear music, it is true, and Latin, but where there is less incense burned.

Then, in conclusion, the dividing line of the communicants of our Protestant churches is not traceable to wealth but to "taste"—the money division is not a marked one—for the rag-picker and I sit down together with the banker.

Richard Dailey Lang.

V.

Our present financial troubles have a remedy, I believe, in the following plan, which, in its essential features, should be ingrafted upon the Constitution as an amendment.

The plan I suggest is this: After the government has called in and destroyed its present currency or demand notes, and melted up into bullion its silver, having called in all in circulation (this bullion to be kept by the government in perpetuity), let it issue paper of the denominations of five, ten, twenty-five, fifty cents and one, two, five, ten, twenty dollar notes, and larger if needed, redeemable in silver at its market value, whenever presented, in sums of five dollars and upward at the United States Treasury or its designated branches, the scrip under sums of five dollars to be redeemed by silver of like face value; let there be coined five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cent silver pieces of higher intrinsic value than at present, also gold as at present, if found necessary, but no silver dollars.

The enormous amount of silver of which the government would be custodian, the market value of which should always be in excess of the face-value of the paper issued, would keep our credit unfluctuating, so that our paper would be the same as gold the world over. It would be, in fact, the standard in place of the issue of the Bank of England.

The government paper issued upon this plan could be redeemed all at once, if so offered, a merit no other system of money ever had, as far as my knowledge goes, not excepting that of England. We should then have a position at the head of the finances of the world.

We have been troubled up to the present time, in the matter of our money, by the uncertainty of the law, it being liable to change as often as Congress changed, and this is the reason a constitutional amendment is needed to give it a degree of permanency it has never enjoyed.

We all, or nearly all, remember the great convenience of scrip over metal.

This scrip, unlike that of years ago, would be, instead of a bare promise, a true representative of value; or, in other words, the old kind was like a promissory note, the suggested kind a mortgage.

This paper, if tendered, is to be taken by the government for all debts due it.

The government has from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000 in coined silver in its vaults, but has not power enough to force it into circulation under the present system. By the suggested plan its representative value would be used by the people readily, and to the manifest improvement of business.

The government can best afford to hold and guard the quantity of silver necessary to secure all of the paper needed for business purposes and is of right the maker of our currency notes. It already makes a part, why not all?

The government, unlike a bank, is not instituted solely for the object of making a profit on an investment. A bank studies its own interests before that of the people's. The government is the people, and consequently its interests are the people's interests.

We, as a people, inaugurated a system of government, the wonder of the world. The time has come when we can make another step in the direction of true civilization, by creating a system of money that will have a never-varying character, whenever and wherever found.

In fact, it seems as if the conditions surrounding our money question were such as almost to force us into this course as the only way out.

To my mind, this is the only plan that can be arrived at which is commensurate with the greatness of the subject.

Macaulay's school-boy could understand this system; can the most astute financier find a flaw in it? IRVING BOARDMAN.

VI.

THE land question in the United States is fast coming to the front. We see here the bitter fruits which are more fully developed in Europe, and trace under different political institutions the same accumulation of wealth; the privilege and corruption of the few on the one hand, and the degradation and misery of the many on the other. Away back in what may seem the barbaric age, a beggar was little known, but now, with all our civilization and vast natural resources, how common is the tramp!

Our great public domain has been squandered away with astonishing haste, and even in our newest States free land for actual settlers is hard to find. At this rate, all the public land will soon be gone, and a man will be enabled to go to work for himself only by giving up part of his earnings to another for the soil which he uses.

That the people of the United States are beginning to see the iniquities of this system is evident from the remedial measures proposed for the ills of society. A bill was recently introduced into the Ohio, and subsequently into the Iowa legislature, which proposed to "provide against the evils resulting from periodical depressions in manufacturing industries and to promote agriculture." The method prescribed was to give every head of a family twenty acres of arable land on condition that he resided on it and cultivated it; otherwise it should revert to the State. For this he was to pay into the county treasury an annual tax of three per cent. of the value of his land, and moderate improvements were to be exempt from taxation. Should all the public land be gone the State had power to appropriate, by force if necessary, such lands owned by individuals or corporations as it deemed requisite to carry out the law. This was a recognition of the principle that even the poorest man has the right to earn for himself and his family an independent living, and not compete with his fellows in the great cities for barely enough to keep body and soul together. In levying taxes on land values the State would be taking for public uses a value made by the public, that is by the growth of population and the advancement of industrial processes.

This bill was an embodiment of the ideas now beginning to gain strength all over the country, and who can tell what the close of the century will see!

JOHN O. REEVES.

VII.

IT is generally assumed by persons unfamiliar with the subject and sometimes even by lawyers that before any State Legislature can give the right of suffrage to women an amendment to the State Constitution is essential.

There is no authority for such a proposition.

Since there is no prohibition in the Federal Constitution against the grant of female suffrage by the respective States, any denial of such an exercise of power must be sought in an express or implied prohibition in the State Constitution. Most of these constitutions are closely modeled on that of New York, and do no more than *guarantee* the exercise of suffrage at general elections to all adult male citizens. Massachusetts is a notable exception, and contains the expression "and no others;" but this or any similar express prohibition is entirely lacking in the great majority of constitutions. To find an implied prohibition in an organic law, the implication must be so essential that it may be said to be absolutely necessary to give the terms employed their natural sense. With the exception noted, I have been unable to find any such expression in the State constitutions.

In the absence of such prohibitions, either express or implied, there can be no doubt of the adequate power of the State Legislatures to enact such laws as they may see fit on this subject. For, as has been repeatedly held by our courts of last resort, the Legislature of the States composing this Union are no more restricted in the exercise of plenary legislative power than the British Parliament, of which Coke said, "it can do everything that is not physically impossible."

If restrictions on the exercise of their power are neither found in the Federal nor State Constitutions they simply do not exist, for our constitutions being written instruments, courts in this country have almost invariably refused to look outside their language for restrictions. The modern tendency in the case of the Federal Constitution, at least, is emphatically in the opposite direction, towards a widening of implied power by judicial interpretation.

During the last winter there have been introduced, in many of the Legislatures, bills granting to women the right of suffrage in municipal elections: towns, villages and cities. In all of the States where these measures are now under consideration there can be no doubt of the power of the Legislature to enact such laws.

One might, assuredly, though fearful of the effect of immediately and unrestrainedly admitting the entire female population to the ballot, yet find many and cogent considerations in favor of such a limited and tentative measure.

Some one has said that municipal administration is, after all, a matter of housekeeping on a great scale. Women from this stand-point would come to the exercise of suffrage with obvious advantages.

Men have so unquestionably failed in the administration of large cities, that the admission of women to a participation in their government would test the merits of female suffrage in a sphere where, even should it fail in producing all the results its advocates claim for it, yet it is hardly possible that failure would render municipal affairs worse than they now are. Many potent reasons will suggest themselves why improvement is rather to be anticipated.

AUGUSTUS A. LEVEY.

VIII.

THIS letter from Lord Byron to Shelley does not appear in any edition of the correspondence of either of the poets. It is addressed " to P. B. Shelley, Esqre, Signore Inglese, Pisa."

P

Pᴬ *Sepʳ* 8th 1821.

DEAR SHELLEY : They pretend here to *two hundred scudi* for the carriage of about two-thirds of my furniture *only*, and *not for the* WHOLE. As this seems to me very exorbitant (and indeed whether it be so or no) I should prefer that you sent one from Pisa—*wagons, horses* and *drivers* —according to the fairest contract you can make with them for me. I will sanction it, be it more or less. It's the same thing, as the drivers, &c., wont *return* here, and the Tuscans will only have to come here first. The number of wagons wanted on the whole will be *eight,* the number of beasts what they please ; the baggage is heavy, and whether drawn by horses, mules or oxen, is indifferent to me.

It was for *six* cars only that the indigenous masters of horse asked two hundred crowns, i.e., half a years rent of the house for a transport of chattels. Send me Etrurians at their own price, for of the two, I prefer being cheated by the new comers to continuing to minister to the ancient scoundrels of this remarkable city.

When I talked to you about purchase of other movables, I meant such as may be requisite to complete mine in a new mansion. Of course, I meant things requisite, according to the premises, and did not mean to bind the [party *] to an exact sum or to a few scudi more or less, according to what was wanted. Of course, you have seen *this* house and *that* house and can judge. You may do it now or wait till I come—as you please.

Believe me yours ever and truly

BYRON.

P. S.—Expedite the baggage waggons. Will wait only now for those to march. Make my remembrances to everybody I don't know and my respects to all I do.

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* Word destroyed.

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DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA,

In 1862, 1863 and 1864.

I.

A TELEGRAM from General Cooper, dated Richmond, September the 10th, 1862, reached me on that day in Mobile, and contained the information that, by special orders issued August 29, I had been assigned to the command of South Carolina and Georgia, with head-quarters at Charleston. I had anticipated some communication of the kind, having about two weeks before officially reported for "duty in the field." The next day I left for my new scene of action and, so advising the War Department, requested that copies of the order referred to by General Cooper, be forwarded to Charleston, where I arrived on the 15th of September.

Accompanied by Major-General Pemberton, whom I was to relieve, I immediately began a general inspection of the main defenses already constructed and in process of construction, in the two States then composing the department placed under me. I assumed command on the 24th of the same month.

The work before me was serious ; all the more so that it had to be executed without loss of time. Rumors and threats were afloat, filling the columns of the Northern journals, to the effect that mighty preparations were being made for such a land and naval attack upon the city of Charleston, as would prove irresistible. This, at the North, was deemed all the more easy of accomplishment because the harbor and inner defenses were believed to be insufficient to withstand a well-directed and prolonged assault; and for the further reason that there existed several avenues of approach, by any of which, it was thought, the ulterior object aimed at could be attained.

That there was ample cause for apprehension on our part became apparent to me upon my first conference with General Pemberton, in which I learned that by his orders a complete abandonment had been made, not only of the system of coast defenses devised by me as early as April, 1861, but also of the one said to have been projected by General Lee while in command of the same department from December, 1861, to March, 1862. For these had been substituted another and interior system rendering our lines vulnerable at various points, and necessitating more labor and a greater armament than we could command. The inspection made by me a few days later confirmed that opinion; for the works in and around Charleston, most of which had been badly located, were not in a state of completion, nor was their armament by any means adequate to the disproportionate dimensions of some of them. The concluding remarks of my Report of Inspection to the War Department were: "Adaptation 'of means to an end' has not always been consulted in the works around this city and Savannah. Much unnecessary work has been bestowed upon many of them." The defenses of the harbor existing at that time consisted of: 1. Fort Sumter, with an armament of seventy-nine guns of divers calibers, from 32 pounders to 8 inch columbiads, and seven 10 inch mortars manned by three hundred and fifty effectives of the First South Carolina Artillery (regulars). 2. Fort Moultrie, with thirty-eight guns, from 24 pounders to 8 inch columbiads, and a garrison of three hundred effectives belonging to the First South Carolina Infantry (regulars). These works were in very good condition though repairs were then in progress in the former. 3. Battery Beauregard, across Sullivan's Island, the location of which I had selected in the spring of 1861, in advance of Fort Moultrie, with a view to protect the approach from the east. It was armed with five guns. 4. Four sand batteries, *en barbette,* erected at the west end of Sullivan's Island and bearing on the floating boom then in process of construction across the Fort Sumter channel. These batteries were not completed and had at the time only four guns, two of them being 10 inch columbiads. No magazines had been constructed for them. 5.

The "Neck" battery, on Morris Island, afterward called Battery Wagner, an open work erected to defend the approach to Fort Sumter. It was intended for eleven guns and was not entirely finished even as originally designed. 6. A small work (Fort Ripley) equidistant from Castle Pinkney and Fort Johnson, not yet armed, but planned for five heavy guns *en barbette.* 7. Castle Pinkney, armed with nine 24 pounders and one 24 pounder rifled, a work of no value for the defense of the city. 8. Fort Johnson, near the north-east end of James Island, with one rifled 32 pounder, likewise of very little importance.

Some batteries had also been arranged and begun for the defense of the city proper, but no heavy guns had been procured for them, and none were disposable. The floating boom was incomplete, and was destined to remain so. I never looked upon it as a serious barrier to the enemy's fleet. The defensive line on James Island from the Wappoo to Secessionville, consisted of "a system of forts, redoubts, redans and *crémaillères,*" very injudiciously located, except Fort Pemberton on the Stono and some few of the redoubts. There were also two batteries on the Ashley River for its protection and that of the entrance of Dill's Creek and the Wappoo. One of them had no guns; the other, at Lawton's, was armed with four 32 pounders but could be of little use. The works at Secessionville, which were poorly devised and poorly executed were still unfinished. Their armament was two 8 inch naval guns, one 18 pounder howitzer, six 32 pounders, one 32 pounder rifle, two 24 pounder rifles, and two 10 inch mortars.

The line of defenses constructed on the Neck to protect the city from a land attack on the north side, was made up of a continuous "bastion line," which was not suitable to the site where it had been located.

The total number of troops of all arms in South Carolina at that time was as follows:

Infantry	6,564
Artillery in position	1,787
Field artillery	1,379
Cavalry	2,817
	12,547
Adding the number of troops then in the State of Georgia, to wit	7,189
The aggregate force in the whole Department amounted on the 24th of September, 1862, to	19,736 men.

At my request, before being relieved, General Pemberton gave an estimate of the minimum force requisite in his opinion for the Department: It was of forty-three thousand six hundred and fifty (43,650) men of all arms. I adopted it as the basis of my future calculations.*

On the 30th of September and again on the 2d of October, I urgently called on the War Department for an increase of heavy ordnance for the works intended to command the anchorage in the Charleston harbor, and the entrance into the Ashley and Cooper rivers. I asked for twenty 10 inch columbiads, five banded, rifled, 42 pounders, and five banded, 32 pounders; or "fifteen of the first quality, ten of the second, and five or more of the third." In my second communication to General Cooper above referred to, I said: "I cannot place before the War Department in too strong language the vital importance to us, if the harbor is to be retained, of increasing the armament of heavy guns to the greatest possible extent as soon as practicable and in all possible ways." † The Secretary of War, Mr. Randolph, had used every endeavor to assist me in my efforts to be ready for the impending attack of the enemy. But he had just at this time, unfortunately, tendered his resignation, and had been succeeded in office by Mr. Seddon. From that moment my demands on the War Department seemed to meet with much less favor, and I had to rely, in a great measure, on the scant resources of my command to accomplish the work necessary for the safety of the city of Charleston. The State authorities, and in fact the whole people of South Carolina, were equally anxious with myself for the rapid completion of my preparations and afforded me every assistance in their power, though I was never able to procure the necessary amount of slave-labor required for work on the fortifications. By great exertion and with no assistance from the government, was executed under my orders the rifling and banding of guns otherwise too inferior for the proper armament of our works. This was done "at the rate of one gun per two and a half days," whereas it had required "thirty-five days" to remodel each gun, under the supervision of the War Department.‡

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* See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxvi, p. 9.

† See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," Appendix to vol. II, chap. xxvi, p. 440.

‡ See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxviii, p. 49.

My anxiety was all the greater, that the enemy before making his final attack upon Charleston, and with a view no doubt to distract attention from it, had been for some time past preparing a descent along the Southern Atlantic coast, though he afterward appeared to have altered his original purpose and to be directing his course toward Cape Lookout. With the inadequate force under me, my only hope was to endeavor to frustrate any demonstration that might be attempted within the limits of my own extensive command, and yet the War Department, through the new Secretary of War, was at that very time, and against repeated protests on my part, depleting it of troops to re-enforce other points.

The approaches to Charleston were five in number: 1. The enemy could land a large force to the northward, at or in the close vicinity of Bull's Bay, and from thence marching across the country could take possession of Mount Pleasant and all the north shore of the inner harbor. 2. A large force of the enemy could also land to the southward, destroy the Charleston and Savannah Railroad and invest Charleston in the rear. These two avenues of approach, however, were not likely to be adopted by the enemy as the strength of his land force would not have justified such an attempt, unaided by his iron-clads and gun-boats. The co-operation of the Federal fleet was possible for either of the other three modes of approach, namely: James Island, Sullivan's Island and Morris Island. 3. Of these the approach by James Island was unquestionably the one to be most apprehended. The Confederate troops stationed there were insufficient in number and had to defend "a long, defective and irregular line of works." The enemy after overpowering them could have constructed batteries which would have controlled the inner harbor, taken in rear our outer lines of defenses, opened fire directly against Charleston itself, thus forcing an almost immediate surrender. 4. By Sullivan's Island the approach was also a very important one. In taking it Fort Sumter might have been silenced and the inner harbor thrown open to the enemy's iron-clad fleet. 5. The approach by Morris Island was, as afterward proved, the least dangerous to us. It involved none of the contingencies threatened by the other modes of attack. It had always been my opinion, however, that the enemy would elect to make his approach by that route, for the reason that being already in possession of Folly Island, which was in close proximity to Morris Island, he would thereby enjoy certain facilities for the movements of his troops; while close at hand lay the harbor of Edisto, convenient as a shelter for his fleet. The seizure of Morris Island would also be a great encouragement to the North.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to give more than a cursory glance over the many and radical changes effected by me, or to detail the amount of work done to put the department, and notably the harbor of Charleston, in a state of readiness for the formidable attack almost daily expected. The preparations of the North were upon a scale of such magnitude, with engines of war "*such as the hand of man had never yet put afloat,*" that they had consumed more time than was at first anticipated. Hence the delay that ensued; hence the opportunity afforded me to perfect our means of resistance.

The extension of my territorial command by the addition of "that part of Florida east of the Appalachicola River,"* which had increased my responsibility, was another reason for congratulation that the enemy was not yet ready to effect what, with a view to convince the European powers of its ability to "*crush the Rebellion,*" the Federal Government had all but promised Mr. Adams, U. S. Minister to England, it would soon accomplish, namely, the capture of Fort Sumter and the destruction of Charleston.

Weeks and months went by, during which I succeeded in almost doubling the strength of Sumter, of Moultrie, and of all the defensive works of the harbor, including Battery Wagner, which was thus almost entirely rebuilt. I also established along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, a continuous line of signal (flag) stations by means of which constant information was furnished Department Head-quarters of the exact movement and of the least change that took place in the Federal fleet. I multiplied the laying out of torpedoes in all navigable streams liable to be run up by Federal gun-boats and other craft, and gave close attention to the rope obstructions dividing the outer and inner harbors. I likewise used my best endeavors, and importuned the War and Navy Departments, to have constructed a few "torpedo-rams," on the model of Captain F. D. Lee, with which it was my firm conviction more injury could be inflicted upon the Federal fleet than could be hoped for from all such gun-boats as the government was then having built for the protection of Charleston harbor. Speaking of these torpedo-rams, and while expressing my confidence in their ability to drive off the Federal fleet and thus raise the blockade of Charleston, I wrote as follows to Governor Pickens: . . . "I fear not to put on record, now, that half a dozen of these torpedo-rams, of small comparative cost, would keep this harbor clear of four times the number of the enemy's iron-clad gun-boats." And, as early as October 31, 1862, in a letter to the Hon. S. B. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, I said: . . . . "I thank you for the prompt and favorable support you have given me in the desire to construct one of Captain F. D. Lee's marine torpedo-rams, which, I think, is destined ere long to change the system of naval warfare. . . ." That this appreciation was not exaggerated has been shown by many results accomplished at a subsequent date by torpedo-boats, in our own war and in naval encounters between foreign nations, notably, during the late Franco-Chinese war. It is but simple justice to add, that from the first experiments made, in April, 1861, against Fort Sumter with an iron-clad floating battery and an iron-clad land battery, the respective inventions of Captain John Randolph Hamilton, formerly of the U. S. N., and of Mr. C. H. Steven, afterward Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army, and both from South Carolina, is attributable also the revolution in naval architecture and armaments, by which iron-clad war vessels have entirely superseded the now almost obsolete wooden men-of-war.

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* Gen. Cooper's telegram to Gen. Beauregard dated Richmond, Oct. 7, 1862.

There were two Confederate gun-boats (iron-clad rams) at that time in Charleston, the "Palmetto State" and the "Chicora." Captain Rutledge, C. S. N., commanded the first, and Captain Tucker, C. S. N., commanded the second. Besides these there were three small harbor steamers to be used as tenders for them. The "Palmetto State" and the "Chicora" were, unfortunately, of too heavy a draught to be of much practical use in the defense of the harbor. They were also lacking in motive power, consequently in speed, and their guns, on account of the smallness of the port-holes, could not be sufficiently elevated and were of but very short range. Ably officered and manned as they were known to be, they proved of real service once only during the whole siege of Charleston. It was on this occasion:

While our work of armament and of general preparation was progressing on all points of the Department, it occurred to me that our two gun-boats, inferior as they were in many respects, could, nevertheless, by a bold night attack on the wooden fleet of the enemy, cause considerable damage and compel it to leave its anchorage outside the bar. And the time to do it in, I suggested, was before the threatened arrival of the Federal monitors. Commodore Ingraham agreed with me, and immediately ordered the attack. It took place on the early morning of January 31st. The "Palmetto State," on board of which for the occasion was Commodore Ingraham himself, steamed out directly toward the Federal fleet followed by the "Chicora," and fell upon and fired into the steamer "Mercedita" before the latter had fully realized the peril she was in. Disabled and reported to be sinking, the "Mercedita" immediately surrendered. The "Palmetto State" left her and went in pursuit of a second and of a third Federal steamer, but was soon out-distanced by their superior speed. On the other hand the "Chicora" had not remained idle: she had set fire to a schooner-rigged propeller, engaged and crippled the "Quaker City" and run into and fired the "Keystone State," which then and there struck her flag. The other vessels composing the blockading squadron, seeing the fate of their consorts and fearing the same one for themselves, hurriedly steamed out to sea and entirely disappeared. The outer harbor remained in the full possession of the two Confederate rams. Not a Federal sail was visible, even with spy-glasses, for over twenty-four hours. It is, therefore, strictly correct to state that the blockade of the port of Charleston had been raised, for the time being, as was certified to by Commodore Ingraham, by the foreign consuls then in Charleston, and by myself.

It is evident that had the seaworthy qualities of the two Confederate gun-boats been greater, and could we have given them the co-operation of the torpedo-rams I had anxiously endeavored to have constructed, the blockade of Charleston would not have been at that time and for months afterward, an impediment to our free and open intercourse with the outer world. And it is simple history to add that, even as it was, through private enterprise which should have tempted our government to a bolder course, lines of blockade-running steamers entered and left the port of Charleston at regular, stated intervals, up to nearly the very close of the war. Almost at the moment of this naval attack on the Federal fleet, occurred another incident of note in the operations around Charleston.

General Pemberton, in abandoning the outer system of defensive works for an inner and, in his opinion, safer line (as has already been explained), had caused to be removed from Cole's Island eleven guns of heavy caliber which served to guard the entrance of the Stono River. This barrier removed, the Federal gun-boats had free ingress and egress to the river, and as often as they chose to do so plied up with impunity as near to Fort Pemberton as safety allowed, harassing our camps on James and John's Islands, by the fire of their long-ranged rifled guns. The "Isaac Smith," carrying nine heavy guns, was one of these. Desirous of putting a stop to such incursions I called the Commander of the First Military District * to a conference at Department Head-quarters, and instructed him to at once organize an expedition and have erected masked batteries at designated points on the banks of the Stono, near where the Federal gun-boat habitually passed and occasionally remained overnight. The instructions were to allow her to steam by unmolested as far as she chose to go, then to open fire and cut off her retreat. The expedition was intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph A. Yates, First South Carolina Artillery (regulars), and was most successfully conducted. On the evening of January 30th, the "Isaac Smith" came up the Stono and leisurely anchored just above our masked batteries. Fire was now opened upon her. She endeavored to make her escape, returning our fire as she passed, but was so roughly handled, and at such close range, that she dropped anchor and surrendered. Her armament consisted of one 30 pounder Parrott, and eight 8 inch heavy columbiads. Her crew was of eleven officers and one hundred and eight men. Upon examination the damage she had sustained was found to be slight. She was thoroughly repaired and, under the name of the "Stono," became a guard-boat in the Charleston harbor, with Captain W. J. Hartstein, C. S. N., as commander.

As a corollary to this engagement, on the morning of February 1st, another Federal iron-clad, afterward ascertained to be the single-turreted monitor "Montauk" appeared before Fort McAllister, at Genesis Point, in the Georgia District; and, accompanied by

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* **Brigadier-General R. S. Ripley.**

three gun-boats and a mortar-boat, approached to within a short distance of the work, and opened a heavy fire upon it. The action was very brisk on both sides. The parapet of the fort was breached, and both guns and gunners fully exposed. Nevertheless, after a four-hours' combat, the monitor slowly retired, evidently in a damaged condition. The importance of the success of this engagement lay in the demonstrated fact, that iron-clads were not as formidable as they were supposed to be against sand batteries. As yet, their final test of invulnerability had not been fully ascertained. Reflecting upon the result of that encounter I wrote to Brigadier-General Ripley, February 8, 1863:

"GENERAL—The recent attack of the enemy's iron clad monitor "Montauk" on the battery at Genesis Point (the first day at about one mile, and the second at about eight hundred or one thousand yards) would seem to indicate that the enemy is not so confident of the invulnerability of this kind of naval vessels. But I consider also that the attack on Sumter, whenever it takes place, will probably be made at long range with their heaviest guns and mortars. This being admitted, they will necessarily attack it where it is weakest—*i. e.*, the gorge, south-east angle, and east face—taking their position close along the eastern shore of Morris Island, after silencing Battery Wagner. By adopting this plan their steamers, gun-boats, etc., would be, moreover, farther removed from the batteries of Sullivan's Island.

"The enemy may also establish land rifled and mortar batteries on the sand hills along the sea-shore of Morris Island, at the distance of from one to two miles from Sumter, as was done in the reduction of Fort Pulaski last year. He might possibly send one or more monitors during the night to take a position in the small channel north of Cummings' Point, within close range, to batter down the gorge of Sumter, and endeavor to blow up the magazines.

"That mode of attack, being the one most to be apprehended, should be guarded against as well as our limited means will permit—first, by transferring as many heavy rifled guns as can be spared from the other faces of the fort to the gorge, angle, and face already referred to; and the Brooke's rifled gun now on its way here from Richmond must likewise be put there, substituting in its place at Fort Johnson the 10 inch gun now expected from that city, so locating it as to fire towards Morris Island when required; secondly, a strong fieldwork should be thrown up as soon as sufficient labor can be procured on Cummings' Point, open in the gorge towards Fort Sumter, to act besides as a kind of traverse to this work from the fire of the batteries located by the enemy along the sea-shore of Morris Island. The Cummings' Point Battery should be armed with the heaviest and longest ranged guns we may be able to obtain for that purpose.

"The introduction of heavy rifled guns and iron-clad steamers in the attack of masonry forts has greatly changed the condition of the problem applicable to Fort Sumter when it was built; and we must now use the few and imperfect means at our command to increase its defensive features as far as practicable. The chief engineers of this department and of the State will be ordered to report to you at once, to confer with you, so as to carry out the views expressed by me in this letter.

"Major Harris, Chief Engineer, has received my instructions relative to locating some of the 'Rain's torpedoes' about Cummings's Point and within the harbor, independently of the electrical torpedoes under the charge of Mr. Weldon.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,

"GENL. COMDG."

I was thus minute in my instructions to General Ripley, because, though he was an able artillery officer, I knew that he possessed but scant knowledge, and no experience, of military engineering. My best and almost only assistant for planning the construction of batteries and making the selection of the sites on which they were to be erected, was Major Harris, the chief engineer of the department, on whom I placed the utmost reliance, and who always thoroughly understood and entered into my views. It is an error to state, as I am informed one or two writers have done, even in South Carolina, that the erection of batteries along the shores of the inner harbor, and in the city of Charleston itself, was due to what has been termed the untiring zeal, forethought and engineering ability of General Ripley. My letters of instruction and my official orders to General Ripley, from his arrival in my department up to the time of my leaving it, in April, 1864, conclusively show that those batteries were all planned and located by me, and that I passed upon all questions relative, not only to their armament, but even to the caliber of the guns that were to be placed in them.* I take this broad, formal position, not that I intend to detract from the merit of that officer, but because I desire to occupy before the country the position which is rightfully mine.

My fear was that an attack upon Sumter might be attempted at night. One or two monitors, I thought, during a dark night could approach the fort within easy range, and open fire upon its weakest face with almost certain impunity. Sumter, even at night, could be sufficiently seen by the monitors to be seriously damaged by their fire; whereas the monitors being very low in the water could only be visible from the fort by the flash of their guns.

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* See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chapters xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, and the appendices to the same.

To guard against such an attempt of the enemy, on the first of March, I wrote as follows to Commodore Ingraham:

> "SIR—The movements of the enemy in Port Royal harbor, yesterday, looked suspicious and have the appearance of an early movement of some sort. Thus forewarned it will appear assuredly the part of prudence to be on the watch. I must therefore request that the Confederate steamer "Stono" should take her position as a guard-boat, in advance of the forts, as far as practicable to-night, and thereafter every night for the present."

I also caused a train of cars to be held in readiness at the Pocotaligo Station to bring such re-enforcements as might be drawn from the military district commanded by General Walker; and I informed the latter that "all his movements should look to the final defense of Charleston, where I would concentrate all my troops when required."

On the 28th of February, the enemy again attacked Fort McAllister, with an iron-clad, three gun-boats and a mortar-boat, and also, on the 3d of March, with three monitors. He was evidently trying his hand before his final venture against Fort Sumter. But the result must have sorely disappointed him; for notwithstanding the vigor of these two engagements—the first lasting more than two hours, the second at least seven—the Confederate battery was found, after inspection, to have sustained no material damage. The next day (4th of March), I informed the War Department of what had occurred and used the following language:

> "Fort McAllister has again repulsed enemy's attack. Iron-clads retired at 8 P.M., yesterday; mortar-boats shelled until 6 o'clock this morning. All damage repaired during night; 8 inch columbiads mounted, and fort as good as ever. No casualties reported. Result encouraging. Enemy's vessels still in sight."

On the 5th of April, the enemy's force had materially increased in the Stono and the North Edisto. His iron-clads, including the frigate "New Ironsides," and eight monitors had crossed the outer bar and cast anchor in the main channel. No doubt could be had of their intention.

Two days later—on the 7th—a date ever memorable in the annals of the late war, the signal for the attack on Fort Sumter, so long anticipated and so long delayed, was finally given.

First steamed up, in line, one following the other, the "Weehawken," the "Passaic," the "Montauk" and the "Patapsco"; four single-turreted monitors. The "New Ironsides," the flag-ship of the fleet, came next. Then came the "Catskill," the "Nantucket," the "Nahant"; three other single-turreted monitors. The double-turreted "Keokuk" was the eighth, and closed the line. Experienced and gallant officers commanded them all. Rear-Admiral Dupont was on board the flag-ship. Other Federal steamers stood outside the bar, but evidently with no intent to take part in the action. They were the "Canandaigua," the "Housatonic," the "Unadilla," the "Wissahickon" and the "Huron." The armament of the others, that is to say, of all the iron-clads that were to take part in the engagement, consisted of thirty-three guns "of the heaviest caliber ever used in war," up to that time, "to wit, 15 and 11 inch Dahlgren guns, and 8 inch rifled pieces." *

The attacking squadron was "to pass up the main ship channel without returning the fire of the batteries on Morris Island, unless signal should be made to commence action." Fire was to be opened "on Fort Sumter when within easy range."

The "left or north-east face" of the fort was to be engaged, "at a distance of from one thousand to eight hundred yards, firing low, and aiming at the center embrasures." The officers and men were instructed "to carefully avoid wasting a shot." "Precision rather than rapidity of fire," was the injunction made to all.

Such was, in substance, the laconic but expressive language of the plan of attack and order of battle prepared and adopted by Rear-Admiral Dupont, and distributed among his subordinate commanders.

Sumter was his objective. It was doomed, and must be reduced. "*After the reduction of Fort Sumter,*" continued the same order of battle, "it is probable the next point of attack will be the batteries on Morris Island."

It is clear that Admiral Dupont had no doubt of his ability to carry out his programme; and that the only question open to his mind was, which of the other works around the harbor he would reduce after the fall of Sumter. The Admiral had little idea while thus predicting the result of his attack, that on the very same day and scarcely half an hour after firing his first gun, he would be forced to acknowledge—and his officers likewise—"the utter impracticability of taking the city of Charleston with the force under his command"; and that "a renewal of the attack . . . would be attended with disastrous results, involving the loss" of the whole South Carolina coast.

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* See "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxx, p. 67.

To oppose this formidable array of new and reputed invulnerable floating batteries, gotten up at such heavy cost and with every anticipation of success by the Federal government, we had, on our side: 1. Fort Sumter, under Colonel Alfred Rhett, with a garrison of seven companies of the First South Carolina Artillery (regulars); the guns it brought into action on that day, were two 7 inch Brookes, four 10 inch columbiads, four 8 inch navy guns, seven banded and rifled 42 pounders, one banded and rifled 32 pounder, thirteen smooth-bore 32 pounders, and seven 10 inch sea-coast mortars—in all, forty-four guns and mortars. 2. Fort Moultrie, under Colonel William Butler, with five companies of the First South Carolina Infantry (regulars); the guns engaged were, nine 8 inch columbiads, five banded and rifled 32 pounders, five smooth-bore 32 pounders, and two 10 inch mortars—in all, twenty-one guns and mortars. 3. Battery Bee, on Sullivan's Island, under Lieutenant-Colonel Simkins, with three companies of the First South Carolina Infantry (regulars), and six guns—five 10 inch, and one 8 inch, columbiads. 4. Battery Beauregard, under Captain Sitgreaves, with two companies of regulars, —one from Sumter and one from Moultrie—and three guns: an 8 inch columbiad, and two thirty-two pounders, rifled. 8. Battery Wagner, under Major Huger, with two companies of regulars from Sumter. There, only one gun was used—a 32 pounder, rifled. 6. Cummings' Point Battery, under Lieutenant Lesesne, with a detachment of regulars from Fort Sumter. Two guns were engaged—one 10 inch columbiad and one 8 inch Dahlgren.

The number of guns actually engaged on our side against the iron-clad fleet, on the 7th of April, was therefore seventy-six, of which nine were mortars.

Two companies of infantry had been placed on Sullivan's and Morris Islands, to guard against a land attack. Commodore Ingraham had also been cautioned to hold the gun-boats "Palmetto State" and "Chicora" in readiness, to assist our batteries in case of need; but they were not needed.

The approach of the monitors was slow and cautious. They dreaded the rope obstructions which were known to be connected with heavily charged torpedoes. But the report afterward circulated—to which Mr. Seward gave the weight of his official name—that the "rope obstructions in the channel fouled the screws of the iron-clads," was entirely erroneous. Not one of the iron-clads ever approached nearer than six hundred yards to any of these obstructions, with the exception of the "Keokuk," "which dropped in, to about three hundred yards" of them before being able to "get again under way."* How, therefore, could the screws or propellers of the "Weehawken," the leading monitor, or of any of the others, have "*fallen into these entanglements,*" to quote an expression used at the time?

At three o'clock P.M., the first shot was fired. It came from Fort Moultrie, and was aimed at the "Weehawken." No heed was taken of it. The turreted iron-clad kept on her way until within fourteen hundred yards of Fort Sumter, when she paused a moment and opened fire on it. Fully two minutes elapsed; and Sumter then replied, firing by battery. The other monitors now steamed up, taking their respective positions, but with apparent hesitation and as far out of range as possible. The action had become general; Sumter being the central point of the attack. An occasional shot was sent at Moultrie, an occasional one at Batteries, Bee and Beauregard.

The spectacle of this singular combat between what appeared to be nine floating iron turrets—for the hulls of the monitors were almost wholly submerged—and the grand old fortress, that barred their way and defied them all, was, indeed, an impressive one, not to be easily forgotten. It fully deserved the epithet of "*sublimely terrific*" afterward applied to it by a Northern writer who had witnessed the scene.†

After a lapse of about three-quarters of an hour, Admiral Dupont's flag-ship, the "New Ironsides," advanced to within some seventeen hundred yards of Sumter, evidently with a view to breach its walls. But the concentrated fire from our batteries forced her to withdraw hurriedly out of range, as the "Passaic" had already done, in an apparent crippled condition. The fire of Sumter was so accurate that two other monitors were compelled to retire. At four o'clock P.M., the "Keokuk" advanced alone to within nine hundred yards of Sumter, but with no better success than her consorts. She soon withdrew, badly worsted. In his report Colonel Rhett says: "The wrought-iron bolts from a 7 inch Brooke gun, were plainly seen to penetrate her turret and hull, and she retired in forty minutes riddled and apparently almost disabled." The whole attacking squadron now slowly withdrew from an engagement which had lasted not more than two hours and twenty-five minutes, but which had been, for the enemy, a most disastrous defeat. The following are extracts from reports of officers in command or on duty, that day, including portions of an official communication of mine forwarded a few weeks afterward to the War Department. They will aid in a better understanding of the various features of the attack just described.

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* See letter to Gen. Cooper, dated Oct. 15, 1863, in "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxx, p. 71.

† "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. II, chap. xxx, p. 68.

Colonel Rhett said:

> "The enemy's fire was mostly ricochet and not very accurate; most of their shot passed over the fort and several to the right and left. The greater portion of their shots were from thirteen to fourteen hundred yards distant, which appeared to be the extent of their effective range; some shots were from a greater distance and did not reach the fort at all."

General Ripley said:

> "The action was purely of artillery—forts and batteries against the iron-clad vessels of the enemy—other means of defense, obstructions and torpedoes not having come into play. Fort Sumter was the principal object of the attack, and to that garrison, . . . special credit is due for sustaining the shock, and, with their powerful armament, contributing principally to the repulse."

Major Echols, of the Corps of Engineers, in his report to Major Harris, Chief Engineer of the department, used this language:

> "The first turret opened fire at five minutes past three, and moved backward, thus developing their maneuver of attack. . . . The second turret passed the first, fired, moved backward; the first moved forward, passed the second, fired, and backed, then retired from action; the other turrets maneuvering in the same relative manner, each time nearing or receding a little from the fort, in order not to present a permanent target. . . . The 'Keokuk' sank off the south end of Morris Island, at half-past eight o'clock the following morning (April 8). Her smoke-stack and turrets are now visible at low water. From her wreck floated ashore a book, a spy-glass, and pieces of furniture bespattered with blood, and small fragments of iron sticking in them. . . .
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> "The firing of the turrets was timed; they discharged generally at intervals of ten minutes. . . . Allowing six of them constantly engaged, they delivered eighty-seven shots; one fired twice and retired; the 'Keokuk' fired three or four times, and the 'Ironsides' about seventeen—making the total

number fired by the enemy about one hundred and ten, which were principally directed at Sumter.* Her walls show the effect of fifty-five missiles—shot, shells and fragments. . . .

"The casualties are slight. At Sumter five men were wounded by fragments of masonry and wood. . . . At Moultrie one man was killed by the falling of the flag-staff when shot away. At Battery Wagner an ammunition chest . . . exploded from the blast of the gun, killing three men, mortally wounding one, slightly wounding Lieutenant Steadman, in charge of the gun, and three men. . . .

. . . "On the following day (April 8) the fleet lay inside the bar, in the same line of battle in which they approached—the first one about two miles and a half from Sumter, and one and a half miles from Morris Island. Men were visible all day on the turret of one, hammering, evidently repairing her plating. . . . About noon one of the turrets † went south, probably to Port Royal, for repairs, etc.

"The 'Ironsides' has kept up a full head of steam since the engagement, as can be seen by her constantly blowing off. Three holes are distinctly seen in her stern, two just above the water line. . . .

"The hull of the turrets in running trim stands about two feet above water-level, carrying a whistle, smoke-stack, and stanchions for swinging a small boat on deck, with a light railing around it. When cleared for action she is submerged almost to the water-level—the other articles all removed flush with the deck."

Major Harris, the Chief Engineer, in his report said:

"The manner in which the fort withstood the bombardment is a matter of congratulation, and encourages us to believe that the repairs that have been made, and the measures now in progress to strengthen and protect its walls, will enable the fort to withstand a much more formidable bombardment with like good results. . . . The sinking of the 'Keokuk' and the discomfiture of the iron-clads have established their vulnerability to our heavy projectiles at a range, say, of from nine to twelve hundred yards."

In the communication sent by me to the War Department, dated May 24, recapitulating the various phases of the attack of April 7, I made the following statement:

"The action lasted two hours and twenty-five minutes; but the chief damage is reported by the enemy to have been done in thirty minutes. The 'Keokuk' did not come nearer than nine hundred yards of Fort Sumter. She was destroyed. The 'New Ironsides' could not stand the fire at the range of a mile. Four of her consorts, monitors, were disabled at the distance of not less than thirteen hundred yards. They had only reached the gorge of the harbor, never within it, and were baffled and driven back before reaching our lines of torpedoes and obstructions, which had been constructed as an ultimate defensive resort as far as they could be provided. The heaviest batteries had not been employed; therefore it may be accepted as shown, that these vaunted monitor batteries, though formidable engines of war, after all are not invulnerable or invincible, and may be destroyed or defeated by heavy ordnance properly placed and skillfully handled. In reality they have not materially altered the military relations of forts and ships.

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* The number of shots fired by the Federal iron-clads was from 151 to 154.

† The "Passaic," towed to Port Royal for repairs.

"On this occasion the monitors operated under the most favorable circumstances. The day was calm; and the water, consequently, was as stable as that of a river. Their guns were fired with deliberation, doubtless by trained artillerists. According to the enemy's statements the fleet fired one hundred and fifty-one shots, eight of which were ascribed to the 'New Ironsides,' three to the 'Keokuk', and but nine to the 'Passaic,' which was so badly damaged. Not more than thirty-four shots * took effect on the walls of Fort Sumter—a broad mark—which, with the number of discharges, suggests that the monitor arrangement, as yet, is not convenient for accuracy or celerity of fire.

"Fort Moultrie and other batteries were not touched in a way to be considered, while in return they threw one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine shots. At the same time Sumter discharged eight hundred and ten shots; making the total number of shots fired two thousand two hundred and nine, of which the enemy reports that five hundred and twenty struck the different vessels—a most satisfactory accuracy, when the smallness of the target is considered.

. . . "Too much praise cannot be given to the officers and men in all the works engaged, for their spirit, gallantry and discipline, which indeed I had a right to expect, from the high soldierly condition into which those garrisons had been brought by their officers. My expectations were fully realized; and the country, as well as the State of South Carolina, may well be proud of the men who first met and vanquished the iron-mailed, terribly-armed armada, so confidently prepared, and sent forth by the enemy to certain and easy victory."

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

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* Major Echols's report puts the number at *fifty-five*, which it is conceded is the correct one.

THE FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE.

It is quite impossible, at this early date, to say with any decided emphasis what the future of the colored people will be. Speculations of that kind, thus far, have only reflected the mental bias and education of the many who have essayed to solve the problem.

We all know what the negro has been as a slave. In this relation we have his experience of two hundred and fifty years before us, and can easily know the character and qualities he has developed and exhibited during this long and severe ordeal. In his new relation to his environments, we see him only in the twilight of twenty years of semi-freedom; for he has scarcely been free long enough to outgrow the marks of the lash on his back and the fetters on his limbs. He stands before us, to-day, physically, a maimed and mutilated man. His mother was lashed to agony before the birth of her babe, and the bitter anguish of the mother is seen in the countenance of her offspring. Slavery has twisted his limbs, shattered his feet, deformed his body and distorted his features. He remains black, but no longer comely. Sleeping on the dirt floor of the slave cabin in infancy, cold on one side and warm on the other, a forced circulation of blood on the one side and chilled and retarded circulation on the other, it has come to pass that he has not the vertical bearing of a perfect man. His lack of symmetry, caused by no fault of his own, creates a resistance to his progress which cannot well be overestimated, and should be taken into account, when measuring his speed in the new race of life upon which he has now entered. As I have often said before, we should not measure the negro from the heights which the white race has attained, but from the depths from which he has come. You will not find Burke, Grattan, Curran and O'Connell among the oppressed and famished poor of the famine-stricken districts of Ireland. Such men come of comfortable antecedents and sound parents.

Laying aside all prejudice in favor of or against race, looking at the negro as politically and socially related to the American people generally, and measuring the forces arrayed against him, I do not see how he can survive and flourish in this country as a distinct and separate race, nor do I see how he can be removed from the country either by annihilation or expatriation.

Sometimes I have feared that, in some wild paroxysm of rage, the white race, forgetful of the claims of humanity and the precepts of the Christian religion, will proceed to slaughter the negro in wholesale, as some of that race have attempted to slaughter Chinamen, and as it has been done in detail in some districts of the Southern States. The grounds of this fear, however, have in some measure decreased, since the negro has largely disappeared from the arena of Southern politics, and has betaken himself to industrial pursuits and the acquisition of wealth and education, though even here, if over-prosperous, he is likely to excite a dangerous antagonism ; for the white people do not easily tolerate the presence among them of a race more prosperous than themselves. The negro as a poor ignorant creature does not contradict the race pride of the white race. He is more a source of amusement to that race than an object of resentment. Malignant resistance is augmented as he approaches the plane occupied by the white race, and yet I think that that resistance will gradually yield to the pressure of wealth, education, and high character.

My strongest conviction as to the future of the negro therefore is, that he will not be expatriated nor annihilated, nor will he forever remain a separate and distinct race from the people around him, but that he will be absorbed, assimilated, and will only appear finally, as the Phœnicians now appear on the shores of the Shannon, in the features of a blended race. I cannot give at length my reasons for this conclusion, and perhaps the reader may think that the wish is father to the thought, and may in his wrath denounce my conclusion as utterly impossible. To such I would say, tarry a little, and look at the facts. Two hundred years ago there were two distinct and separate streams of human life running through this country. They stood at opposite extremes of ethnological classification : all black on the one side, all white on the other. Now, between these two extremes, an intermediate race has arisen, which is neither white nor black, neither Caucasian nor

Ethiopian, and this intermediate race is constantly increasing. I know it is said that marital alliance between these races is unnatural, abhorrent and impossible ; but exclamations of this kind only shake the air. They prove nothing against a stubborn fact like that which confronts us daily and which is open to the observation of all. If this blending of the two races were impossible we should not have at least one-fourth of our colored population composed of persons of mixed blood, ranging all the way from a dark-brown color to the point where there is no visible admixture. Besides, it is obvious to common sense that there is no need of the passage of laws, or the adoption of other devices, to prevent what is in itself impossible.

Of course this result will not be reached by any hurried or forced processes. It will not arise out of any theory of the wisdom of such blending of the two races. If it comes at all, it will come without shock or noise or violence of any kind, and only in the fullness of time, and it will be so adjusted to surrounding conditions as hardly to be observed. I would not be understood as advocating intermarriage between the two races. I am not a propagandist, but a prophet. I do not say that what I say *should* come to pass, but what I think is likely to come to pass, and what is inevitable. While I would not be understood as advocating the desirability of such a result, I would not be understood as deprecating it. Races and varieties of the human family appear and disappear, but humanity remains and will remain forever. The American people will one day be truer to this idea than now, and will say with Scotia's inspired son :

"A man's a man for a' that."

When that day shall come, they will not pervert and sin against the verity of language as they now do by calling a man of mixed blood, a negro ; they will tell the truth. It is only prejudice against the negro which calls every one, however nearly connected with the white race, and however remotely connected with the negro race, a negro. The motive is not a desire to elevate the negro, but to humiliate and degrade those of mixed blood ; not a desire to bring the negro up, but to cast the mulatto and the quadroon down by forcing him below an arbitrary and hated color line. Men of mixed blood in this country apply the name "*negro*" to themselves, not because it is a correct ethnological description, but to seem especially devoted to the black side of their parentage. Hence in some cases they are more noisily opposed to the conclusion to which I have come, than either the white or the honestly black race. The opposition to amalgamation, of which we hear so much on the part of colored people, is for most part the merest affectation, and, will never form an impassable barrier to the union of the two varieties.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

LETTERS TO PROMINENT PERSONS.

No. II.—To Judge Allen G. Thurman.

My Dear Judge Thurman:

To address you by the title which comes most naturally to the lips of those who know you best is to paint in a word the dominant qualities of your nature which made you, by the unanimous verdict of your colleagues of both parties, an acknowledged law-lord of the Senate, before you had sat out one-third part of your first term of service in that august and by no means impressionable body.

It is also, as I shall show, to answer a question which all the country has been asking itself ever since it was first dazzled, not to say dazed, by the brilliant absence of Democratic names of national repute from the lists of President Cleveland's constitutional advisers.

A novelist who should bring to his work the constructive might and ability of an Owen, might throw a flood of light on the subtle diseases which are dissolving the body politic of our modern society, by skillfully developing into an analytical romance the half-forgotten essay of William Hazlitt "On the Look of a Gentleman."

Were an American Hazlitt to attempt a similar essay "On the Look of a Judge," he must inevitably draw two portraits. Some of us would recognize in one of those portraits, the large and leonine traits of the late Judge Nelson, and recall with a blush of shame that triumph of the pygmies over the giants which he sought in vain to stay, and which plunged the American people into the Red Sea of Civil War.

All of us, I am sure, would recognize in the other of these portraits, the ample brow, the massive frame, the kindling clear gray eye, under the stress of which, on one remarkable occasion, I saw the glib Mephistopheles of a millionaire conspiracy for rigging legislation go suddenly dumb and limp, creep with fumbling hand to the door-knob and vanish from your presence like a ghost at cock-crow.

Despite your love of hodden-gray, the motto of old "blue and yellow," *judex damnatur cum nolens absolutur,* might well be yours. "Let no guilty man escape" would have been no idle form of words, had it been uttered under the roof of the White House by you; nor does the man live who will venture to say that he believes it would have been possible for any public servant to sit in the same Cabinet with you for twenty minutes after it had been conclusively shown to you that he had used his official authority to re-enforce, with the power and influence of the Federal Government, a suit at law instituted for the benefit of a corporation numbering him amongst its stockholders and its directors.

It is told of Sir Fowell Buxton, the right arm of the great emancipation movement in England, that, upon the eve of the day fixed by him for bringing forward that motion in the House of Commons, which eventually secured the freedom of the West Indian slaves, Lord Althorp, then a member of the Government, and his close personal friend, came to him as he took his seat in the House, and, stating certain considerations of policy, entreated him to defer the motion for a specified time. Buxton listened tranquilly to all the Minister had to say, and then, looking him full in the face, calmly replied:

> "I do not say, Althorp, that rather than trifle with this measure as you suggest, I would allow my head to be cut off; but I do say most emphatically, that rather than do so I would certainly see your head cut off."

This story has more than once recurred to my mind when I have remembered your brief but conclusive response to the pleas for indulgence urged on you, in perfect good faith, by a friend of yours and of mine, who came to you with the request that you mitigate your determination that the Pacific Railway Companies should be held to the extreme letter of their obligations, and that a halt should be called in that career of corruption in the course of which, as you so convincingly demonstrated to the people of the West during the great preliminary campaign which resulted in the election of Mr. Tilden to the presidency, "these companies, principally ruled and governed by certain members of Congress, had made it absolutely certain that the people of the United States must be defrauded of not less than fifty millions of dollars."

When our friend had exhausted the quiver of arguments, you shook out that historic red bandanna, with a gesture familiar to the Senate on many a hot field-day of debate, and exclaimed :

> "It can't be done! it can't be done! It is idle to talk about it! There isn't an iota of reason why any consideration should be shown to these people; and I tell you, once for all, that, so far as I am concerned, all the wealth in the Comstock lode would not make me entertain for one moment the thought of remitting in their favor one penny of their dues to the Government and the people."

I dare say you have never thought of this conversation since it occurred, for though I have heard you tell a thousand tales of your exploits as an angler since you established your reputation as a master in that gentle craft by sending a seventy-five pound cat-fish in ice all the way from Columbia in Ohio to the Oakland House in Maryland, I do not know that either I or any other man ever heard you celebrate your own senatorial chastity, or saw you pose in a toga for a statue of Cato the Censor.

But our friend has not forgotten it ; and it may perhaps surprise you to learn that whispers of it were wafted (not by him), during the winter of 1884–85, from a Pythian shrine on the banks of the Hudson to listening ears at Albany. Monopoly is the chief of cowards, and therefore, also, the chief of eavesdroppers. It has the instincts of a criminal for the faces of a jury. "Some men," Rufus Choate used to say, "we hate for cause, others we hate peremptorily." You have been hated by monopolists from your first entrance upon public life—hated peremptorily before you were hated for cause. How bitterly hated, we saw when your name was brought before the Legislature of Ohio as a candidate for the Senate at the end of your second term.

"It has cost us a power of money," said a well-known manipulator, "but we have beaten that d—d Thurman at last!"

Your intolerance of corruption is deadly because it is instinctive, simple, almost unconscious. No man is more catholic in his tastes, more cordial in his temper, no man less disposed than you to define his social by his political sympathies.

But I am sure it would never have occurred to your practical and prosperous friend, the Senator from West Virginia, to think of asking you, as he asked a bitterly virtuous colleague of yours, to join a certain cavalcade through the mountains of your native state in quest of an opening for railways.

So marked is the unmanageably judicial turn of your mind that I should be half inclined to call the failure of President Cleveland to call upon you, when he was concocting his Cabinet, rather creditable than otherwise, from his then point of view, to his sagacity, could I believe that it was determined by his personal appreciation of your temperament. You were certainly the last man in the world to be invited by a green hand into a domestic orchestra of flutes and soft recorders, precisely because you were the first man in the Democratic party who would have been invited by an experienced Executive into a real Council of constitutional advisers. But, although the influences which wrought upon the mind of President Cleveland, at the time to which I refer, in regard to you, had their roots in party transactions of which President Cleveland is doubtless as innocently ignorant to-day, as he was when he was suddenly precipitated, by the collapse of the schemes of a leading Brooklyn politician, from the Mayoralty of Buffalo into the Executive Mansion at Albany, four short years ago; their immediate effect, so far as he was concerned, unquestionably was to secure to him the undisturbed enjoyment, which he desired, of his own initiative in the administration of the Government. It is not disrespectful to say of him that he began his Presidency like a sort of Robinson Crusoe in politics; and I cannot really imagine a more inconvenient Man Friday than he would have found you to be!

Who can suppose, for example, that, if you had accepted a seat in his future Cabinet, in January, 1885, that remarkable letter on the Silver Question could ever have been dispatched by an incoming President to an outgoing Congress in February? It is an open secret, now, that the incoming President never took the trouble to submit that letter to the consideration of more than one of his selected "advisers" before he caused it to be sent to Washington; nor can any one who was on the spot at the time forget the feverish anxiety, manifested by more than one of those selected and expectant advisers, to get a sight of the document as soon as they learned of its existence. It would have been an awkward thing to take a liberty of that sort with you! Very awkward; and yet how much trouble the new President would have escaped had he encountered at the outset of his administration the wholesome corrective of a collision, on such an issue, with a will so firm and a knowledge of the conditions of Executive success so thorough as yours!

It would have put him at once into touch with the living and practical forces of American politics. It would have thrown into their proper perspective the palavering pedants and the fawning political quacks who trooped to Washington in hordes to practice upon his inexperience; and to assist him in discovering America and verifying the processes of the multiplication table.

Take the vital question of silver and of its functions in our currency. In what respect has the discussion of this question been advanced toward a practical solution, by all the trouble which President Cleveland has taken in regard to it, beyond the point at which you left it when, as a Delegate of the United States to the International Monetary Conference at Paris, you said to your colleagues on the 2d of July, 1881:

> "I believe that Bi-metallism will ultimately prevail; for I cannot see how the vast structure of credit—the most distinguishing feature of modern industry and commerce—can be supported on a gold basis alone. With both metals, its base has often been found too narrow; with but one, it would be, to my apprehension, positively unsafe."

France has appointed a Permanent Commission to watch and promote her interests as a silver-using country in connection with the question of international bi-metallism.

In Germany, the subject is agitating both the imperial Reichstag and the Landtag of Prussia, and the German Chancellor who, in 1881, contented himself with making a Platonic declaration, through the German delegates at Paris, of his belief that a "rehabilitation of silver is desirable," is now engaged, to use his own picturesque language, "in sounding the ground to see whether he may safely venture on it in quest of the free coinage of silver, as he would send a boy before going in to shoot snipe." Even in England the press assures us that men of light and learning in both Houses of Parliament and of both political parties are beginning to admit, what was clear to you long ago, that "the attempt to support the vast structure of credit on a gold basis alone" threatens grave disasters, not only to the commerce and the liberty of the rest of mankind, but to the liberty, more precious in their eyes, of John Bull himself.

Had President Cleveland taken counsel with you before he brought himself into contact so unceremoniously with the mind of his party in the House of Representatives on this subject, who can doubt that he would have found himself to-day infinitely nearer to some working agreement with the national legislature than he now is, or seems likely, within any reasonable time, to be. And this, not because you are a Western man, not because you represent what are called the "ideas of Ohio," but simply because you would have taken into the Cabinet the broad judicial common-sense which in the Senate commanded for you the respect even of your most determined political antagonists. When you advocated in the Senate, on the 6th of February, 1878, the passage of the House bill authorizing the free coinage of the silver dollar and restoring its legal-tender character, your statements of the case covered it like the summing up of a Marshall. You said, with truth, of your speech on that occasion, that it was "as plain," and, with less truth, that it was "as dull, as a pikestaff." You did not find it necessary, to be sure, to preface your statement, as one of your colleagues did, with a kind of rhapsody, or to aver that you "stood awe-struck and almost appalled at the consent of mankind in all ages to use the two precious metals." But you put away all decent pretexts for hot recrimination between the "goldings" and the "silver swindlers" by a simple recital of undeniable facts.

> "Mr. President: Silver and gold have been the metallic money of the world for thousands of years. They were the money of our Constitution. They were the metallic money of the Colonies and afterwards of the United States from the Declaration of Independence until silver was demonetized by mistake, and without the knowledge of the people or Congress, by the enactment of the Revised Statutes in 1874. Both metals are suited to perform the functions of money, and silver does perform that function among a large majority of the human race. Silver is especially suited for small transactions, and may, therefore, properly be called the money of people in humble circumstances. It follows from these premises that the burden of proof rests on those who insist that silver should be demonetized."

Can anybody imagine such a locking of horns as the country has this winter seen at Washington, between a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and the Cabinet of a Democratic President dealing with this subject in the spirit of this judicial statement?

And, putting aside all considerations of party, will any intelligent man deny that such a locking of horns between a party majority in the House of Representatives and a President elected by the voters whom that party majority represents, is a thing undesirable in itself and dangerously inconsistent with the smooth and prosperous play of the machinery of our government?

You are too fond of and too familiar with the best literature of France to need to be reminded that every man must have "the defects of his qualities." I doubt not you made out this great truth by the light of your mother-wit years ago when, at Chillicothe, that fair young exile of sunny France led you with a gentle hand through the thorny mysteries of Noël and Chapsal into the pleasant gardens and woodlands of La Fontaine. You will not quarrel with me now, therefore, for citing, in illustration of it, the part, such as it was, which you were led into taking in the performances of the Electoral Commission of 1877. Nothing, I am sure, but your judicial love of a tribunal and your lawyer-like faith in legal contrivances could have seduced you into listening to the specious proposition of your colleague from Vermont. I firmly believe that you never for a moment imagined it to fall within the compass of things possible that a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States could be constrained or cajoled into playing the part actually played in that scandalous transaction by Mr. Justice Bradley. You thought the interests of justice and the rights of the people safer, I remember, when they passed into his hands than they had been in the hands of that ponderous yet nimble son of Illinois, Mr. Justice Davis, who whisked his ambition and his avoirdupois so suddenly and so deftly from the bench into the Senate Chamber—for you believed Bradley to be the better lawyer of the two, and the more loyal to the law.

"He can be trusted" you said to one of the keenest and most skeptical of Mr. Tilden's counsel,—"he can be trusted. In the Grant Parish case, reported in the second of Wood's Reports for the Fifth Circuit, he decided some provisions of the Enforcement Acts to be unconstitutional. He knows the law of Louisiana thoroughly. He knows the condition of the state. He has been upon that circuit ever since his elevation to the bench, and I am sure we can trust him."

I can see you, now, as you sat at that fatal table in the old Senate Chamber, then the Chamber of the Supreme Court. Of the five justices of that high tribunal, who sat there with you, not one, had he worn the robes of office which lend so much dignity to the least dignified of men, could have looked the judge as you looked it, muffled up though you were in your great gray comforter, and waving ever and onon the inevitable bandanna. You sat there, grave, watchful, but serene and confident, till the vote was taken on the case of Florida and the voice of the judge in whose piety you trusted was given to the fraudulent claimant of the highest office in the gift of a free people. What you suffered at that moment may be taken, I think, as an adequate expiation of your personal acquiescence in the scheme through which that suffering befell you. What passed in the secret conference of the Commission on the case of Louisiana, you best know—but what you thought of it all from that moment, the Senate and the country quickly learned in that indignant speech in the Senate in which you mercilessly denounced the Commission and all its works, and called for the passage of a resolution setting aside its decisions and especially condemning the audacious contention that the vote of an ineligible elector must be counted as valid.

> "This decision," you said, with honest heat, "will have the effect of a proclamation, assuring dishonest returning-boards that they are free to perpetrate whatever villainy these outcasts may dictate, with an absolute certainty that the villainy will stand."

But the mischief was done, nor could all your eloquence undo it. It taught you nothing new as to the unscrupulousness of politicians, nor, to do you justice, did you affect the transparent astonishment which some of your Democratic colleagues pretended to feel that "men in positions so high could stoop so low." You knew better. You had watched too long the hinges of their knees to be surprised when your associate from the House, Mr. Garfield, chuckled to you, as you sat near him on the bench, over the progress of the game, and whispered, "Make the best of it—you'll have to grin and bear it; we hold the cards, and we mean to play them."

What you really felt as a wound was the blow struck at your reverence for your profession—for the bar and for the bench. Men saw the force of this blow written in your face and in your bearing. It was a surprise to many who watched the proceedings from day to day to learn that you had been ordered by your physician to keep within-doors. On the 28th of February, 1877, the Commission adjourned to your house, and the vote on the Oregon case was taken there in your bed-chamber. Three days afterward you sent a letter to your colleagues stating that you were physically unable to serve any longer, and the Senate relieved you, putting Mr. Kernan, of New York, into the odious and unwelcome post.

It has been imputed to you as an evidence of moral weakness that you should then have declined, in the language of Garfield, to "grin and bear" to the bitter end the playing of a game in which you saw so clearly that the cards were stocked, not only against the rights of your party, but against the honor of your country and the very life of free institutions. I do not so regard it. Had you not denounced the course of the Commission in the open Senate, this charge might be brought with more plausibility against you. It would have been well had you never consented to the evil thing. But it was surely better to shake yourself free of it, before its dismal work was done, than to lend even the silent sanction of your presence to the consummation of so foul a wrong. Nor can I forget, when I hear men lay the discount upon your claims to confidence and admiration, the firmness and the courage with which you bore yourself through a scarcely less trying epoch in our history.

The tale of Reconstruction seems to us a chapter now, thank Heaven, of almost ancient history. Yet, no more than fifteen years ago, in the month of February, 1871, the Republicans in the Senate, under the leadership of Senator Conkling (truly "the whirligig of time brings in his revenges"), made a desperate and determined effort to coerce a little handful of Democratic senators into contributing to form a quorum of that body in order that a Force Bill, sent up from the lower House, might be driven through to its passage. Four Democratic senators were in their seats—Mr. Bayard of Delaware, Mr. Casserly of California, Mr. Thurman of Ohio, and Mr. Johnston of Virginia. To make these four senators vote upon the question of the consideration of the Force Bill was necessary, if the Senate was to take it up and pass it ; and to this problem, Senator Conkling set himself with his usual emphasis and skill, Senator Carpenter, in the chair, most manfully assisting him. You had then been for two years a member of the Senate, and the Republicans had begun to feel that liking for you which it is in the blood of all men of our race to feel for an antagonist who neither flinches nor hits foul. Between the spur of the Senator for New York and the official whip of the Senator for Wisconsin, the Senator for Delaware and the Senator for Virginia successively were brought to their feet and cornered into negative votes. The Senator for California (too early lost to his party and to his country), to whose persistent energy and untiring labors the merchants of New York are so deeply indebted for the stanchest fight ever made in defense of their rights against inquisitorial tyranny, had struck some stinging blows at the majority during a brief preliminary discussion of the conduct of the Republicans in urging such a measure at such a time, the Senate having been kept in session upon the false pretense that an appropriation bill was to be pressed.

But when he was called upon to vote, the young Irish Senator nodded pleasantly across the floor to you, folded his arms and made no sign.

You likewise sat dumb and deaf, and the Muse of History may range at will through the fields of infinite conjecture as to the processes by which a senator who can vote and won't vote may be made to vote; for the opportune arrival of a squad of Republican senators left you, with your Californian ally, the unchallenged masters of the field.

"Other times bring other needs."

Your judicial temper, your firm sense, your loyalty to party principles, have undoubtedly earned for you the right to enjoy, in dignified repose the honor and esteem in which you are held by your State and by Democrats throughout the country. The complimentary vote of the Ohio Democrats, given you at the recent senatorial election in that State, was meant to decorate, not to disturb your retirement, and attests the strength of your hold upon the regard of your own people. You have passed the arbitrary line of three-score and ten, fixed by legislative wisdom as the natural term of judicial usefulness upon the bench. But where is a judicial temper so much needed as in the councils of the great party of which you have so long been a trusted champion and chief? And what signifies the solemn verdict of "legislative wisdom" as to the natural term of judicial usefulness upon the bench or off the bench, in the face of the undeniable fact, if I may be pardoned for using so awful a word, that this is an age of grandocracy? You are a younger man than the Pope. In comparison with the newly-elected President of the French Republic you are almost a youth. In comparison with the German Emperor, you may almost be called a lad. Were you to be made a candidate for the Republic in 1888, you would still be a younger man than the English Premier is, who is grappling to-day so blithely with the tremendous political problem of the settlement of Ireland. M. de Lesseps, "the great Frenchman," flits about to-day between the Isthmus of Suez and the

Isthmus of Darien, though eight years your senior, with the alert indifference of a Boston bagman.

Far be it from any of your friends to urge you into the arena of political emulation. But, if there be any foundation of truth for the rumors which caused your recent journey from Columbus to Washington, with a dawning desire on the part of the elected Chief Magistrate of the Union to revise his somewhat Utopian theories of political organization and to give up trying to navigate the Ship of State by dead-reckoning, there surely is work, and most important work, for you to do, and he is no true friend to you, to your party, or to your country, who will hesitate to urge you to do it under almost any conditions compatible with your self-respect.

The leader whose right you loyally, though unsuccessfully, strove to protect against fraud and usurpation ten years ago, still lives, physically a much weaker man than yourself. But the Democratic party still looks to him, nor looks in vain, for counsel and for inspiration. At this moment, indeed, his clarion call rings through the land, bidding us build the forts and launch the ships which alone can insure the safety of the Republic, and, with its safety, its weight and instance among the nations of the earth.

Nay; there are not wanting those who affirm that, morally and metaphorically speaking, it was he who in truth led the Democratic legions to victory in 1884, even as the dead Cid rode forth on Bavieca to shatter the ranks of the Moors, or, as the bones of Edward the Long-shanked, were borne before the invading host of England into the land of the Bruce.

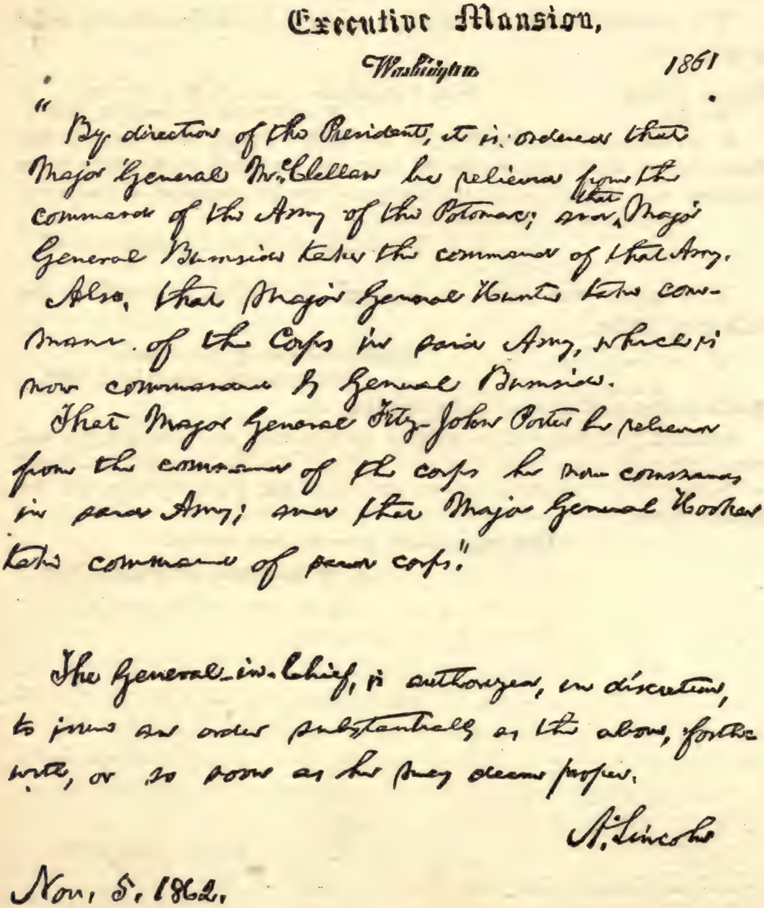
It is no fault of his, and assuredly no fault of yours, if the fruits of that victory now begin to assume a certain wan and shriveled aspect, as of so many apples of Sodom.

But will your party, my dear Judge, hold you excused, will you hold yourself excused, if, in the presence of so much confusion within your party ranks and of such exultant preparations of the gospel of war along the line of your enemies, you come not forth to sound as of yore the trumpet, and point as of yore the way to effective battle and to enduring triumph?

ARTHUR RICHMOND.

THE REMOVAL OF McCLELLAN.

GENERAL McCLELLAN was removed from the command of the Army of the Potomac on the 5th of November, 1862. The original of the order for his removal is herewith reproduced. It is, throughout, in the handwriting of President Lincoln. It is a paper that will be examined with interest.



Executive Mansion,
Washington 1861

"By direction of the President, it is ordered that Major General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac; and that Major General Burnside take the command of that Army. Also, that Major General Hunter take command of the Corps in said Army, which is now commanded by General Burnside.

That Major General Fitz-John Porter be relieved from the command of the corps he now commands in said Army; and that Major General Hooker take command of said corps."

The General-in-Chief, is authorized, in discretion, to issue an order substantially as the above, forthwith, or so soon as he may deem proper.

A. Lincoln

Nov. 5. 1862.

The limits of the discretion committed to General Halleck will also be critically noted, as contrasted with his action based on the order.

So far as the question of time is concerned, that discretion was promptly exercised. The order of the Secretary of War for the removal of General McClellan bears the same date as the President's order. But, excepting in the removal of General McClellan and the assignment of General Burnside as his successor, the order did not follow the President's directions.

The General Order issued in pursuance of the President's order is as follows:

General Orders, No. 182.

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJT.-GEN.'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *November* 5, 1862.

By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army.

By order of the Secretary of War,

E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

This order was sent to General McClellan inclosed in the following letter:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, *November* 5, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN, *Commanding, etc.*:

GENERAL: On receipt of the order of the President, sent herewith, you will immediately turn over your command to Major-General Burnside, and repair to Trenton, N. J., reporting, on your arrival at that place, by telegraph, for further orders.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

OUR "HOUSE OF LORDS."

UNDER the title-lines of "Lords and Commons: the customary hostility between the two Houses getting under way," there recently appeared among the New York press dispatches from the Capital this noteworthy telegraphic message:

> "WASHINGTON, *December* 18.—The customary antagonism between the Senate and the House is coming to the surface, and will undoubtedly grow as the session progresses. The feeling seems to have no specific grounds, but each House, judged by its general tone, regards the other as its natural enemy, to be fought at all points. The Senate, as usual, claims that its passed measures are neglected until they accumulate formidably, proving gross disrespect for the superior body. The House, on its part, alleges that the Senate tampers too much with its financial legislation, in the way of amendments, and altogether exceeds its proper functions. It is evident that some very radical members regard the Upper House as a sort of American House of Lords—ornamental but not extremely useful. But people here are accustomed to the growl."

It is probable that this paragraph may be the first statement that the reader has seen of a "customary antagonism," of a constantly increasing spirit of hostility, between the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Yet both its existence and its growth have been recognized for many years past, and especially since the close of the Civil War. The constitutional cause of it has been one of the most potent, although one of the most silent influences, that has determined the policy of our political parties both in their domestic and foreign relations.

Before the Civil War the Constitution was our national fetich. To doubt the wisdom of its founders was heresy. The Union that they founded was our Ark of the Covenant: whoso laid unhallowed hands on it was guilty of an unpardonable sin. We see, now, that we were only whitewashing the sepulchers of the Fathers; that we were whistling these antique continental airs to keep our courage up as we drew nearer and nearer to the death-bed of the old Constitution and to the grave of the "Union of the Fathers."

The secession of the South changed the mental attitude of the nation to the Federal Constitution. The North rose from its knees among the grave-stones, and it no longer tried to decipher their moss-grown records. We ceased to ask what the dead Fathers had said, and cared only to know what the living sons should do. The shot at Sumter proclaimed that the South had thrown off its political allegiance to the Union and its intellectual allegiance to the founders of the Constitution ; and the answering tinkle of Mr. Seward's little bell announced that the North had resolved to show the nations that democracy did not depend for its stability on written constitutions or "balances of power," or on an idolatrous respect for traditions, but on the purposes, the patriotism and the wisdom of its living defenders ; not on the genius of its statesmen or warriors, even, but on the common sense and the common courage of the common people.

Democracy stood this ordeal of fire. General after general failed, statesman after statesman fell; but the common people never once faltered or despaired. The force of a literary education, in its spirit essentially oligarchical, would have led Americans to see in Lincoln, as they once saw in Washington, the leader, without whose guiding wisdom the Union would have perished ; but, at one of the most critical periods of the great struggle, when the gravest problems of restoration were ready to be solved, the bullet of an assassin, (like the rebel shot before), again proved that a democracy, encompassed by a people's love, can never be overthrown —that it never needs any one man to defend it or to save its life.

The idols of the Revolutionary era were broken in our civil strife. After nearly two millions of men had studied the science of war and taken part in our titanic struggles, it was no longer possible for them to hold in the same reverence that their boyish lessons had inspired, the military heroes of the Revolutionary war. Our soldiers learned the exact value of the military skill and achievements of the Fathers. But gratitude remained when reverence vanished. An intelligent respect supplanted an idolatrous worship. The soldiers whom Washington led were heroes still, but no longer the half-gods of our history. Bravery fosters respect for the brave, but it also inspires self-respect.

So, with the civil heroes of the Revolution. By the artillery fires of our contending armies, they were seen to have been able and honest men, but not men of superhuman wisdom, nor greater, but necessarily less enlightened than their living descendants. It was seen that they did well enough for their own day, but in the spirit of the Austrian who muttered "After me the Deluge," it was seen, also, that their dread of a failure to form an enduring Union induced them to establish their Union on inequalities and on injustice that could not endure. What they feared and guarded against, time has shown to have been the strongest bulwarks of our Government; and what they regarded as its strongest bulwarks time, also, has shown to have been the unfriendly powers that sought to destroy it.

Having hardly emerged from the Dead Sea of feudalism, and without the precedent of a successful democracy to guide their footsteps into the untrodden wilderness, the Fathers of the Union feared the people, and they sought by their "successive filtrations of the popular will" to establish a stable and pure government that should guard against the fickleness and corruption of a democracy. They dreaded lest the Federal Executive, for example, should have too much power and thereby endanger the independence of the States. They did not limit the existing suffrage, but they dared not establish universal suffrage.

Now, our history has demonstrated that political corruption is difficult in exact proportion to the extent of the constituency and the extension of the suffrage; that the nearer we come to a large, unrestricted popular vote, the more difficult it is to deceive or bribe the elector, or for conspiracies subsequently to "secure" the successful candidate; that it was the power of the States that sought, and the weakness of the Federal Executive that tended to disrupt the Union; and that the United States Senate, in which the feudal or undemocratic principle was intrenched, was more indifferent to what are called the rights of the States, which it was intended to protect, when party exigencies require their annulment, more unstable in its spirit than the House of Representatives, and less conservative, because less democratic in its character. Our history has shown that a democracy, instead of being fickle, is the most slow-moving—the least flexible—of all systems of government, because, in order to effect great changes in a democracy it is necessary, not to influence a single and restricted class, as in Europe, but to overcome the prejudice or the indifference, and to win the enthusiasm and revolutionize the faith, of the millions who wield the power of the ballot.

Our history has shown that democracy has failed, as far as it has failed, just in proportion as an aristocratic element has been permitted to interfere with its operations ; that security of rights to life, liberty and property have been endangered in a democracy only when communities, classes or corporations have endeavored to destroy or tamper with that equality of rights, duties and burdens which is the essence of a democratic government.

Careful students of American national life have not failed to note that, since the close of the war, public men and political teachers very rarely refer to the opinions, and never appeal to the authority of the Fathers, as decisive. They defend the Constitution, or they advocate its amendment now, for reasons founded on the promotion of the national welfare. They look not at the setting but toward the rising sun. They tacitly admit—and the sentiment is well-nigh universal in the North—that ours is the "Union of the Boys in Blue," and that what are called the War Amendments of the Constitution were in fact, although not in form, the repealing acts, which abolished that once-revered instrument, and established for the first time in America a Union founded on equality of rights—a democratic Republic.

With such a spirit prevalent and spreading, is it likely that the prohibition of negro slavery and the enfranchisement of the blacks will be the only change that shall be made in the framework of the Federal Constitution ? Already Commerce complains that it costs too much to elect a President, and for several years past there has been presented to Congress every year, a memorial asking for the abolition of the Presidency. Will the Senate be exempt from the demand that, in every department of our public life, the touchstone of its utility and the guaranty of its stability shall be equality of rights ?

The student of the Constitution knows the reasons and precedents that justified, and the prejudices and jealousies that enforced, the creation of the Senate of the United States. But what constitutional lawyers commonly ignore is that the ruling spirit of our day is the spirit with which Milton declared, when Luther's authority was quoted against him : "What care I for Luther's name unless I am convinced by Luther's reason ?" The reasons that were most potent one hundred years ago have no force to-day in commending the Senate, as now constituted and elected, to the intelligent respect of the rising generation, among whom (traditional authority having no influence) new theories of political and social development and administration are now widely and critically studied. Before this spirit, soon, or by and by, every institution that cannot justify its existence by its utility will be sure to be cast into the ash-pit of history.

The Federal Senate is out of joint with our times. It is an incorporation of the distrust and dread of democracy, which our history has shown to be unmerited and unwise. It is the American reproduction of that inequality of representation, once known as the rotten-borough system of England, which even in that earthly paradise of caste could not longer be tolerated. It is a denial of equal rights erected into an institution; a withered and useless branch of the tree of our national life. It is a constant hindrance to the extension of our territory and to the purity and the stability of the rule of the people.

Now, there are two questions, often confounded, although they are essentially distinct, that should be separated and kept apart in the discussion of the use and character of the Federal Senate. Ought our present Senate to be abolished or reconstructed? For one, I think it ought to be reorganized on the basis of the equality not of States but of men. Ought there to be any Senate at all? For one, I think that a Senate is not wholly useless, although it is far less necessary than is so vehemently asserted by its defenders. But this second question is a problem of the far future and ought only to have a theoretical interest to the students of political science to-day.

The Federal Senate, as now organized, is founded on the rejection of the fundamental idea of American civilization—Equality of Rights. Its defenders say that it represents the Rights and Equality of the States. But this phrase "the rights of the States," like the kindred phrase, "the rights of property," is unscientific and misleading, and shields a multitude of sins against the people. "Property has its duties as well as its rights," said a Scotch economist, and the empty sophism was welcomed as a revelation by one class and decreed a heresy by their opponents. Property has neither rights nor duties. Rights imply and demand duties, and duties can be done by sentient beings only. Citizens have rights in property, derived from the consent of their fellow-citizens, and subject, therefore, to their modification and control; but property in itself has neither rights to be denied nor limited, nor duties to be performed nor directed.

So, in the election of a Federal Senate, what is the meaning of this phrase "State Rights," which even the fierce fires of civil war have not yet wholly purged of its pestilential malignity? Let us see.

It meant, once, before there existed an American People—when the white folks of North America were British subjects in British colonies, having no authority one over the other and no permanent political relations—that each colony, having acted during the war as a separate community, and each, as a separate community, having enjoyed before the war as much self-government as the world then knew, refused, on the return of peace with independence, to enter into a permanent confederation unless its sisters should guarantee the continuance of its political autonomy by giving it equal representation in the Senate as an equal State, with a representation also secured, based on equality of population, in the popular house of the National Legislature. This demand of the lesser States was granted. It was one of the compromises between justice and expediency, between the pretensions of a class and equality of rights, on which the Constitution was formed and the Union based. As our America was then six weeks, or more, distant from Europe, with little foreign trade, no complex rural and industrial life, no intricate financial nor vast commercial interests, no capitalist combinations nor labor organizations; as the total population of the seventeen States of 1790 was less than that of the State of New York, and only a little more than that of Pennsylvania, to-day, it came to pass that the Senate was neither powerful enough to alarm men nor so anomalous as to offend them. Nor was the inequality of representation so conspicuous then, in those simple times, as in our own more elaborate civilization.

In 1790, the date of the first census, this was the order of the States, arranged according to population:

Virginia	747,610.
[Less by 100,000 than the present population of Philadelphia.]	
Pennsylvania	434,373
[Less by about 75,000 than the present population of Chicago.]	
North Carolina	393 751
[Little, if at all, larger than the leading Southern city to-day.]	

Massachusetts	378,787
[Boston alone has now 566,663 inhabitants.]	
New York	340,120
[300,000 less than the present population of Brooklyn.]	
Maryland	319,728
[50,000 less than the population of Baltimore to-day.]	
South Carolina	249,073
[About the present population of Cincinnati.]	
Connecticut	237,946
[About the present population of San Francisco.]	
New Jersey	184,139
[32,000 less than the population of New Orleans to-day.]	
New Hampshire	141,885
[8,000 less than San Francisco.]	
Maine	96,540
[About 5,000 less than Louisville.]	
Vermont	85,425
[Smaller than the present population of Pittsburg.]	
Georgia	82,548
[Exactly 2 less than the present population of Jersey City.]	
Kentucky	73,677
[Less than the population of Indianapolis.]	
Rhode Island	68,285
[Only 6,000 more than the present population of New Haven.]	
Delaware	59,096
[The present population of Lowell.]	
Tennessee	35,691
[7,000 less than the present population of Nashville.]	

The total population of the seventeen States, in 1790, was 3,929,214—or 53,657 less than the population of the State of New York, in 1880. There is no doubt that the present population of the United States is fourteen times larger than it was at the close of the Revolutionary war.

Practically, then, any wise extension of a municipal government that recognized the supremacy of the town-meeting element in New England, and of the tobacco-raising element in the South, would have satisfactorily administered the domestic affairs of these young States, especially as they all and always had been essentially frontier communities, accustomed to self-government, educated to respect law by seeing daily the need of a common arbitrator, and especially as there was no radical diversity of race or religion, nor serious conflicts of commercial and industrial interests.

But, to-day, the Senate no longer represents communities similar in origin and identical in interest. No poor man can now be elected a Northern Senator—or so rarely that such a result excites instant comment; and especially from the less populous States.

The Senate is rapidly becoming the most aristocratic social club in America. It is the accidental millionaire, now thirsting for social recognition, or the corporation lawyer hungry for "bonanza fees," who seeks the honor of admission to its membership, or who can afford to enjoy so expensive a luxury.

The population of New York State, in 1880, was 5,083,810; that of Nevada was, by the same census, 62,265. But, at the last Presidential election, Nevada did not cast 13,000 votes, although the interest in the canvass was so great that every available ballot was brought out. Leading journals of the State have admitted that the present population of Nevada is not more than 40,000 souls, that it is constantly decreasing, and that the decadence cannot be stayed except by unexpected mineral discoveries. There is hardly a doubt, therefore, that before the close of the present year, the State of New York, estimating its increase at the ratio of the last decade, will have at least one hundred and thirty times the population of Nevada. Now, what justice is there in any theory or in any institution that demands that each and every American citizen living in Nevada, shall have the same power in the enactment of laws and the adoption of international treaties, that 130 citizens in New York enjoy? Could any system be less democratic? It is the rotten-borough system of England enlarged to continental proportions—the worst and the least defensible principle of an old monarchy adopted as a vital factor of government by a young Republic.

No wrong in Church or State, and no anomaly, ever lacked defenders. When it was proposed to abolish the rotten-borough system of England, the Tories denounced the proposed reform as a violation of "vested rights." The ready answer was that the nation had prior rights that ranked these vested prerogatives—that the interests of all the people were greater than the privileges of any one class of them. When it is asked, here, why a citizen in Nevada should have the power of 130 citizens in New York, the answer is—State Rights. But what is a State now? A geographical aggregation of American citizens, which for a century has never been an independent community; which, as a semi-sovereignty, has rendered no service to the nation that it had the power to withhold, even in the territories whose people have always been loyal to the Union. Whatever claim to sovereignty the old colonies may have advanced—although, in fact, not one of the colonies ever was politically independent nor ever could have won political independence—it is surely inadmissible to argue to-day, that those human overflows of the East that we call the Far-west, or the North-west, or the South-west, carried with them any right to sovereignty that their natal communities have not voided.

The most vital and the successful argument advanced for the creation of a Federal Senate was that it would prevent the larger States from overpowering the less populous States. That fear was the sole basis of the second National Chamber, the pretext and apology for abandoning the republican idea of equality of rights. But here again the opposite danger was incurred. It has not been the great States, separately or in aggregations, that have threatened the rights of the small States, as they could have done in the House of Representatives, but it has been the less populous States that have ever violated the principle of equality and exhibited the tyranny of the minority. As a group, it was the South, the less populous aggregation, that sought to destroy the Union. It is the smaller States that dominate to-day.

Let us take New York as the basis of a vote in the Senate, and see how this inequality prevails, in a few instances only.

Let us begin in the far South-east. In Florida (population 269,493) every citizen has the same senatorial representation that in New York (population 5,083,810) it needs more than nineteen citizens to wield. Florida is a poor State ; Florida is an illiterate State ; Florida was a rebel State ; New York was loyal ; New York is educated ; New York is rich. That is, with equal representation, based on population—on the theory that all men in a Republic should have equal rights—Florida would have one Senator and New York nineteen Senators. Thus loyalty, education, and wealth—and all the civic and personal virtues that create and maintain great commonwealths—are punished by disfranchisement, and the opposite traits are rewarded : 19 to 1.

Let us take the next illustration from the far West. In Colorado, as represented in the Senate, every man has the same power as twenty-six men in New York. Colorado is not a State of homes and it never will be a populous State. Like Nevada it is a district of miners' cabins, and of cow-boys' huts ; of revolvers and canned fruit. Yet, until our Constitution is revised, however greatly their population may diminish, Colorada and Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, will wield as much power as Pennsylvania and New York, however greatly *their* population may increase.

The State of Delaware has a smaller population than the city of Buffalo—in 1880, it had 8,500 less. In the Senate of the nation, every citizen of Delaware has as much power as thirty-five citizens of New York. Nothing in the history of Delaware, remote or recent, gives her citizens any claim to pre-eminence over the citizens of New York.

The reader can readily work out further illustrations by consulting the Census of 1880. Enough has been done to show how grave the injustice is, from the point of view of equality of human rights.

But this evil is not a sentimental grievance only. To present the view thus advanced, without arousing individual animosities, no reference has been made to the official and personal record of the men whom the minor States have selected, nor to the unrepublican methods by which they are known to be elected, nor to the use that, when in great places, these little men from little States have made of their power thus illegitimately achieved. It may suffice to say that, as a rule, the character and caliber of the senators from the Southern States during the period when the whites were practically disfranchised, as well as from the Far Western States, will never be "pointed to with pride" (as the wrinkled political phrase is) by the future historian of the American Republic. That historian, if he cares to do so, will show, also, that the colossal corruptions that have characterized the annals of Congress during the last twenty years would never have been possible without the zealous aid of this class of senators.

Nor is the present character of the Senate, nor are the influences that are shaping its future, any practical vindication of its existence or any justification for the perpetuation of its inequalities. It is rapidly becoming a House of Millionaires, and of the attorneys of great corporations. At this very hour—the first week of January *—five States are discussing "the claims" of senatorial candidates. From California comes the news that her chair is offered to the greatest millionaire of The Coast; in Rhode Island four millionaires are contesting for the prize ; in Illinois a republican millionaire is struggling against a democratic millionaire ; in

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* This article was written in January, 1885.

Pennsylvania both candidates are millionaires, while in our own State bullion is again pitted against brains. No wonder that a great journal of New York should say: "It seems as though only millionaires were eligible as candidates for the United States Senate."

To this "tendency to elevate men of wealth rather than of brains," the most thoughtful journal of New England attributes the marked decadence of ability that has been witnessed in the Senate during the last half-century, and especially since the close of the war, in the representatives both of the North and the South.

This tendency is an inevitable although an unhealthy development of our increase in wealth. It can only be cured by a change in the mode of electing senators—by making an illegitimate use of riches impossible, or as innoxious as may be, by enlarging the constituencies they shall represent.

The Senate, as now organized, is a constant hindrance to the extension of our domains and commerce. The opposition, almost universal, to the annexation of territory in the West Indies and in Northern Mexico, is founded, in intelligent minds, on the fear that the representation that the new communities would secure in the Senate would put our institutions in peril. We ought to annex tropical territory, and no policy would be wiser than a union with our Northern neighbors. But while such enlargement of our domain would benefit our commerce, it would be paying too great a price for it to give such petty communities as Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island—neither of them populous enough to make a third-class city—the same representation as New York and Pennsylvania. With a senate elected on the basis of equality of representation, such apprehensions would disappear, and the commerce and industries of the nation would be benefited, and its power and wealth increased.

What is the remedy? To abolish the Senate; or to reconstruct it on the basis of the equality of men, not of the equality of States? It would be possible to divide the country into a hundred senatorial districts, exactly equal in population—the boundaries to be run without reference to State lines—each senator thus representing half a million of souls; to elect each senator for a term of ten years, but ten of them to retire each year, so that every year would introduce a change of membership and yet the Senate be a permanent body not "liable to be influenced by every wave of popular excitement."

The senators thus chosen should be elected by universal suffrage. The States would preserve their governments unchanged, their autonomies untampered with, but, as States, have no Federal representation. It is the American people, not the States, that should rule the nation. Let the States rule themselves.

Or, if this exact justice should be resisted, a compromise could be made by which every State should have one senator but should be entitled to one additional senator for each half million of people. Nevada might still have one senator, but New York would have ten.

In the mean time, as the only House in which the American idea of Equality of Rights is practically recognized, the House of Representatives should resist that dangerous and constantly increasing innovation of the Senate—interference with appropriations. It is here that the corruption of the smaller States is injected into the body politic. The sole right of originating money supplies that is granted to the House of Representatives, implies also that it should have the sole power of originating every separate item of the Appropriation Bills. The Senate should be a House of Revision only. It is not the States that pay the taxes but the whole body of the people. The hand that holds the money holds the power. Until the House of Representatives thus asserts its rights and dignity, the Senate will continue to be regarded by its members as the "superior body"—an American House of Lords.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

It was my good fortune to know this eminent man, intimately, during the greater part of his public life. My brother-in-law, N. C. Read, while one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, when those judges had circuits over the State, came to know Stanton, at Steubenville, through his relative, Judge Tappan, and, liking the youth, had him made reporter to the court *in banc* at Columbus. This was in 1842, and my pursuit of pleasure and Stanton's duties brought us together at the State Capital every winter for several years. I sought Columbus during the holidays, while Stanton, one of the most industrious of men, worked there, not only at his official duties, but in perfecting himself in a profession that soon made him conspicuous as one of its leaders. Often, during the summer, he found relaxation at Judge Read's, and my home, on the Mac-o-cheek, where the two were wont to pass their vacation.

Stanton, when I first knew him, and for years after, was young, ardent and of a most joyous nature. Possessed of a keen sense of humor, he was free and eager in its enjoyment, and, strange as it may sound to those who knew him in later life, had a laugh so hearty and contagious that it became characteristic of him. He was not only a hard student in the line of his profession, but had a taste for light literature that made his conversation extremely attractive.

The truth is, Stanton's imagination was through life the larger and most potent quality of his mind, and from first to last he lived in a world so tinctured by it, that his thoughts and acts were mysteries to the commonplace, matter-of-fact minds about him. He shared this peculiarity with William H. Seward, and the two made up a part of President Lincoln's Cabinet quite distinctive from the other half composed of Lincoln himself and Salmon P. Chase. The President and his Secretary of the Treasury, while dissimilar in many things, were one in the way they regarded what the world is pleased to call facts. A dollar, for example, to Mr. Chase was an unit of value, as seen by a banker. In the eyes of Stanton it represented a hard day's labor, and he saw back of it the bread-winner, and all that depends on that word. A battle to the President was a killing and wounding of a certain number of men, and the consequences to be counted, like a sum in arithmetic. To Stanton or Seward it told of forming empire, for or against his cause, and each felt that he had a hand in making history, that would go to record in a government on which rested the happiness and prosperity of untold millions.

Working from such widely separated planes, it is singular how well they worked together. The truth is, however, that human events are more apt to be distorted, when seen without this poetic atmosphere, than when bereft of its proportionizing qualities, if I may coin a word to express my meaning. The Gradgrinds of life are half blind, and altogether stupid, from living in a horizon narrowed to a humanity of Gradgrinds. Stanton was impressed with this belief. In the first years of our intimacy, when to both of us it was a luxury to be alive, he told me of a book he was writing in the odd intervals he snatched from less agreeable studies, on the "Poetry of the Bible."

"I want to call attention to the fact," he was wont to say, in his earnest manner, "that God, in all his communications with man, clothed his language in the highest imagery. All light, and all color, that make life beautiful is the affair of a little nerve God has endowed us with to enjoy his precious gifts, that after all live only in our brain. This principle, I maintain, runs through all, and the highest religion, if not the only religion, is in a true appreciation of God's works. Thus we work our way through Nature up to Nature's God."

I do not know what became of the work thus nobly planned. I imagine it was never completed, for Stanton had none of the qualities of an author. With all his poetic temperament and high imaginative quality, he was a man of action more than of thought, and long before his dreamed-of book, on the "Poetry of God," was finished, he found himself plunged into the arena of active life, where he molded great events, leaving to others their record.

It seems strange to look back and contrast the Stanton of that early day, with the hard, bronze, historic figure of a War Minister, whose great brain conceived and iron hand guided the terrible conflict that ended in a rebuilding of the great Republic.

Groups of men are busy, with much noise, in building each a monument to some one savior of the country. This is the faded and threadbare superstition of a barbarous past, when the heavy-boned and hard-muscled giant of a leader led his brutal fighters on to victory, long before the qualities of mind were recognized that made the delicate Cæsar and the little Napoleon masters of the world. In the hurry of human events that marks our modern wars, mere fighting qualities, even of the best, have little to do in bringing about great results. While campaigns are necessary, the resources that make campaigns possible are of more importance, and the men of the departments who sanction plans, select leaders, and furnish the means, are the real heads that make or mar the heroes, and are to be awarded the honor of the success or the blame of failure.

The strangest part, however, as I have said in writing these lines, is to look back and contrast the Stanton of my earlier knowledge with the Stanton of later days. I cannot divest myself of the feeling that I am considering two widely dissimilar men. I can see, as if but an hour since, the youthful advocate, of medium size, but stout of build, with his clean shaven face gleaming through glasses, for he was near sighted, his profusion of dark hair, ever disheveled, as he stood Bible in hand, under the shade of the hickories, at Mac-o-cheek, telling us of the "Poetry of God," and the road to heaven through culture and goodness.

Generous and impulsive to a fault, he seemed to carry his heart in an open hand. I remember a pilgrimage he volunteered for me to Zanesville, Ohio, to reknit a love affair of mine after I had been cruelly jilted by a lovely girl. Think, if one can, of the awful War Secretary on such a mission !

An absence in Europe and a drifting apart separated us for a time, and when we met again I was called upon to recognize another man from the Stanton of my youth.

It was at Washington we met, upon the streets, and I seized the old Stanton by the hand with a cry of delight. For a second the old, well-loved gleam of pleasure lit his face, and then it faded out, and a gloomy, sad expression took its place, and the Stanton I once knew was gone forever. His manner, so cold, reserved and formal, embarrassed me. It was not precisely hostile, it was more an indifference, that annoyed. I knew that it could not be a snub, but I felt as poor Jack Falstaff felt, when the sneak of a King disowned in himself the noble, roystering, generous prince of Jack's former knowledge.

I accompanied Stanton to his room at the National Hotel, and all the while I saw he was striving to be pleasant and familiar, and that the effort was in vain. Terminating the interview as soon as I conveniently could, I left him. At the entrance of the hotel, on the avenue below, I remembered a message I wished to give him, and had forgotten. Hastily ascending I knocked at his door, and, getting no answer, entered. He was seated at the table, with his face hid in his arm, and as I touched his shoulder he looked up. To my amazement his face was distorted with extreme grief, while tears seemed to blind him. Shocked and astonished, I stammered out my message.

"Yes, yes," he said, wiping his eyes, "it is very kind of you, Don, but not now, please not now."

To those who knew him, as the great War Secretary of later life, the stern, vindictive, and often in manner brutal "organizer of victory," this incident will sound incredible. But the sweetest wine makes the sourest vinegar, and the sensitive, imaginative man, in making his fight with the world, had passed to what I saw him. This change dated from the death of his first wife, the dear companion of his early youth, and from that grief he never entirely recovered.

I happened to be at Washington when Stanton was called to the Cabinet of President Lincoln. It was a strange event. Stanton was not only a Democrat of so fierce a sort that his democracy seemed his religion, but he felt and had openly expressed his contempt for Abraham Lincoln. I remember an instance of this last that is a painful memory, looking back, as I do, with loving admiration of both these great men. Stanton had won his way to the front as an able advocate, and found himself leading counsel in an important case involving millions. He learned, a few moments before going to trial, that Lincoln had been retained, and expected to make an argument. He told me of this, and described, in wrath, the long, lank creature from Illinois, wearing a dirty linen duster for a coat, on the back of which the perspiration had splotched two wide stains that, emanating from each arm-pit, met at the center, and resembled a dirty map of a continent.

"I said," snorted Stanton, "that if that giraffe appeared in the case I would throw up my brief and leave."

Lincoln was ruled out, and the worst part of the transaction was that he knew of the insult. Nothing has so impressed the belief I hold in the greatest of all Presidents, than this utter ignoring of a brutal affront. It was no assumption of Christian forgiveness. Lincoln could hate with an intensity known only to strong natures, and when just retribution demanded it he could punish with an iron will no appeals of pity could move. But he possessed that strange sense of power that lifted him above personal insult. In a word, he could not be insulted. In his quiet dignity he put shame on the aggressor. He illustrated this in his own humorous way, when told by a friend that Horace Greeley was abusing him in a most outrageous manner.

"That reminds me," he said, "of the big fellow whose little wife was wont to beat him over the head without resistance. When remonstrated with, the man said, 'Let her alone. It don't hurt me, and it does her a power of good.'"

I do not wonder at President Lincoln selecting Stanton to control, at the time, the most important arm of the government, but I was amazed at Stanton's acceptance.

He was wont to pass some time, almost daily, at our room in the hotel where, in the society of my dear wife, he seemed to relax from the somber reserve of busy life. It was a relaxation quite removed from the kindly, impulsive nature of early youth. There was the same sense of humor, but it was cynical, and stung as well as it amused. Some days before he entered upon his new duties I asked him in the privacy of our room if the strange report was true.

"Yes," he responded, "I am going to be Secretary of War to old Abe."

"What will you do?" I asked, meaning as to how he could reconcile his contempt of the President, and their widely dissimilar belief, with his service under him. His reply ignored my meaning.

"Do?" he said; "I intend to accomplish three things. I will make Abe Lincoln President of the United States. I will force this man McClellan to fight or throw up; and last, but not least, I will pick Lorenzo Thomas up with a pair of tongs and drop him from the nearest window."

Strange as it is, this last and apparently easiest task, was the one he did not accomplish. Lorenzo defied him, and, as Sumner wrote Stanton, "stuck" to the last.

To appreciate the change wrought in the appointment of Mr. Stanton, one has to understand the condition of the government at the time the Hon. Simon Cameron was retired. The war, that so unexpectedly broke upon us—so unexpectedly that the government itself could not believe in its existence until the roar of Confederate artillery rung in its ears, found a people at the North not only unprepared, but in profound ignorance of all that was necessary to carry on an armed conflict. All the wars that went to make up our histories as wars are wont to do, had been fought out in skirmishes that left the government and the body of the people unenlightened as to the necessities of a great conflict, such as the rest of the world is taught and trained through experience to understand. We had, it is true, a little military school upon the Hudson, where a supposed science was supposed to be taught. Europe had been for a thousand years engaged in creating armies by building on the private. "Take care of the cents and the dollars will take care of themselves," said Benjamin Franklin, and, in the same way, the war powers over the sea cared for the common soldier, leaving it to God to create the officer. We sought to reverse the process, and having, as we fondly believed, made the officer, we felt that we possessed an army.

This delusion was roughly wiped away. Our noble graduates proved to be nothing but drill-sergeants, with no men to drill, and when elevated to the position of generals, were as helpless as the great mass of civilians who were called out to act under them. The noble West Pointers planned great campaigns and projected great battles, with no trained men to either march or fight. The volunteers, accepted from the States, elected their officers, and were, in consequence, constituents instead of privates, and these officers studied, overnight, all they attempted to practice the next day; and while the awkward drill went on, discipline, the soul and body of an army, went to pieces.

Two facts alone saved us: one was the strange adaptability of our people to any emergency, and the second, that our enemy was in as bad a condition as ourselves.

The first roar of "rebel" artillery, as it was then called, aroused our people to such extent, that the roll of the drum heard all over the land was the throb of a mighty impulse set to harsh music, and we developed in an instant all the good and bad of a great people. While the patriotic hurried in thousands to the front to fight, the dishonest, in almost like numbers, hastened to the rear to plunder. Looking over the field, from the War Department under Cameron, at Washington, it was difficult to determine which had control, and the direct confusion reigned through both.

The Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, proved incapable of controlling the one or organizing the other. In the field we had confusion utterly confounded, followed by shameful disasters, while, on all sides, organized dishonesty plundered at will. Congress saw from the portals of the Capitol the insolent wave of the Confederate flag, while along the heavy walls echoed the roar of as insolent an artillery. In our despair we had called McClellan from a little victory, won by Rosecrans in West Virginia, and labeling him "the young Napoleon," gave him supreme command. Popular acclamation made this youth, who had all the confidence of genius without its capacity or inspiration, President, in fact. Abraham Lincoln, ignorant of all that pertained to the art of war, magnified its importance and difficulties, as one under such circumstances will, and with the modesty so marked in him deferred patiently to those he believed better informed.

When Mr. Stanton told us that he would make Abraham Lincoln President, he did not mean that he would restore the Union, but that he would relegate the young Napoleon to his subordinate position, that of being commander. The indifference, not to say the arrogance, of our untried Napoleon, is hard to realize now. With princes and the sons of millionaires upon his staff, he assumed the airs of a dictator, and it was no uncommon circumstance to see both President and Secretary of War waiting in his ante-chamber, for leisure from mighty reviews and petty detail, for an interview with him who had no campaigns to communicate, or, if he had, declined taking the government in his confidence.

Congress in its despair set up this untried dignity in gorgeous uniform, and saw, for nearly a year, a huge army coiled like a sluggish anaconda about the capital, and learned to its dismay that the only orders from head-quarters were to "avoid bringing on a conflict," and continued congratulations that "all was quiet upon the Potomac." Exasperated beyond endurance, Congress demanded the withdrawal of Simon Cameron as a preliminary step to unhorsing our parade captain.

President Lincoln, nothing loath, complied with this, and I have reason to believe hesitated, for some days, between the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Holt and Edwin M. Stanton. Strange to say the doubt was solved by the choice of General McClellan. He preferred the man who, in the end, made life a burden to the young Napoleon, and his retirement a necessity.

"Now, gentlemen," said Secretary Stanton to the officers assembled at his first reception, "we will, if you please, have some fighting. It is my business to furnish the means, it is yours to use them. I leave the fighting to you, but the fighting we must have."

The change wrought by him, in his new capacity, was magical. Disorder and dishonesty disappeared together. The one hid itself in holes, to be hunted out and punished, with a certainty that struck terror into the souls of the thieves, while the other was driven out never to appear again. Huge armies began to move, the great arteries of supply to throb with men and material. The anaconda uncoiled its folds, and stretching out drove the Confederate flag and artillery from Munson's Hill. The roar of deadly conflict grew remote, and Richmond, in lieu of Washington, was threatened with capture. The stillness about the War Department grew ominous. Instead of quarreling contractors and clattering, epauleted officials, the telegraph ticked out its information, and deadly orders and reports of great battles, and, I am pained to write, shameful disasters which startled the land. The people felt the master hand, and waited in breathless anxiety for the returns, in victory or defeat. Men about the capital saw through the dead hours of the night the lights gleam from the windows where the tireless Secretary held, without rest, the trembling fate of the great Republic in firm hands under an iron will.

Few of us only, knew of the strain put upon one man in this hour of deadly trial. Edwin M. Stanton had been, of late years, subject to a termination of blood to the brain, and had been warned by his capable physician, that, unless he found entire quiet in abstinence from all excitement, he might die at any moment. Regardless of these warnings, he threw himself into the great work, fully aware of the danger before him. Nevertheless, Death sat at his board, slept in his bed, and through the long watches of those fearful nights the grim phantom glared upon him, ready at any moment to strike. It was, after all, only a furlough he received from the enemy. God seemed to ordain that he should be spared until his mighty task was ended, and then the pale messenger accompanied him home, tenderly to inscribe upon his monument—"To this man, more than to any other man save one, the great Republic owes its life."

This disorder, added to his mental strain, overwhelmed the great Secretary's nervous system, and not only deepened the gloomy spells to which he was addicted, but made him so irritable and impatient that official business with subordinates got to be insult. He was approached by all about him in fear and trembling. And the same ugliness seemed to be contagious. The officer coming from his presence, wounded to the quick, gave to others under him the same treatment.

I remember one morning trying to gain admittance to the Department in advance of the hour at which the place was open to the world. A sentry arrested my entrance at the door. In vain I pleaded an engagement with the Secretary, and asked for a corporal or sergeant to carry in my card. The stupid fellow gave me no comfort. While parleying with him Mr. Seward came up, and the guard dropped his musket brutally across the way of the Secretary of State. Before our great diplomat could make himself known, I said:

"This is the Secretary of State, my man, and you had better be polite."

The guard brought his musket instantly to a present, and Mr. Seward passed in.

"I say, Mr. Secretary," I cried to him, "as I got you admitted, common politeness dictates that you return the favor."

"Young man," responded the Secretary, looking over his shoulder, "the politeness of this Department is not common," and passed on.

A subordinate, to deal comfortably with the War Secretary, had to be a mere cipher, so dictatorial and despotic was he. I remember when summoned before him as Judge Advocate of the commission called to investigate the conduct of General Don Carlos Buell in Tennessee, I ventured to say:

"This is all very well, Mr. Secretary, but I'd like to know where you find a law to sanction such a court as this."

"My noble captain," replied the Secretary, his short upper lip slightly curling, and with the gleam of his white teeth and dark eyes making an expression anything but comfortable, "you are commissioned to obey orders and not to study law, for it is rather late in life for you to begin that. When I need a legal adviser it is not likely I will call on Judge Piatt. If I am to be met here with the quibble of a county-court lawyer I will find some other officer."

The sarcasm stung, for I had been placed on the bench at the age of twenty-five, as Salmon P. Chase said, that I might have an opportunity to learn something of my profession. However, I hid the hurt, and said:

"All right; but I would suggest that this is no ordinary inquiry, and a court should be made up of the ablest officers."

"That is true," responded the Secretary. "You go to the list of officers not on duty, and I will appoint from them."

I did as directed, and the next day sought the Secretary with the list of officers in my hand. I met him on the street going to his office, that had been removed to Winder's Building to enable the government to enlarge the old structure. I turned and walked with him, telling him what I had done. He was in a terrible mood, and neither looked at nor spoke to me. At the door of his office the messenger threw it open and the Secretary stalking in banged it to in my face. This wooden insult sent a flush to my face. Turning, I saw General Fremont, who had witnessed the affront, and while talking to this remarkable man the messenger came from the Secretary's room and, after looking about in a scared manner, asked me if I was "Captain Piety."

"All but the piety," I replied.

"Well, I guess you're the man," he said. "The Secretary wants you."

I went in. Stanton was seated alone at the end of his table. Looking up, he exclaimed:

"Don, what in the —— do you want?"

"Nothing, sir; not even civil treatment. You directed me to make out a list of officers to compose the Buell court. I have done so, and only came to report the names."

"Take them to Halleck; that is his business," roared the Secretary. "I can't run the War Department, let alone trying to run Halleck. Go to him."

"Mr. Secretary," I said quietly, "I don't mind being jumped on by you any more than if it were my elder brother, but I won't be insulted by General Halleck, as you know I will be if I go as you direct."

"Insulted?" he exclaimed angrily. "I'll see to that. Here, take him this," and he hastily wrote a note.

I did as ordered. I appeared before the great Art of War, whose appearance reminded me of two lines in an old ballad which says:

> "His head being larger than common
> O'erbalanced the rest of his fat."

He read the note I handed him, then, tearing it in two, dropped it in the waste-basket, saying, with all the sarcasm his dull face was capable of—

"What is your address, captain?"

I gave it to him, and then, rising from his chair, he bowed mockingly, and added, "When I need your assistance, I shall certainly send for you, *captain.*"

The sarcasm of this was so well done that it raised the dull, epauleted creature in my estimation far above what his stupid book had done. I retired as gracefully as I could, and reported the affair to Stanton.

"Damn his insolence! Why didn't you pull his nose?"

"Because the insult was directed at you," I answered. "I was only the poor devil of a captain assigned to the duty of carrying it. I wish to God I was out of this."

My perplexity amused the Secretary. He burst into a laugh, and said, "Oh, never mind Halleck; he can't insult any one. Take the court he gives you, and do the best you can," and, seeing that I was deeply hurt, he put his arm about my shoulders, in his old caressing way, and added, "and don't mind me, we are both hasty. This is an important business I give you, and I know I can trust you."

I did my best, and while on the subject may as well give the end. The records of that tedious court, so-called, were voluminous. I conveyed them, as duly bound, to the War Department. Mr. Stanton examined me at length as to what had been proven, and I saw an expression very like heat lightning flash over his face when I told him that a certain pet of his had suffered severely.

After the death of the Secretary it was discovered that the entire record had disappeared.

I have my own opinion as to the cause of that disappearance, but it is only an opinion, and I do not care to state it. Fortunately or unfortunately, the accomplished stenographer employed by the commission, Benn Pittman, had yet the original short-hand notes, and restored the awful volume of unmitigated rot.

DONN PIATT.

(*To be concluded.*)

SHIP-BUILDING *VERSUS* SHIP-OWNING.

By Act of Congress, July 5, 1884, a Bureau of Navigation was established for the "General Superintendence of the Commercial Marine and Merchant Seamen of the Country." A commissioner was appointed "to superintend the Bureau, and to make annual reports of statistics and results." In the second report, recently issued, we find an abundance of statistics and no results.

No figures were needed to prove that the American commercial marine had been annihilated. A simple 0 might supply the place of the columns which Captain Patten has so industriously collated. We only desired to learn what good has been or is likely to be accomplished by this Bureau or by any other act of congressional legislation, thus far, in restoring the mercantile marine to any degree of its former prestige and success.

Let us see how far the suggestions of the Commissioner tend in that direction. These are indicated by the conclusion of his report with an essay on wooden ship-building, the object of which is to demonstrate that all the world, excepting the author, is mistaken in its estimate of the value of iron and steel in the construction of vessels. We look over the other pages and are relieved when we do not find that a return to the model of the Ark is anywhere advocated. Captain Patten's elaborate tables are worse than useless, for they are incorrect and misleading. It is not true that, between the periods of 1835 and 1855, American ships, by which of course we should understand good American ships, could be built at prices varying from $40 to $50 per ton. In the days before Bath established a reputation for building ships equal to those of New York, Medford, East Boston, Newburyport and Portsmouth, "down-East" vessels, built of soft wood, were not looked upon with favor by ship-owners, sailors or underwriters. They were cheap, and yet not cheap at any price; whereas, the A 1 ships, first mentioned, readily commanded $60 or $65 per ton.

On the other hand, the Commissioner has estimated the cost of British wooden ships of that period at a figure too high. He appears to have taken the Thames prices, and not those of Greenock or Aberdeen. Thus is instanced the error of some political economists in their comparisons of British and American labor. Labor frequently differs more in price in different parts of Great Britain and in different parts of the United States than when the averages of the two countries are contrasted.

These strictures upon the comparative cost of wooden vessels in former days may seem hypercritical, but they have a most important bearing upon the main question. They furnish the nucleus of the argument for free ships for which Captain Patten's report throughout shall serve as a text.

Owing to the cheapness of material in this country, offsetting the higher cost of labor which has always prevailed here independently of tariff or free trade, and owing to the costliness of timber necessarily imported by Great Britain offsetting the lower cost of labor which, independently of tariff or free trade, must always prevail in regions thickly settled, it so happened that first-class sailing ships at that time could be built at about the same price in both countries. So long as these conditions continued, it was a matter of no consequence to either nation if its restrictive navigation laws should be retained or not. The sailing ships on both sides were competing on equal terms. Neither asked for bounty, subsidy or "fostering" of any kind. But, in the latter part of the period under consideration, when it became somewhat less expensive to build ships in the United States than in Great Britain, English ship-owners suffered in consequence. They appealed to their government for aid, and it was accorded them, despite the howls of ship-builders throughout the kingdom, as, in the days of Sir Robert Peel, the whole people cried out for bread and the landed interest opposed their cry in vain. In both cases the boon sought for was the same. Parliament dared what Congress dared not do—to talk of freedom, and to grant it. England obtained free bread and free ships. An American policy would have suggested a subsidy to bakers and a subsidy to ship-builders. What would have resulted to England had not her navigation laws been repealed in 1849, and had not iron ship-building been invented? Simply this: England would have been in the exact predicament in which we now find ourselves and America would have been what England is, the mistress of the seas.

It was better policy for England, in 1849, to buy our ships than for America to sell them, as, in 1886, whatever British ship-builders might gain by selling ships to Americans would be balanced more than a hundredfold by the benefits that would accrue to America from the purchase.

Next in order, our attention is called to this very correct statement on page 51 of the report :

> "The chairman of the London Chamber of Shipping lately remarked, 'We have 1,000,000 tons too much shipping in Great Britain, and until something like that quantity of tonnage is absorbed, profitable times cannot be expected to return to the merchant marine.' "

This shall receive due consideration when we come to another matter with which it is intimately connected.

On page 62 we read :

> "Our remarkable success on the sea (up to 1860) was doubtless due in a great measure to the fostering care of the government as well as to the maritime spirit that pervaded commercial society."

What was the nature of this "fostering care"? Did a subsidy to the Collins, Havre, and Bremen steamship lines tend to foster the sailing-ship interest or the interests of independent steamships? On the same page, after a satisfactory explanation of the difference in cost of iron sailing ships in this country, as compared with Great Britain, we have this repetition of what Mr. David A. Wells has so aptly termed "the historic lie":

> "Besides, we (the American ship-owners) have to compete with a subsidized commerce, for no country has been more lavish of the public funds than Great Britain in building up a mercantile marine and thereby increasing foreign trade."

This is a favorite argument of Mr. John Roach when he desires to obtain a subsidy for his own ships to run in competition with other ships not having subsidies, but it was not to be expected from an officer of the government, who should have no excuse for such a perversion of fact. The only subsidy of importance granted by England to sailing ships was conferred upon an Australian line in 1850, and that line was chiefly composed of American-built clippers, purchased immediately after the repeal of her navigation laws. Will this be cited as an example of England's "fostering her own ship-building"? It would be impossible to point out a single instance in which England ever made it a condition of subsidy that either steamers or sailing ships should be built at home, or that it was intimated in any way that the purpose of subsidy was to "foster" domestic ship-building.

Mail subsidy is not only entirely apart from the ship-building industry, but it is a detriment to general ship-owning. Can anybody imagine that the few subsidized steamships, running between Liverpool and New York, are of any benefit to the independent steamships in the same trade ?

Fortunately, the number of the subsidized is so small that the injury done to the independent ships is not appreciable, but, supposing that one-half the fleet was subsidized, what chance would there be for the remainder ?

We now come to "the depression in the freighting business of the world," which, it is asserted with truth, has produced financial troubles in the old world as well as here. And yet, on the very next page, our Commissioner comes forward as an advocate of the men who are asking for a bounty to enable them to build more ships, when the world is already so overstocked that the freighting business cannot become profitable until the acknowledged surplus of 1,000,000 tons is disposed of by shipwreck or by time !

For thirty years I have steadily advocated the policy of free ships. Long before the civil war, to which has been so falsely charged the decline of American shipping, it was not difficult to foresee what would be the lamentable result of our system of prohibition. It is with the melancholy satisfaction of the "I told you so" prophet, that I quote from my correspondence with the New York Journal of Commerce. in 1857, reproducing this extract from one of those letters :

> "England is able to construct this class of vessels (iron screw steamships) more economically than we can. She must, therefore, have the monopoly of building them. Her monopoly in this respect we cannot prevent, but it depends on ourselves and on our government whether she shall have the *monopoly of sailing them.* The only way in which we can participate in ocean steam navigation is by adopting a system of reciprocity with England, so changing our laws that we may buy her steamships, as she now buys our sailing vessels, because she finds it for her interest to do so."

If this object could then have been accomplished, our shipping interests to-day would have equaled those of England, and I believe that, as it has resulted in Germany where iron ship-owning commenced before iron ship-building, our ships would by this time have generally been built at home.

Mr. A. Foster Higgins, author of the late report from the New York Chamber of Commerce, a most pronounced protectionist and advocate of subsidies, makes this candid admission, although he qualifies it with error:

> "It may be possible for American merchants to own and run foreign built vessels with foreign crews and largely regain portions of our foreign carrying trade, without necessarily aiding in the least degree to re-establishing ship-building in the United States."

It by no means follows that, because the vessels are foreign built, the crews would be more foreign than if the vessels were built at home. In either case, it is alike certain that the captains and officers would be Americans, and what is most important of all, as is admitted, we might "largely regain portions of our foreign carrying trade." The example of Germany, just cited, indicates that such a measure would tend far more to re-establish domestic ship-building than to prevent it. It certainly could do our ship-building for the foreign carrying trade no injury, since it is conceded on all hands that ship-building for this purpose no longer exists. Mr. Higgins is quoted because he is the mouth-piece of subsidy men, and because his report and that of the Commissioner are in the same line of argument. They both seem to think that ship *building* is the prime necessity, without which any attempts to restore ship *owning* are not to be for a moment considered. That has been the great mistake of all congressional legislation, or rather of congressional obstruction, from the report of Mr. Lynch's committee, in 1870, down to the present day. From that time to this, we have persistently protected foreigners in earning freight money, of which, during that period, we have paid to them the enormous sum of $1,800,000,000. A large part of this money might have gone into the pockets of our own ship-owners, but it has been withheld from them, merely because, from whatever reason, tariff, want of enterprising competition or what else it matters not, our ship-builders could not, would not, at any rate did not build ships as good in quality and as low in cost as the ships that we could have bought.

As we might have participated in the past profits of the business, we should of course have had our share of the ups and downs of all trade, and should have been partakers of the present depression, which certainly does not hold out a favorable inducement for the whole country to contribute money to enable ship-builders to build ships that just now are not needed. But, taking one time with another, provided we had been permitted to own ships, judging from what happened when we did own them on equal terms of cost, reasoning from experience and recollections of American ship-owners, officers, and seamen, it cannot be doubted that we should have carried away our full share of the profits, and would have sustained as little loss as any other people engaged in the business have suffered.

Thus far the question has been considered mainly as one of dollars and cents. Beyond that, there is a patriotic sentimentalism with which the American sailor regards his flag. He does not even care if the bunting of which his flag is made was woven in General Butler's mill, or if it was imported from England. He cares nothing about the nationality of the men who spiked down the planks on which he treads, nor does he care on which side of the Atlantic their work was done, provided that they did it well.

But it is his business and his pride to carry that flag around the world. In peace, it is his protection as he pursues the paths of commercial gain, and, in war, it is the inspiration of his soul. The Commissioner, who has been a sailor himself, forgets all this, and thinks only of "protecting" the American carpenter and iron worker. He holds their trade in higher estimation than a navy, which, to use his favorite expression, might be "fostered" for use in war by simply permitting a merchant marine to foster itself in time of peace, without any expense to the government of bounties, subsidies or any such beggarly expedient, emanating from a system of protection which robs the American sailor of his manliness and his liberty.

This vicious system of protecting ship-builders who build no ships has not only deprived ship-owners of the opportunity for honest gain, driven sailors ashore for want of employment, and strangled the nursery of our navy, but, according to another forced admission from Mr. Higgins, it greatly prolonged the civil war at the cost of untold treasure and a loss of human life that is beyond estimate.

> "Had she (the United States) possessed in the beginning of the war an efficient navy, no one can doubt but that the war would have been shortened and the expenses lessened by at least *one-third* of what it cost."

We find one word in italics. It should all be italicized. An efficient navy and efficient transport service was denied us because it was necessary to protect the "home industry" of domestic ship carpenters. We might have purchased as many first-class iron steamships as were needed for blockaders and transports; we might have owned them before the war broke out; but, even when the dire necessity was upon us, the barbarous navigation laws stood in the way; for, when peace and humanity knelt begging in the halls of the nation for their repeal, Congress would not listen even to save the nation's life.

So, we were forced to make men-of-war out of our old wooden tubs, and when the supply of coasting steamers was exhausted, we actually took North River barges and canal boats, fitted them with boilers and engines, and put our soldiers on board of them to brave the storms of Hatteras. Too many of them, alas, never reached their destination, and, if the depths along the coast could be explored, there would be found, at no long intervals, these coffins of protection encasing our patriotic dead.

And yet the Commissioner and Mr. Higgins think that the men who have robbed the ship-owner of his business, the sailor of his employment and the nation of its life-blood, are those and those only who need continued and additional "protection"!

Of what use is the "relief" the Dingley bill affords, its abolition of consular fees, hospital dues and other infinitesimal charges upon ships, when we cannot own the ships? What do they all amount to in comparison with the cost of thirty per cent. against us in the ship itself? Relief? It is like throwing overboard a few shingles and leaving the cargo of iron in the hold, when the ship is ashore.

In everything but the ownership of vessels, we are now on equal terms with Englishmen. What the ship-builder has a right to demand is free material for all that enters into the construction of ships, and what the ship-owner needs is free ships. Then the American ship-builder will be brought into fair competition with the foreigner of the same occupation, and the American ship-owner will contend on equal terms with his transatlantic rival.

If our ship-builders succeed under these conditions it will be gratifying to us all and particularly to those who think them most worthy of consideration; but, with or without their immediate success, ship-owners and sailors will start again to life, and if, in industry, perseverance and intelligence they do not regain their ancient prestige on the seas, it will be because they are the degenerate sons of worthy sires—and that we will not believe.

JOHN CODMAN.

THE AMERICAN DRAMATIST.

About once a year, for a number of years, I have listened to a cry for the coming of the American dramatist—as if he had not only no existence, but had never existed; when the fact is that the American dramatist has already made a very respectable showing, and continues periodically to make his existence felt. We have had a national drama almost from the time that we commenced to have a national existence—although a chapter upon the American *historical* drama might be made as brief as the famous chapter on Iceland snakes. There once existed an ambition in that direction among playwrights, and a taste among playgoers for it; but both have died out; although "Putnam, or the Iron Son of '76" and "Marion, or the Swamp Angel," with others of that kind, were favorites as recently as a quarter of a century ago, particularly about the Fourth of July, Evacuation Day, etc. A peculiarity of this class of national drama was that it necessitated the keeping in stock, at all regular theaters, of an actor who could make up as the "Father of his Country" and appear in tableaux, or the inevitable red-fire apotheosis. But that sort of American drama went out with the pit boys and the volunteer fire department, and its place has not been filled. In remote rural districts the appetite for it still lingers, and is satisfied by one or more traveling companies remotely connected with some Grand Army Post, which give romantic melodramas "founded upon incidents of the late war." The banishment of the native historical drama from the cities is easily accounted for. Such a play is nothing without extravagant patriotic sentiment, and the controlling taste at the present day is against sentiment in most forms, patriotism in that form, and extravagance in any form.

To prove that we have had our Native Dramatist during our whole national existence, it is not necessary to go over all the minor playwrights whose names would be wholly unfamiliar to playgoers of to-day. Willis's "Tortesa the Usurer" may be entirely forgotten, but Howard Payne's tragedy of "Brutus" and his comedy of "Charles the Second" are favorite revivals to-day in England as well as in this country. George Miles's "De Soto" and "Señor Valiente" may be unremembered; but Boker's "Francesca da Rimini" and "Betrothal" are still on the list of acted dramas. Bird's "Gladiator" is as well known as Edwin Forrest, though his "Broker of Bogota" is less often seen, good play though it be. Conrad's "Jack Cade" and Stone's "Metamora" occasionally emerge from retirement, and, when the prevailing demand for a lighter spirit in the play wears away—as all fashions do change—there are plays by Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and Mrs. Mowatt and other native dramatists, which will bear taking down from the prompter's shelf, and dusting off, and redressing for the stage.

These were native dramatists of the generations that are past; the present sees a multitude of clever writers whose ambition has not led them, always, to do better than write to order for "stars;" but the authors of "Saratoga" and "Young Mrs. Winthrop," of "Conscience" and "Esmeralda," of "Victor Durand" and "The Twins," of "The False Friend" and "Our First Families," of "The Mighty Dollar" and "My Partner," and others, might be enumerated if there were any reasons for making a show of numbers; while, among writers who are not Americans, but who have contributed toward the building up of our native drama, are to be named—Boucicault, whose "Octoroon" and "Rip Van Winkle" and "Belle Lamar" are genuinely American, and Brougham, with his thoroughly national burlesques of "Pocahontas" and "Columbus," both too good to be so infrequently acted.

If we were to put the question to the Librarian of Congress, with whom the titles of new plays are lodged, as to his opinion of the prospects of the national drama, he would tell us that, so far as the growth of native playwrights is concerned, they were never more hopeful; he would assure us that the drama must be indigenous, for unfailing crops of it spring up in all parts of the country. Most of the seed, however, falls on very stony managerial ground, and much of the growth is choked by foreign plants. What is to be regretted is, that so few American authors of distinction are willing to try their fortunes in this field; and what is most to be deplored is, that the few who are willing are not disposed to pursue a plan of collaboration, which alone assures success to beginners. By this plan or system the writer of clever dialogue assists the inventor of interesting plot and of striking incident and character; or writers of equal invention and wit assist each other in that fuller development of the possibilities of plot or situation which one mind alone is commonly unable to accomplish; or, and this is most important, if not indispensable, dramatists of unquestioned experience help to shape for the stage the productions of play-writers of little or no experience.

To this system of collaboration we may ascribe the perfection existing abroad in the art of dramatic composition. There are few foreign dramatists of to-day who did not commence writing in literary partnership with some congenial spirit. Everything gains by the friendly emulation: the wit of the lines, the plausibility of the story and the wealth of the incident. It is easy, of course, to point out dramatic authors abroad who, unaided, produce marvelous dramatic works; but I do not hesitate to say that they have all had a helper at the start, whose name may not appear on their title-pages, but whose work is quite evident to the practiced eye. And, where this help may have been disdained, its absence is also discernible. The general fault of dramatists is, that the last strokes of the brush are negligent, or the pace is not kept up to the end. The particular fault is, that the solitary writer has a hobby or wastes his efforts in attempts to illustrate phases of life and character which have no general interest. Most clever men have veins of conceit that mar their fine work, or they pursue a weak idea to the verge of absurdity. How effectually the clear, common sense of a friendly co-laborer, who has no weakness for your weakness, would cut out all that! Of course, you have your revenge upon his puerilities and vagaries: that is the advantage of joint work.

Unless a man be born with a genius for dramatic writing—that is to say, with the art of conveying his whole idea by the *action* of his characters and the language natural to such action, and be a born stage-manager or actor also, he cannot, by unaided effort, produce, at first, a tolerable play. This being the case, our novelists or magazine workers, who feel tempted to write for the stage, might approach the question of remuneration with less confidence than they would feel in offering a new novel to a publisher. The risks of publishers and managers bear no decent proportion to each other. If a publisher risks five hundred dollars, in putting forth a new book, a manager risks ten thousand dollars in producing a new play, for there is involved, not only the cost of getting up scenery, costumes, and furnishings for the new piece, but the loss (in case of failure) on the running expenses of rent, salaries, etc., before he can replace the doomed play by another; and these seldom fall short (in a first-class theater) of four thousand dollars a week. I touch upon this point because I believe we shall not have a flourishing growth of the native drama until all the best native writers make an attempt at dramatic cultivation, and make it with so much sincerity that they will take advice as to planting the seed, training the shoots, and, above all, will wait for the fruit to ripen before they pluck it.

Possibly our national drama, from a literary point of view, will reach its best period when native writers vie with each other in illustrating native character and contemporaneous fashions and follies. It does not seem easy to get our best playwriters to practice in this field of exertion. In selecting plots and characters they have a decided bias, acquired from reading the masterpieces of modern fiction—these being mostly foreign: and so, haughty nobles and baseborn and penniless, but proud suitors, and irresistible colonels or delightfully witty majors or captains, give color and brilliancy to their pictures and furnish high tints at cheap rates. Foreign wars of conquest enable the Claude Melnottes to wipe away the stain of dishonor and come back with glory and unexplained cash; princes, and their assumed powers, are perilously convenient for cutting the Gordian knot into which the dramatist generally contrives to tie himself by the end of the fourth act; ancient nobility furnishes the thousand themes for the Vere de Vere dramas or the village maiden and elopement episodes; and so on. All this must be given up, of course, when the native dramatist closes his wistful eyes upon the Old World and opens them upon the New. But why not give a picture of the new aping the old? Some attempts have been made to combine the old and the new in one picture—for instance, by placing the scene in a foreign country, among the very bluest-blooded grandees, and then precipitating a wild, whooping American girl upon them to amaze and bewilder the foolish foreigners. But is there any real necessity for laying such a scene in a foreign country? Any respectable New

York, or Boston, or Philadelphia family, would be equally amazed and distressed by the behavior of such a girl. There is one sacrifice in giving up the old world and its works which our native dramatists find it hard to make—and that is the duel! The fascination and breathless interest that cling to the combat seem to be irresistible. The duel dies very hard out of the native drama. But, then, you may have an affair of honor without fighting, for that is quite customary among our best young bloods, I believe; though it would require a master dramatist to excite serious interest with such an episode. Of course our stage is occupied with innumerable plays purporting to afford studies of native character—such as "Solon Shingle," "Davy Crockett," "Colonel Sellers," "Gilflory," and so forth, but these are mere outlines of plays that might be written. They have no literary value and serve no purpose in the structure of the national drama, because they perish with the actor who has given them substance. There is no way to perpetuate the convulsive effects of the "gags," or impromptus of the comic star. The dramatist who is coming will undoubtedly do better. He is, perhaps, coming up as a boy now, taking in his sustenance from the drama of to-day, sitting in his gallery seat and sending his tap roots down into the modern stage for what is best to feed his growth. He is not to be despised, that silent, observant, brooding boy sitting in the gallery, be he native or naturalized.

The future American dramatist must belong to one of the classes enumerated above, and cannot altogether differ from all who have gone before him. What will be his work? Shall he embody, in a series of historical dramas, our national events, or satirize, in comedy, our native foibles, or work into dramatic shape the sensational narratives of our daily papers and call it a picture of American life? All this has been done. Perhaps the new man is to do it better. But our national drama will be established without restriction as to subject or plot. The coming dramatist will be indifferent on that score. His fancy will roam, at its own sweet will, for song or story to crystallize into dramatic form. Neither Shakspere nor any of his contemporaries, nor Corneille nor Racine, nor Schiller nor Goethe made the national drama of their native lands by the delineation of national character only. Originality of plot and incident seem, by the common consent of the highest dramatic censors in every age, to count for nothing in the estimate of literary pretensions. Molière deemed all obligations for borrowed material to be discharged by the mere admission of them: "What was good I took, whenever I found it; be satisfied that I acknowledge it." We must not exact of American dramatists more than has been demanded of its dramatists by any country. They have been permitted to draw their themes and their characters from foreign sources; their praise was for doing their work well, and vindicating the claims of the national literature by their genius. Boker might have idealized the Kentucky tragedy instead of the Rimini drama, and Bird might have made his Spartacus an Indian chief—but our national theater has lost nothing by their omission. The present masterpieces of the stage, in every tongue, are pictures of the passions of mankind in general, rather than attempts at national portrait painting; and nothing in modern times seems to belong to the latter class except a thoroughly bad modern French drama; and even this, I hope and suspect, to be an overdrawn and distorted picture.

As the prospects of the American drama depend largely upon the first efforts of the coming American dramatists, the press may be said to be the arbiter of its destinies. Let it pause, therefore, before assuming the rôle of Herod, in ordering a new slaughter of the innocents. Those first attempts may, and probably will be, partial failures, notwithstanding the efforts of actors and managers. The writings of new men in any field, and of the best of writers in a new field, are like new brands of wine: the first taste seems strange and nearly always repellent. It is the privilege of the experts of the press, who recognize the merit that lies in freshness of style, and boldness in laudable attempt, to make the public and the author better acquainted. The disposition to do this is more common now than it once was. It took a strong constitution to survive the attacks on a new play by a new man some years ago. But nearly all the best-known dramatists have had to submit to the Donnybrook reception given to new heads, and have had to nurse the wounds of failure in silence. Sardou was scarred like a veteran of defeat long before he made his first hit. So were Bulwer and Knowles. Gilbert had many a fall before he learned to keep his feet, and Tom Robertson's history was a similar one.

There is a cheering prospect for the American drama, as far as the actors and the theaters are concerned. The American stage to-day possesses native born or thoroughly naturalized artists, who have no superiors in their respective lines. The tragic, the comic, the eccentric, the delineator of the easy, well-bred man or woman of society and of every other grade of life, are now to the manner born. Not many years ago the companies that acted in our theaters were largely English. Here and there twinkled an American "star," but the firmament was studded with foreign constellations. The development of the histrionic talent in the United States augurs well for the future dramatic literature. So many clever men and women must not only produce but must inspire genius in that direction. It would take a page to mention even the more prominent among our native actors and actresses who are capable of giving to the ideal of the dramatist breath and motion. We are richer, perhaps, in comedy than tragedy, but the comic power is so closely allied to deep feeling and ready sympathy that there are few of our artists who cannot call forth a tear as readily as a smile.

But the brightest prospect of the American drama is found in the present position of the theater in this country, with reference to the social world. Our advance in that direction is almost incalculable. The best portion of the community has taken possession of the theater, as it ought to take possession of all public amusements, and has made it its own. The purification of the temple of the drama has been so thoroughly effected that the worthiest people find it worthy of their affectionate regard. From the topmost gallery down, respectability reigns. The "third tier" and the pit of thirty years ago, with their bars and their loungers, have disappeared. There is no attraction for the vicious. The constant patrons of the drama belong to the class of people who are strictest in the performance of every duty, moral and social. I overheard the following colloquy, lately, between two gentlemen of gravity and respectability :

First Gentleman : I used to be very fond of the theater, but I have not been inside of one for twenty-five years.

Second Gentleman : Indeed ! Why ?

First Gentleman : Not because of the drama itself, but I fear the associations—the people my sons and daughters would have to meet there.

Second Gentleman : Pardon the remark, but you speak exactly like a person who has not been inside a theater for twenty-five years.

First Gentleman : How so ?

Second Gentleman : If your sons and daughters went to the theater *now*, the people they would meet would be my sons and daughters and those of your friends, with their parents and grandparents.

In fact, those who now rail against the theater, on the ground of its associations, attack, not the players but their patrons—the best classes of the community. If plays are found which have no elevating influence, or exhibitions of a demoralizing tendency, the drama is not to be condemned for that, any more than the press is to be condemned because there are foolish books printed.

To sum up, I should say the prospects of our national drama are bright, because: 1st, our theaters, as places of resort, are wholesome, and are controlled by the best classes; 2d, the development of dramatic capability and power in the art of acting is marked and increasing in Americans; 3d, our native authors are numerous and industrious, wanting but the resolution and perseverance of American writers in other departments to systematically help the native drama and not leave its development too much to chance; 4th, the standard of the best management is high except where theaters are managed purely as commercial speculations. Even the latter would be well enough if the commercial instinct were present as in other business undertakings, and required the employment of a competent artistic head.

AUGUSTIN DALY.

STATESMANSHIP OLD AND NEW.

PROFESSOR SUMNER, of Yale College, has published a little book called "Protectionism, the -ism which teaches that waste makes wealth." Whether one be or be not interested in the question of free trade, he cannot fail to be entertained by a method of discussion at once unique and summary. The world, even in our young country, has grown rather old. The great problems, whose slow solution has been attended with anguish and blood in past ages and other nations, press now upon us. We question, we weigh, we advance tentatively, we claim cautiously. But in the flap of a side tent is a sudden flutter, and Professor Sumner vaults into the arena, lithe, light-clad, light-hearted, with an adorable self-confidence. He leaps to the spring-boards, he is thrice heels over head in the air, he runs up all the elephants, four high, on a tub, he tosses aloft six balls with his hands while spinning on six more with his toes, he dances a hornpipe on the tight-rope, he hangs by his knees to the trapeze, he is whirling around the ring on a parti-colored pony, sitting *à la* Turk, with folded arms, riding backward, he springs on one foot and takes every hoop—there is a crackle of torn paper, a leap, a pirouette, a bow, and he is gone. Elephants, tubs, tent and saw-dust disappear. The world again is work-a-day and commonplace. Something indescribably agile—the eternal childhood of absolute faith—has gone out of it, and we turn once more to the same old grapple with the same old problems. Ah! if they only *could* be disposed of in this blithe Sumner fashion!

Yet Professor Sumner did not mean to perform. He deliberately meant not to perform, and the decision was made not without sacrifice. Protection seemed to him deserving "only contempt and scorn, satire and ridicule." The stupid protectionists, the knave protectionists, the humbug protectionists—his bones fairly ached to lash them around the ring. "I confess," he says, "that it cost me something to leave their cases out of account, but to deal with them would have been a work of entertainment, not of utility." Thus firmly resolving not to be as funny as he could, with one longing glance at the animals, he betook himself to "the intelligent voters of all degrees of general culture who need to have it explained to them what protection is and how it works," and made his self-denying because "patient and serious exposition of it." Too much gratitude cannot be cherished for this perseverance of the saints, but the profoundest gratitude cannot prevent the silent reflection: If this is Professor Sumner's school of philosophy, what *would* his circus be ?

His main strategic position in this "patient and serious" contest is so impregnable that if he had firmly maintained it we should have been saved the whole battle. It is, that the statesmen of the eighteenth century, and most of the statesmen of the nineteenth century, did not understand their business. In fact, swooping down in ever-narrowing circles, he tells us that the real statesmen "have *not yet* come forward in *any great number*." Why this untimely modesty? Why not say frankly, "There is but one—and Yale College has clutched him ?" Certainly all will admit that this masterly annihilation of statesmen, this merciless massacre of the innocents, gives an immense advantage to the tutor of "intelligent voters of all degrees of general culture," and most especially in explaining to them "what protection is and how it works." For these eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen have always been greatly in the way. Whoever had any comfortable little theories of his own to propound has been liable to run up hard against Washington, or Hamilton, or Jefferson, in the one century, and Clay and Jackson and Webster in the other, and the bumped head and the black eye were almost sure to fall to the theorist. In ridding us of these obstructive statesmen with one stroke of his pen, Professor Sumner performs a feat to which climbing atop of four elephants on a tub is but child's play. We can now start a theory in any direction, with nothing to do but stand aside and see it spin. Professor Sumner says he has "pushed the controversy just as hard as he could," and "must forego the hope that he has given any more pleasure now than formerly to the advocates of protectionism." The advocates of protectionism must be difficult to please, if they demand any harder pushing than this Sullivan feat of hustling the combined statesmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries off the decks into the deep sea. If a protectionist cannot find all the pleasure his nature requires in seeing Professor Sumner shoulder up against the Father of his Country, double his fist at the Framer of the Constitution, lunge, head downward, against the Tamer of the Lightning, and, one by one, tumble them all over the railing to sink beneath the waves fast by their native shore, till he stands, Casabianca-like, on the deck whence all but him have fled or fallen—why, there is nothing for the protectionist to do but start in search of a world which offers more humorous situations than this!

Let us devote a few moments to an observation of the process of pushing.

"The statesmen of the eighteenth century supposed that their business was the art of national prosperity"—but here at the outset the intelligent voter who needs to have it all explained to him rubs his eyes and asks, "Is not that the business of the statesman? Is not that precisely what the statesman is for, to increase the national prosperity?"

But while the intelligent voter is slowly stammering out his question the agile Professor has skipped to the balls.

"Their procedure was to form ideals and evolve dogmas. Their ideals of political greatness contained a brilliant court, a refined and elegant aristocracy, a powerful army and navy, a peaceful, obedient and hard-working peasantry."

"But," again gasps the intelligent voter, of whatever degree of general culture, "peasantry—courts—if that was the ideal of the eighteenth century, surely it was the eighteenth century also which broke that ideal in pieces. It was the eighteenth century which founded a nation whose ideal not only, but whose foundation-stone, was that there should be no court, no formal aristocracy, no standing army, and no peasantry; but that there should be equality before the law and that all government should reside in the consent of the governed."

But now the merry Professor is swinging high up over the heads of the audience, and gives no sign of hearing.

"Having as yet no definite notion, based on facts of observation and experience, of what a human society or a nation is . . ." —If the statesmen of the eighteenth, and most of those of the nineteenth, century had no definite notion of what a nation is, we need not trouble ourselves to consider such notions as they did have—further than to recall the careless-tongued American who replied to the irate Englishman's long diatribe proving that Napoleon was not a great soldier, "Well, you can't deny that he cut a ——of a swell in Europe for twenty years!" The eighteenth century statesmen may have had no idea of a nation, but they did knock together a Yankee notion that, first and last, has cut about as much of a swell in the world as if it had been a real nation. Professor Sumner affirms that this old, foolish eighteenth-and-nineteenth-century-statesman way of producing a state "is a satire on human foresight and on what we call common sense. Such a state is like a house of cards, ready to fall at a breath, to be credited at most with naïve hope and silly confidence;" but—behold the United States of America!

The Great Republic may be ready to fall at a breath; but the breath is yet to be furnished. Certainly it is not the hot breath of cannon, for that it has felt and never wavered. Nor is it Professor Sumner's breath, which also has been lavished with untiring prodigality and will doubtless blast

"from shore to shore,
Till suns shall rise and set no more,"

without apparently in the least affecting the trade winds of crops or commerce. The eighteenth century statesmen may have had "no definite notion, based on facts of observation and experience, of what a human society or a nation is," but all the superiority for observation which Professor Sumner enjoys over them he owes to them. They had all the nations to observe which he has, with the single exception of the new nation that they founded and furnished for him to look at and live in. Their undefined notion has given Professor Sumner a firm foot-hold all his life, and is the home of a family of fifty-five millions of human beings—but where is the house that Jack built?

The national hope may have been naïve, and the confidence silly, but when a Professor of Political and Social Science looks at any state whatever that has stood the shock of foreign war and of the severest civil commotion the world has ever seen, and stands to-day fifty times stronger than it was when it started—proudly the peer of any nation on the globe—and calls it a house of cards ready to fall at a breath, that Professor does not seem to be giving us a "patient and serious exposition of a grave theme;" he seems to be describing a circle heels over head from the spring-board. It is a marvelous *tour de force* but it is not argument.

The modern, the Sumnerian conception of a state is "as a seat of original forces which must be reckoned with all the time, . . . as the domain of activities so great that they should appal any one who dares to interfere with them; of instincts so delicate and self-preservative that it should be only infinite delight to the wisest man to see them come into play, and his sufficient glory to give them a little intelligent assistance." The proudest proof of the triumphant success of such a state "would be that it had nothing to do—that all went so smoothly that it had only to look on and was never called to interfere." On this idea Professor Sumner seems inclined to take out a patent. "It is a new conception of the state," he announces. The idea "has only begun to win way." The fault of the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen was that they thought that "a good state will constantly interfere and regulate," and they would look upon the mono-Sumner "type of state as non-government." But do not "intelligent voters of all degrees of general culture" know that before Professor Sumner had graced his unfashioned cradle, while as yet he was but the psychological involution of a remote evolution, statesmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were firing shots heard round the world to proclaim that "the world is too much governed;" that "in a free state every man ought to be concerned in his own government?" Did not the pseudo-statesmen of the eighteenth century frame a government on the announced fundamental principle that "the people alone are the absolute owners and uncontrollable movers of such sovereignty as human beings can claim to exercise," and that "he governs best who governs least?" When a government recognizes, and has organized itself on the recognition, that it derives its just powers from the consent of the governed, does it not by that act recognize that the state is "a seat of original forces which must be reckoned with all the time?" Is not every election a reckoning with the original forces of the state? And is not the contest for frequent elections a contest for a legitimate, orderly, regular and frequent reckoning with the original forces, to the end that no explosive, disorderly and fatal reckoning be incurred?

In a house, which was the seat of exclusively feminine forces, there arose once a midnight alarm of fire from a pervading smell of heated wood. An investigating committee was speedily formed, which inspected from garret to cellar. Rafters, flues, bricks, walls, furnaces, hot-air pipes, were all subjected to rigid scrutiny, with the ice-pitcher and the coffee-pot, and every other device of a well-organized volunteer fire-department under strict Home Rule. No actual combustion being discovered, the furnace draughts were closed, the tumult subsided, and tranquillity had diffused itself over the late morning, ere one lady—whose serene face bespeaks a long and well-grounded confidence in the stability of the order of the universe, and whom, therefore, the panic and tramp of the midnight procession had failed to disturb—emerged from her seclusion and announced that she "did not know, but really [sniff] you will laugh, but it seems to me [sniff, sniff] that I—I—smell pine!"

Similarly, Professor Sumner's stirring political discoveries consist in smelling pine which was heated and cooled in a pliocene past, and whose last lingering harmless odors it is to which he summons us with all the enthusiasm of a Columbus. As a pine-smeller, he is without a peer. He lives in the heart of a nation whose central idea is that the original forces of a state are in the individual—an idea whose ferment and fierce seething have never ceased, have never for a moment failed to keep the state at the forefront of civilized observation for a menace and a hope, and Professor Sumner has slept through it all, and now comes forth with the air of a vigilant watchman on the walls of Zion, and shaking his rattle long and loud proclaims his "new conception of the state," which "has only begun to win way"—proclaims that he "smells pine."

But while the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen viewed the state as "an artificial, a mechanical product, an object to be moulded, made, produced by contrivance," and were never willing to "let it alone," it is to be noted that the mono-Sumner statesman who views the state as a self-perpetuating organism, does not propose to let it alone. He very decidedly resolves to have a hand in the affair, whether it is a machine or an organism. Professor Sumner himself proposes to find his own "sufficient glory" in giving the original forces "a little intelligent assistance." At least he pronounces the furnishing of this "intelligent assistance" "sufficient glory" for "the wisest man"—and we all know who that is! His ideal new state can, he says, "do a great deal more than discharge police functions. . . . It can powerfully aid the production of structure by laying down lines of common action, where nothing is needed but *some* common action on conventional lines; or, it can systematize a number of arrangements which are not at their maximum utility for want of concord; or, it can give sanction to new rights which are constantly created by new relations under new social organizations, and so on."

That is exactly what the old type protectionist statesmen are trying to do. The question between them and Professor Sumner is a question of method, not of principle. Both agree that the original forces of the state need a little intelligent assistance: it is only to decide what sort of assistance *is* intelligent. Both agree that some lines of common action should be laid down: the question is where those lines should run. Both agree that a number of arrangements are not at their maximum utility for want of concord, and both are trying to systemize them—only when the protectionist pretenders bring forward their plan of systemization and common action and intelligent assistance, Professor Sumner says they are dogmatic, and Philistine, and sentimental, and stupid, and humbugs, and dishonest; hirelings of invincible ignorance, sinners against great light; that their plan arouses his moral indignation, is subtle, cruel and unjust, is a social abuse, an economic blunder and a political evil. What the protectionists say of Mr. Sumner I do not know, never having heard them speak of him. He says that they say, "Now you are abusive." If they do they are wrong. When Professor Sumner merrily marshals his shining host of epithets; when he gayly proclaims that the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen did not understand their business, that the state they founded was a house of cards, ready to fall at a breath, and that his idea of a state is the only real, genuine, *old* Dr. Jacob Townsend state, he does not seem abusive. He seems funny. To ride pony-back, back-to, sitting, with legs crossed and arms folded, and to shout that whoever rides any other way is no gentleman, is the least in the world abusive. It is simply a part of the performance.

Professor Sumner's statesmen of the old type "told people that they knew how to make everybody happy and that they were going to do it," and "they cared for the interests of kings and aristocracies which put them in power." But the new radical statesmen are scarcely more lucky in securing a good mark from the Professor, for they also "feel bound to serve those sections of the population which have put them where they are."

"And why should they not?" those sections might well ask. What else are they for? It is the business of the Connecticut statesman to serve Connecticut, in whatever station it shall please Connecticut to call him, and please him to accept the call. And in serving to the best of his ability the section which appoints him he serves to the best of his ability the great country of which his section is a part. Professor Sumner complains that these "new radical statesmen show no disposition to let their neighbors alone." Why should they? Their neighbors have not let them alone. Their neighbors have gone into the office and the sanctum and taken out the lawyer and the editor, and ordered them to Congress to mind the neighborhood business. The lawyer and the editor could have refused to go, but if they agreed to go they have no right to neglect the neighbors' business when they get there. Professor Sumner makes the point against these "new radical statesmen" that they "think they have come into power just because they know what their neighbors need to have done to them." And good right they have to think so, for in the very next page the Professor shows that the neighbors think so too. "*We* have got tired of kings," he says. "*We* have put the administration of the state in the hands of lawyers, editors," and so on. The men did not go there of themselves. The neighbors put them there. General Hawley and Senator Platt are sent to Congress because their Connecticut neighbors think that these two gentlemen know what Meriden and Hartford and Glastonbury and Norwich need to have done to them, and the two senators accepted the nomination undoubtedly because they agreed with the neighbors. It is difficult to devise a better reason for going to Congress. The "let-alone" policy which Professor Sumner advocates is a reason for staying at home. But let it always be remembered that the Free-Trader does not advocate a strictly let-alone policy. It is only a let-alone-Protection policy. It is only that what he wishes to do he calls "giving a little intelligent assistance," "powerfully aiding the production of structure," and what the protectionists wish to do he calls "to meddle and fuss and interfere." So then, whether with the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen the state be considered as a mechanical product, or whether, with Professor Sumner and Topsy, we 'spec's it growed, we all agree that it is not to be left to nail itself together into a box, or to "sprangle" over the continent as a growth, but is to have "a little intelligent assistance" that it may be made shapely or grow systematical.

Whether the assistance of the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen, or that of Professor Sumner, be the more likely to be intelligent, is a question to be considered, but whether there shall *be* any assistance is not a question.

All the devices of the eighteenth and nineteenth century statesmen mentioned by Professor Sumner—eleven in number—are dismissed by him as irrational and unsound. They are not even "a little intelligent assistance." They are simply devices "to interfere and regulate and meddle and fuss." Only one of these does he treat in his book, the device of employing protective taxes in the art of national prosperity. And before grappling with that, Professor Sumner proceeds again to startle and alarm the world by smelling pine. "Inside the United States," he proclaims, "absolute free trade exists over a continent. No one thinks of it or realizes it."

From the time of Alexander Hamilton to our own, by him and by every prominent statesman after him, of the eighteenth and of the nineteenth century, the vast area of free trade which our country enjoys has been traversed in public discussion—its wide extent, its enormous profit, its manifold advantages. At every Presidential election in which the question of tariff has entered this ground has been fought over. Its richness has fluttered from a thousand printing-presses and been uttered from a thousand stumps. Millions of men have gone to the polls and voted on it. And now, in the midst of one of those regularly recurring lulls of regularly recurring battles, when the uniforms are all hanging in the closets, and the flags are folded on the shelves, and the transparencies and the badges and the mottoes and the torches are piled up and forgotten in the wood-shed, out rushes Professor Sumner, flying across the campus, swinging his hat above his head, and vociferating "Absolute free trade exists over a continent and no one thinks of it or realizes it!"

Go back into the house, troubled professor. Eat the fat and drink the sweet of your well-earned breakfast in perfect peace. We drenched *that* rafter with the ice-pitcher long ago.

GAIL HAMILTON.

STRIKES AND ARBITRATION.

The prospect for the future of the laboring man in America is brighter to-day than it ever was, notwithstanding the seemingly "strained relations" at present existing between employer and employee.

That we are passing through an epidemic of strikes, lockouts and boycotts is true, but the fact must not be lost sight of, that were it not for the growing power of organization we should have a great many more strikes to contend with than we have had for the first three months of the present year.

The growth of organization for the past ten years has been steady and healthy. It is only where organization is in its infancy that serious troubles such as strikes and lockouts exist. The causes from which strikes and lockouts spring are to be found in all parts of the country, but the methods of dealing with the troubles as they arise are different. In places where no organizations of labor exist, or where the seeds of organization have just been planted, disputing parties are apt to become involved in strikes. The reasons advanced in support of that proposition are as follows: until recently very few workingmen dared to express their opinion in public on the subject of labor, for the reason that they were almost certain of an immediate dismissal from the service of the man or company they worked for, if it became known that they in any way favored the association of workingmen for mutual protection. With such a sentiment existing in the breasts of workingmen they could not be expected to feel very kindly toward the employer who so jealously watched their every movement, and who, by his actions, made them feel that they were regarded rather as serfs than freemen. While the real bone and sinew of the land remained in enforced silence, except where it could be heard through the medium of the press and rostrum through chosen leaders, another class of men who seldom worked would insist on "representing labor," and in making glowing speeches on the rights and wrongs of man would urge the "abolition of property," or the "equal division of wealth;" such speakers very often suggesting that a good thing to do would be to "hang capitalists to lamp-posts." The employer of labor who listened to such speeches felt that in suppressing organization among his workmen he was performing a laudable act. Yet he was by that means proving himself to be the most powerful ally the anarchist could wish for. He caused his employees to feel that he took no interest in them other than to get as many hours of toil out of them for as few shillings as possible. The consequence was that the employer, who was himself responsible for the smothering of the honest expression of opinion on the part of labor, became possessed of the idea that the raw head and bloody bones curb-stone orator was the real representative of labor, and determined to exercise more vigilance and precaution than ever in keeping his "help" out of the labor society. The speaker who hinted at or advocated the destruction of property or the hanging of capitalists to lamp-posts, was shrewd enough to speak very kindly, and in a knowing manner, of labor associations, giving out the impression that he held membership in one or more of them. Workingmen who were denied the right to organize, very frequently went to hear Mr. Scientific lecture on the best means of handling dynamite. And when the speaker portrayed the wrongs of labor, the thoughtful workman could readily trace a resemblance between the employer painted by the lecturer and the man he himself worked for. Workmen employed by those who frowned on labor organizations became sullen and morose; they saw in every action of the Superintendent another innovation on their rights, and they finally determined to throw off the yoke of oppression, organize and assert their manhood. The actions of the superintendent, or boss, very often tended to widen the breach between employer and employee. When the organization did come it found a very bitter feeling existing on both sides, and before studying the laws of the society they joined, or becoming conversant with its rules or regulations regarding the settlement of disputes or grievances, the workmen determined to wipe out of existence the whole system of petty tyrannies that had been practiced on them for years. Not being drilled in organization, and feeling that the employer would not treat with them, the only remedy suggesting itself was the strike. And, on the other hand, the employer who felt that every move of his workmen in organization would be directed against his interests, determined to take time by the forelock and turn them all out on the street. Thus we find the organization in its infancy face to face with a strike or lockout.

This condition of affairs existed in a great many places throughout the United States in the beginning of the present year. Absorbed in the task of getting large dividends, the employer seldom inquired of his superintendent how he managed the business intrusted to his keeping, or how he treated the employees. In thousands of places throughout the United States, as many superintendents, foremen, or petty bosses are interested in stores, corner groceries or saloons. In many places the employee is told plainly that he must deal at the store, or get his liquor from the saloon in which his boss has an interest; in others he is given to understand that he must deal in these stores or saloons, or forfeit his situation. Laws have been passed in some States against the keeping of company stores, but the stores are kept nevertheless, and workmen are made to feel that they must patronize them.

In many cases the owners of mills, factories or mines are not aware of the existence of such institutions as the "pluck me"—the name applied to the company store—but they stand so far away from their employees that they cannot hear the murmur of complaint, and if a whisper of it ever does reach their ears it comes through the boss who is not only interested in the store, but in keeping its existence a secret from his employer. The keeping of such stores is another source of injustice to workmen, for their existence tends to widen the breach between employer and employee. It may seem that I am dealing with insignificant things in this paper, but when the statement is made, that seven out of every ten superintendents or bosses are interested in the management, and derive profits from the operation, of stores which employees are forced to patronize, I make an assertion which can be proved. In a country where every man, no matter how humble, is taught from his infancy that he stands the equal of all other men, it is but natural for a citizen who is given to understand that he must patronize a certain store, or that he cannot join a certain society, to feel restive and, where so much is promised and so little obtained, men are apt to lose faith in a law-making system which obliges the workman himself to become complainant and prosecutor in cases where the laws are violated to his detriment. If he prosecutes, he is discharged. If he does not prosecute for infractions of law but simply complains, he is told to invoke the majesty of the law in his own behalf. In this way law is disregarded ; it becomes a dead letter ; men lose hope in law and law-makers.

The constant itching and irritation caused by the indifference of the employer to their welfare, and the injustices practiced on them by petty bosses, go on until the men feel that the only remedy is through the strike. In this way men who belong to no organization are launched into strikes.

Workingmen are not, as a rule, educated men. When the strike does come, while they feel that they have been wronged, yet they are lacking in the command of language necessary to state their case properly to the world, and, hence, set forth their claims in such a way as to arouse prejudices or create false impressions. The other side having the advantage of education, either personally or by right of purchase, can and does mold public opinion in a great many cases.

I have pointed out one or two of the little things which cause a great deal of uneasiness and vexation to workingmen ; others have pointed out the root of the evil. The workingman of the United States will soon realize that he possesses the power which kings once held—that he has the right to manage his own affairs. The power of the king has passed away. The power of wealth is passing away. The evening shadows are closing in upon the day when immense private fortunes can be acquired. The new power dawning upon the world is that of the workingman to rule his own destinies. That power can no longer be kept from him. How will he wield it ?

This question is of great concern not only to the workingman but to every citizen of the republic, and the hand of every citizen who loves his country should be extended to assist the new ruler. I have no fears because of the present apparently disturbed condition of the labor world ; on the contrary, the signs are very hopeful. Wendell Phillips once said, "Never look for an age when the people can be quiet and safe. At such times Despotism like a shrouding mist steals over the mirror of Freedom."

The people are not quiet to-day, but they are safe. It is the power of monopoly that is not safe. The men who pile up large fortunes must compensate for that privilege in the payment of a graduated income tax. The blessings which they derive from wealth must be shared by the nation from which they extract that wealth.

The hours of labor must be reduced throughout the nation, so that the toilers may have more time in which to learn the science of self government. Labor-saving machinery instead of making a slave of man must become his servant. How will the workingman wield his power? Organized labor says the power will be wisely handled, but we must have the co-operation of the vast middle classes. The employer and employed must no longer stand apart. The barriers of pride, caste, greed, hatred and bitterness must be torn down. The workingman and his employer must meet face to face, they must discuss every detail in the management of the concerns they are jointly operating. No sacrifice of principle on the one hand or of manhood on the other need attend such a transaction. In the management of great or small concerns each grievance, each trouble or difference, whether in relation to discipline or wages, should be talked over in a conciliatory spirit and *arbitrated.* Joint boards of arbitration should be formed between manufacturer, and workmen all over the country. Each party should devote considerable time to the perfecting of the plans best suited to their interests or surroundings, for rules governing one case or locality might not work well in another.

Having after careful deliberation agreed upon the rules, each party should sign the articles of agreement, binding itself to abide by them until changed by consent of both. Agreements of this kind will be the means of settling differences as they arise, and with their inauguration, strikes, lockouts, and boycotts will not be entered upon so readily, and, if ever called into play, then only as the very last resort.

T. V. POWDERLY.

THE HOURS OF LABOR.

There have been many efforts for many years past to shorten the general hours of labor of the working people of the United States by statute regulations. So far as these laws have been necessary for the protection of children whose parents were either too poor to forego their children's work or too ignorant to be aware of the danger of overworking them, these statutes have had a most beneficial influence. In other respects their effect has been very slight. They can be applied effectually only to factories, in which large numbers of persons are congregated under one roof, operating machinery which is driven by a water wheel or a steam engine.

With respect to such factories laws have been passed in some States prescribing ten hours work per day, in others, eleven hours work, and in others there have been no statute regulations.

When the factory system was first introduced, especially in the manufacture of textiles, the hours of labor were fourteen per day, the work was arduous and continuous, the mills low-studded and ill-ventilated.

In 1840, the average factory operative, man, woman, or child, in a cotton mill in New England earned $175 per year in compensation for thirteen or fourteen hours' work per day; the opportunity to attain even such wages was eagerly grasped by the farmers' daughters of New England. Since that date great improvements have been effected in machinery and in mill construction. It has become possible to supply the textile fabrics necessary for consumption in ten to eleven hours per day; the farmers' daughters have gone up into higher employments; their places have been filled mainly by foreign laborers who now earn in the same factories more than double the wages per hour, and nearly double the wages per year as compared to 1840, in shorter hours, with very much less arduous work, and under vastly better conditions. In certain factories of which the writer has positive knowledge the wages are on the average $285 to $290 per year for 10½ hours per day, against $175 to $180 in 1840 for 13 to 14 hours.

This change has been effected with little regard to statutes, a very large number of the most intelligent employers of labor in factories having long since reached the conclusion that there was no profit to themselves in excessive hours of work and no benefit to their working people in the long run, even if a little higher wages be earned in long hours as compared to short. Many of the most intelligent employers work their machinery only ten hours by their own choice.

It has been said that statutes have been applied, if applied at all, only to those who work in factories, with perhaps a very few others engaged in special employments. Hence the statutes respecting hours of labor could in the nature of things affect a very small proportion of the population of the United States in restricting them or depriving them of actual freedom of contract in the distribution of their own time.

If we include under the head of Collective Factory Labor all the operatives in the textile factories, in the machine shops and iron works, in the mines and other well recognized departments of such work, and add thereto all the tailors and tailoresses, all the seamstresses, all the boot and shoe makers, and all others who are engaged in occupations in which the tendency is toward the collective factory work, but of whom a large proportion are outside the factories, we shall find in the list of occupations of the census of 1880, less than one hundred in each one thousand of all who were engaged in any kind of gainful occupation in that year in this class.

It is significant that most of the strikes have occurred in the specific branches of industry in which the attempt has been made to deprive the working people of the control of their own time by legal restrictions upon the hours of labor.

Next to the factory operatives, the largest single body of working people, aside from those engaged in agriculture, consists of railroad employees. They may be said to stand midway between the collective factory work and the individual mechanic or farmer who does his work where the work is to be done, wherever it may be. In this class of railway employees some important strikes have lately occurred, the full import of which does not yet appear.

The true remedy for strikes and for obnoxious meddlesome interference by statute with the liberty of contract on the part of adults, will probably be found in the special organizations of labor, so called, which have lately become so prominent. Until quite a recent period the so-called labor reformers who have been apt to promote strikes have not been men of sufficient capacity to become true leaders; they have as a rule been mere agitators. Their influence has been felt only by isolated bodies of workmen here and there, but has been of no general importance. More recent occurrences have brought an abler body of men to the front. This is the natural outgrowth of the attempt to widen the organization of laborers, and to cover a broader field. Such an undertaking calls for ability and energy as well as character and integrity; and in this natural order such men have appeared, who are now endeavoring to direct and control by general organization all the special organization of working people. They are of course, making grave errors; but being men of ability, none will find out sooner than themselves the errors in their work, and they may then become most useful and true leaders.

For instance, what is it that stops enterprise, prevents the extension of useful arts, and keeps capital in a sort of enforced idleness or disuse at the present moment? Just one thing; and that is this very attempt to take away from the working man the liberty to make his own bargain in his own way, and to subject him to the restrictions imposed by the by-laws of an organization which he has only entered with the expectation of improving his condition.

There is but one thing which we all have in common, rich and poor alike; and that is time. The man who controls his own time, who disposes of it in his own way, and makes his own bargains, is the man who will succeed. The man who puts the control of his own time into the hands of some other man, who may or may not be well informed as to the conditions of his work, will be very sure not to succeed. The man who combines with others in the attempt to control and regulate the work of other men who do not belong to their association, and to dictate how they shall make use of the one thing which all have in common—and that is time, can only influence industry for a very short period. The most intelligent among those who join in this attempt will either alter the by-laws and do away with any interference with personal liberty, or quit the union or club to which they have attached themselves. Skillful workmen who are masters of their art will soon see that any other course would reduce the most intelligent and industrious workman to the level of the least skillful and the least competent in the trade.

The true object of association is that each man may find out by contact or correspondence with his fellows how he may develop his own individuality, his own capacity—find out what his own work is really worth, and how to obtain its full value without reducing himself to the level of any shiftless or idle person who may have joined the association with the expectation of being sustained in his incapacity at the cost of his fellow workmen.

The evil of undertaking to control and regulate the time and labor of the working people of this country by way of organization has already become so apparent that the end can be easily foreseen. This effort has already spent its force. The working men are beginning to perceive that they are the ones to suffer most from such restrictions when production or distribution is impeded by them.

Reference has been made to the sorting of the occupations of the people of the United States, by whom the work of the country is done. This is one of the most useful and most trustworthy classifications of the census. Each man or woman who worked for gain was called upon by the enumerator to state the occupation by which he or she earned money. The total number of all who were engaged in working for gain was a fraction under 17,400,000; probably at the present time there are about 19,000,000 thus engaged, or about one in three of the population.

About 1,100,000 under the census of 1880, or not over seven per cent. of the whole force by whom the whole work of the country was carried on, could be classified and set off as being among the employers of labor, or as being engaged in the mental and administrative work of the country, or in positions which gave them any power to direct or to supervise the work of the remainder. All the rest, constituting considerably over ninety per cent. of the whole working force, were in the position of small farmers who must work harder than any of their hired men, or of wage earners, operatives, employees or recipients of small salaries not above the general average of those who work for wages; and as I have previously stated, of this latter force of working people in the narrowest sense, taken by itself, not exceeding ten per cent. were engaged in any kind of occupation which could be classified under the general head of collective factory work. In other words, the 17,400,000 could be classified in a broad and general way about as follows :

Engaged in mental or administrative work as employers rather than employed, or other independent personal occupation, about......	1,100,000
In collective factory work in which large numbers of operatives are gathered in single buildings, at the outside....................	1,700,000
Occupied on railways, including laborers, not exceeding...........	600,000
Farmers, mechanics, artisans, clerks, servants, draymen and other occupations of a substantially individual character.............	14,000,000
Total...	17,400,000

As to the latter class the law may define what number of hours shall constitute a day's work, but cannot force the workman to limit his labor to that specific term. Hence no interference with the liberty of contract by legislation can be applied to the great majority of the working people of the country.

Neither can the arduous and continuous work of the household be reached either by the statute law or by the by-law of the labor organization. A certain amount of work must be done in order to attain the present standard of general subsistence, hence in just the measure that the few may be restricted in the disposal of their time must the many add to their hours of work.

The general hours of labor of this great force taken as a whole, so far as they can be ascertained or are reported upon, seem to be ten or eleven hours per day. That number of hours of labor appears to be necessary at the present time in the production of the food, fuel, clothing, and materials for shelter, of which the working classes themselves, in the narrowest sense, consume more than ninety per cent. Hence it follows that if there is any material interruption in the progress of the work, the working people themselves are subject to at least ninety per cent. of the loss of product which must ensue.

For instance, there has been a great strike on the south-western system of railroads. It has been alleged that this strike would extend throughout the country. Suppose this should happen. Who would be struck the hardest, and who would pay the cost? Would it be the capitalists who own the railroads? There were only 300,000 of them in 1880, perhaps a few more now. Few of them depend wholly upon their railroad property, and they can wait.

Who then will suffer? The work of the railroads in the year 1885, aside from the movement of passengers, consisted in the movement of upwards of 400,000,000 tons of merchandise, each ton of which was moved on the average one hundred and ten miles. This merchandise consisted about one-half of food material; the greater part of the remainder consisted of fuel and materials for shelter, the weight of fibers and of clothing being insignificant as compared to food and fuel. This enormous work stood for or represented a movement of seven tons for each and every man, woman, and child in the United States, which seven tons for each one was moved one hundred and ten miles at an average charge of $8.75, or a little over one cent per ton per mile.

It is sometimes alleged that labor does all the work, and is therefore entitled to all the pay. Each and every laborer is entirely free to move the seven tons assigned to him and to each of his family one hundred and ten miles, *i. e.*, to do all the work, and to receive all the pay, if he chooses to do it. If it is not done he and his family suffer most.

On all the railroads of the United States there are about 625,000 men and boys employed at wages considerably higher than the average wages of those whom they supply by their distribution. At the standard of payments on the New York Central Railroad their earnings were a fraction under $550 a year each. They are not paid out of the capital of the railroads. They are paid out of the current receipts received by the railroad corporations; and these current receipts are paid to the corporations on the part of every man, woman, and child in the United States, at the rate of $8.75 each, in compensation for the movement of seven tons of food, fuel, shelter and clothing, a distance of one hundred and ten miles on the average.

Who, then, is struck if this movement is interrupted, and who loses by the stroke? Is it not all who are engaged in every kind of occupation aside from the railroad? Suppose they strike back, being pinched by the hardships ensuing from the strike on the railroads, and being deprived for the time of their supplies. Then what happens? A further cessation not only of distribution but of production. Who, then, is struck the hardest? Is it not the nineteen hard-working people out of every twenty who consume at least nine tenths of the entire product, it being fairly well proved that the absolute or actual addition to the capital of any one year does not exceed five per cent. of each year's product, or ten per cent.

at the utmost? In this article I only attempt general averages or a close approximation to the facts.

The organization of clubs and associations among the laborers under the lead of able men will soon become the common schools of social science, order and industry; and these hard facts of life will soon become as well known or as apparent to them as they now are to the few students who deal with facts rather than with theories.

It may then be hoped that the way to prosperity will be found in freedom of contract and in personal liberty, giving each man or woman the full control of the one thing which all have in common, rich and poor alike—their own time, which is their opportunity.

There are other minor grievances alleged on the part of workmen as against capitalists. It is alleged that corporations have no souls, and that the workmen are made to feel themselves serfs rather than freemen. Let any one examine the facts, and it will at once become apparent that so far as due consideration of good sanitary conditions, and due care for the welfare of the operatives are concerned, factory corporations have, as a rule, been far in advance of individual manufacturers. There have been conspicuous and very noble exceptions on the part of individual manufacturers; but as a rule the welfare of factory operatives, according to the observation of the writer, has been more fully considered by the corporations than by individuals. It is true that there are objections to corporate management; namely, the want of intelligent knowledge of each other on the part of the workmen and of the managers, principals, or owners; but this is more often due rather to the magnitude of the undertakings than to any want of good-will on either side.

Another alleged grievance is in the establishment of company stores with which employees or operatives are said to be forced to deal, and in which they are said to be charged excessive prices, taking away from them the opportunity for saving. That there has been in the remote past a considerable abuse of this sort may not be denied; but in this section of the country at least a complete change has occurred. The "truck system," so called, has substantially disappeared. The special occupation of the writer has perhaps given him a better opportunity to know the facts as to all the great factories and works of New England and the Middle States than would happen with respect to other students of this question, and he can bear testimony to the fact that the company stores which are now maintained in connection with these establishments are almost invariably maintained in the interest of the workingmen, and in order to supply them with the best materials for their subsistence at as small an advance on the cost as would be consistent with maintaining the store on a commercial basis.

During the Civil War, when it became necessary to resort to short time, the writer himself found that the workingmen in establishments which were under his control were suffering because the shop-keepers, fearing that the operators would be unable to pay on short-time wages, restricted their credit and advanced their prices. He therefore established a company store in which the goods were sold for cash or for orders from the paymaster of the factory; he furnished it with the best materials carefully purchased, and sold them to the operatives at ten per cent. advance on the cost, which barely served to net interest and expenses.

The shop was maintained for many months. As soon as the mills started on full time it would have been given up, but the operatives themselves begged to have it continued, upon the ground that the advantage to them had been so great that their wages for four days' work had been nearly equal in their purchasing power, at this company's store, to six days' work in the shops where they had previously dealt. It was therefore continued for some time as a private enterprise under substantially the same rules and under the auditing supervision of the corporation until a more wholesome competition on a specie basis made it unnecessary.

When the true lesson is learned by way of these common schools of associated workingmen, it will become apparent to them that there is but one method of improving the condition of all. The capitalist must adopt every improvement in machinery, even if it makes it necessary, as it sometimes has, to break up and sell for old metal new machines bought within a few months; while the hours of labor for the whole working force can only be diminished by doing better and more productive work in less time than is now required—the present product, whatever number of hours of labor it may require, being only sufficient to meet the present average standard of subsistence, whatever that may be.

The great disparity in condition is not the disparity between laborers and capitalists; it is rather the disparity among those who themselves do the work upon which they depend for their daily bread.

The tools fall to him who can use them best. It is the best workman who does the greatest amount of work in the least number of hours with the least effort to himself. It is by such workmen that goods of all kinds are produced at the lowest cost. These facts will become the more apparent, the more speedily the attempt is made to combine all workmen upon a general average, under rules imposed by a central authority which has no power to enforce them. These rules cannot be enforced because they would impair the personal liberty of every member and deprive the people of this country of that personal liberty which is the very central idea of their existence.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

Every thoughtful American citizen recognizes the bad effects of illiterate voting, and the question arises, how can the nation free itself of the evil? The answer is promptly given, that, as a basis of presumed intelligence, the voter ought to be able to read and write; but that rule could not be enforced at the present time, as it would infringe privileges that illiterates now enjoy, and thus, being *ex post facto* in its effect, would be null and void. This difficulty can be obviated by the enactment of two laws: one requiring every young man on attaining his majority to be able to read and write, before he is permitted to vote; the other to require the same qualification of the foreigner. These laws would be prospective in their effect, and would not interfere with the rights of the present illiterates. The good influence of such a regulation on young men would commence at once, while it would equally stimulate the foreigner desiring to become a citizen. In the latter case, the committees as now usually appointed before an important election, by political managers, to ferret out foreigners in order to have them naturalized, would in addition be instructed to teach them to read and write if necessary.

As the regulation is now, neither the illiterate young men in the rural districts nor the young roughs in our cities, have any special motive to qualify themselves to become voters; and it must have a demoralizing effect upon both these classes to be advanced to the dignity of citizenship without any qualification whatever, except that of arriving at a certain age, which costs them nothing. The same rule applies to the foreigner, who has only to wait five years, during which time he can prepare himself. On the contrary, such requirement would stimulate the self-respect and ambition of both these classes to become citizens in good and regular standing, and in consequence they would value their citizenship the more highly, because they did something, and that of an ennobling character, in order to obtain its privileges. Under the present system there are two reasons why the hope is fallacious of our ever obtaining an entire voting population that will be intelligent in the ordinary sense of the term: first, the continuous influx of illiterate foreigners; and, second, the existence of the illiterate among the native born. In twenty or twenty-five years the unfortunate illiterates now living will have passed away, and we would then have become, virtually, a nation of intelligent voters.

Let us, therefore, free ourselves of these two impediments—both native and foreign—and the end will be attained. It will take time, but the glorious results will last forever, for enactments of laws to secure the nation against the evils of illiterate voting would never be repealed.

Let the rule apply to all native classes—white or colored—for in these days of public schools there is no excuse for either class failing ; the whole political fraternity would take an interest in the matter, and thus stimulate the embryo voter to qualify himself. Moreover, if the friends of the measure secure in its favor the influence of the women, no self-respecting young man would incur the disgrace of being an illiterate.

Congress has the right to impose conditions in the Territories and in the District of Columbia on which young men can vote, and it also has the constitutional authority to impose conditions, as it has in some respects already done, on which to admit foreigners to the privileges of citizenship.

According to the American idea the ultimate authority inheres in the people, but that does not preclude legislative bodies whom the people delegate to make laws from acting in the premises, since they are presumed in a collective capacity to know more of the underlying principles of laws than their constituents. Hence the Legislatures should enact measures that they deem beneficial for the people, and trust to time and the good influence of the laws themselves to make them popular.

J. HARRIS PATTON.

II.

THE statements of S. S. Herrick, M.D., in the February number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, regarding Clairvoyance, Mesmerism, and Spiritualism, may be easily offset by an equal number of equally positive assertions on the other side. For example, I venture to say that clairvoyance is a normal human power; having no necessary relation to " fortune-telling; " that its intelligent believers are not " satisfied with vague shadows," but only with demonstrative facts ; that wherever Mesmerism has been thoroughly investigated by competent persons, whether " scientists " or others, they have been convinced of its substantial reality ; that the conclusions of Braid and of Carpenter in no way invalidate its claims ; that neither artificial nor natural somnambulism is rationally explainable aside from the hypothesis of spirit-intervention ; that apparitions are not in all cases " visual hallucinations," but that a class of them (called materialized apparitions) is becoming increasingly common which are tangible, ponderable and audible, as well as visible, and that, too, by educated, sane, and numbers of healthy people at the same time ; that Spiritualism proper has nothing in common with jugglery, and that " unconscious muscular action " utterly fails to explain a large part of its common phenomena ; that the hand of a writing medium does not act without the governance of *some* will, but often evinces the control of a will or mind far more capable and intelligent than the medium's own ; that the utterances of trance-speakers, often and usually exhibit not only coherency but mental power far superior to that shown by the same speakers when not entranced ; that Spiritualism is capable of many and most valuable practical applications, some of which its rational adherents have already realized to a reasonable extent, and which will, doubtless, be far more fully developed ere

1886 years (the age of Christianity) shall have passed away; that it is not received by its intelligent adherents "by faith without evidence, or contrary to the best evidence," but its special feature is that it brings with it most cogent and convincing evidences to all open and ingenuous minds—which cannot be said of the popular religious theories, and that, while, indeed, its supposed occult phenomena have been found, by those who have given them due attention, to be "conformable to established laws," yet those laws involve the existence and agency of invisible beings, who, doubtless, always did and always will surround and act upon incarnated humanity.

Further, it would be no difficult task for one having the leisure, to maintain these assertions (or most of them) with incontrovertible facts drawn from authentic sources, including the testimony of some of the brightest names on the roll of science—facts sufficient to fill your pages for a year to come, without by any means exhausting the supply. But not supposing that your pages are open to such matter, I shall not undertake any part of this task. Meanwhile, I assume that dogmatic assertion on the one side is quite as good as on the other—and a little better on the side that is prepared to back it up by facts.

A. E. NEWTON.

III.

I HAVE lately came into possession of this interesting letter addressed to Mrs. Cornelia L. Hopkins, of Alexandria, Virginia, by Colonel Aaron Burr, in reference to his trial, then pending, for high treason.

RICHMOND, 16 *Augt*, 1807.

HAVING never been charged with, nor ever incurred the suspicion of, treason against love or friendship, I may without presumption conclude that your regard will not be forfeited by any lesser crimes, that you continue to take an interest in my welfare and will be gratified to hear of the progress of my business. If I should not have deceived myself in this conclusion you shall hear from me when anything of moment shall occur in the course of the trial.

We shall actually commence to-morrow. The jury will be completed out of the second panel, though of the same description of persons as the first.

Tender to Mr. W—— my best regards and be pleased to accept assurances of the devoted respect and attachment with which

I am your faithful serv't,

A. BURR.

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SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

Socialism is a vague expression, used to group together a multiplicity of ideas which have, nevertheless, this in common, that they contemplate the introduction of radical and thorough-going social reforms. Even more than this may be said. Socialism seeks such a reconstruction of society that the entire products of labor shall accrue to the laborer. It would extend the application of St. Paul's injunction—"If a man will not work neither shall he eat"—to all men impartially. Socialism aims, then, not to abolish capital—a folly which no sane man ever contemplated—but it desires to do away forever with a distinct class of capitalists.

Slavery was formely defended because it established the union of capital and labor in the same hands, and Southerners used to argue that only through such a union could domestic peace be permanently preserved. Little heed was then given to these philosophic advocates of slavery, but the Socialist now comes forward and maintains the essential accuracy of their position; arguing, however, that labor and capital must be united in the hands of the working-man and not in the hands of a master. All the instruments of production must become the common property of the toilers, and to them must be transferred the product of labor without deduction of interest, rent and profits. Thus much may perhaps be said of all who are properly called Socialists, whether they hold to anarchy, communism, voluntary coöperation, or state socialism. Socialism thus includes men of peace and revolutionists, advocates of dynamite and preachers of the Gospel of Christ, "the first Socialist," as He is often called.

The term is also applied to some to whom it does not belong in any unqualified sense. Professorial Socialists and Christian Socialists, as a rule, are not believers in any form of pure socialism, though there may be exceptions among them. Usually they are men who simply recognize the social side of man's nature and believe that men can perform certain economic functions in some kind of coöperation more advantageously than in any other manner; who, indeed, go still further and hold that many economic functions can be performed in no other manner. They would, however, often maintain that the performance of these functions was not advocated as an introduction to pure socialism but in order to further industrial initiative and activity in their own proper sphere. It may in general be said of these men that they lay stress on the doctrine of human brotherhood, and repudiate the idea that any human being or any class is exempt from social duties.

The earliest form of socialism to find introduction in America was what might be called village communism; that is, common production on the part of a small group of people and equal distribution of products. Two insignificant trials were made by the Virginians and the Massachusetts Pilgrims, in Jamestown and in New England towns, respectively. These experiments occurred early in the seventeenth century. A more serious attempt to establish the communistic life was made by the Shakers in the latter part of the following century. A small band followed "Mother" Ann Lee from England to this country in 1774, and settled in Watervliet, near Albany, in the year of the American Declaration of Independence. A few years later, they introduced communism as the only form of life befitting those in their religious and spiritual condition. "As, in the institution of the primitive Christian Church, all share one interest in spiritual and temporal blessings, according to individual needs; no rich no poor. The strong bear the infirmities of the weak and all are sustained, promoting each other in Christian fellowship, as one family of brethren and sisters in Christ."

The Shakers have been eminently successful, economically. They started with nothing and now have property valued at several millions; perhaps twelve is a moderate estimate, and it is said that there has never been a failure among them. Their numbers seem never to have exceeded five thousand, and at present they would fall below that figure. The basis of their communism is celibacy and religion. The Shakers do not claim that their life is adapted to all, but regard it as suited to those choice spirits who wish to lead a higher life in retirement from the distractions of the world. They consider it an advance upon the convents of the Roman Catholics, inasmuch as they do not separate the sexes but live together as brothers and sisters in purity. One of them states their two chief objects somewhat as follows: "We furnish a place to which people can retire who desire to lead a higher life. Our life is a materialization of angelic possibilities. In the second place, it is a notice to the world, an advertisement, calling attention to such possibilities." The life of the Shakers is a progressive one, it must be borne in mind, for they hold that they are to pass through seven cycles, of which the first is scarcely completed. "We are advancing," says their leader, "from winter into spring." They look for a greater future and hold their gates open to welcome all honest men and women, rich and poor alike, who come to them desiring to lead their life. To all such they offer a home.

The Shakers are the most successful example of village communism, though there are several other noteworthy settlements. The Harmonists, at Economy, have amassed enormous wealth, and the Oneida Community, embracing more college-bred men and a larger number of representatives of distinguished families than any other community, accumulated what might be called a competence. Zoar, Ohio, and Amana, Iowa, both of which allow marriage and the family, have acquired wealth. Many communities were established about 1825, and a larger number about 1845, and it was once believed, by their friends, that these communities would spread and absorb all the inhabitants of the civilized world, and indeed of the globe. These hopes have been abandoned, but this early communism still lives and the world has valuable lessons yet to learn from this social experimentation conducted on American soil. If some features of this life could be adopted in the country districts of the United States, it would render rural life more diversified, agreeable and profitable, from every stand-point.

Modern socialism awaits a transformation of economic life on a larger national basis, and looks with comparative indifference on the early American communism just described. Its germs were brought to this country by Germans after the revolution of 1848 in Europe, and since that time German and French emigrants have continued to import into this country the seeds of our present socialism. It grew slowly at first, and did not attain any considerable proportions much before 1878. It is stronger now than it ever has been before in American history.

Organized American socialism must be divided into two general classes: anarchy and state socialism, or socialism proper.

Anarchy is not socialism, in the strict sense of the term, but extreme individualism. Anarchists would abolish all government, for they believe that it is a needless evil. If that is the best government which governs least, then, say they:

> "The very best government of all
> Is that which governs not at all."

The anarchists hold, however, that the absence of authority will produce a natural and spontaneous order, and this order, they think, will be true socialism. Some of them call themselves communistic anarchists, because they believe anarchy and communism to be compatible. It is not easy to understand how the anarchists picture the future to themselves, but it is probable that they think of industry as organized and conducted by unions of artisans, and hold that these unions will be united in federations. Some evidently believe in government and what must amount to a state, although perhaps called by another name. When their ideas are analyzed, it will be found that it is simply the present state-forms to which objection is raised and not the state in itself. This is not true of all, however, for there are anarchists who believe that the social principle in man is a sufficient bond of unity, and will, without force, enable men to carry on coöperative production. It is only necessary in their opinion to abolish all iniquitous laws and institutions, particularly "the beast of private property," in order to allow free course for the naturally good qualities in man.

There have been theoretical anarchists among us from the foundation of the Republic, and a great deal of our early political philosophy was, as some of our present political philosophy, inclined to anarchy. It has been a favorite theory among us that the state is an evil; at best, a necessary evil; and its gradual abolition has been contemplated with satisfaction. Among the abolitionists of slavery there was a faction, led by Garrison, who were peaceful anarchists. A party of anarchists is, however, of recent date. Such a party is the International Working People's Association, with head-quarters at Chicago. This party, as distinct from the state socialists, appeared to have been formally organized in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1883. They then adopted a manifesto, from which the following words are quoted: "What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply: First: Destruction of the existing class-rule by all means, *i. e.* by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action. Second: Establishment of a free society based upon coöperative organization of production." As a rule, these internationalists also attack religion and the family in bitter terms, because these are pillars of existing society.

The members of this party regard the existing state as so utterly bad that reform within it is out of the question, and they counsel all adherents of their cause to abstain from the use of the ballot. Like the Russian Nihilists, by whom, indeed, they have been influenced, they believe that it is first of all necessary to destroy what exists, as reconstruction is not possible until our present institutions are completely demolished. Their remedies are gunpowder, petroleum and dynamite, and their cry is "Away with religion, away with the family, away with the state."

The number of adherents of this party can be estimated with difficulty. It has evidently grown rapidly during the past two years, but it may be doubted if its enrolled adherents exceed fifteen thousand. Yet there are doubtless two or three hundred thousand who accept their views. They form one branch of the Central Labor Union of Chicago, in which a large number of workingmen are represented, all of whom are willing to parade with them, and many of whom accept their extreme position. The Federative Union of Metal Workers of America also accept these views, and adherents may be found in other organizations which, as such, do not hold these views, or, indeed, hold quite opposite opinions. The chief danger to the country from this party seems to be this: in time of excitement and restlessness or open revolt, when men in a frenzy of anger are looking about for some one to lead them, those who have been trained in this party may step forward as leaders. At such a time, a few men who believe in violence and destruction, as a matter of principle, may do great damage.

The International Working People's Association has an active and energetic press. Among their organs are the "Chicago Alarm" and the daily "Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung." Their Chicago papers claim a circulation of over twenty thousand copies, and they have newspapers in other cities. "Liberty," of Boston, is an advocate of anarchy, though its editor does not belong to this party, and Joseph Labadie advocates anarchy in the "Labor Leaf" of Detroit, although he repudiates the methods of the "Internationalists."

There is another party, composed chiefly of English-speaking laborers, called the "International Workmen's Association" and indicated by the letters I. W. A., not I. W. P. A. or International Working People's Association. The chief strength of this party is between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. It is a secret society and said to be about as strong as the I. W. P. A. It likewise is violent and revolutionary, but its members appear generally to believe in state socialism. The third organized socialistic party is called the "Socialistic Labor Party," which advocates the establishment of state socialism by peaceful means, if possible. It repudiates violence as a means of agitation, but considers the ballot useful for purposes of propaganda. The members of this party seek reform from the existing state, and several of their demands must meet the approval of all right-minded people. Their official organ is the "Sozialist" of New York. The daily "Volkszeitung" of New York, and the daily "Tageblatt" of Philadelphia are widely circulated organs. Their views are presented in Groulund's "Coöperative Commonwealth."

The number of adherents of the party who are enrolled as members in their sections is small though rapidly increasing. It is doubtful if it is ten thousand. On the other hand, the number of those who accept their economic philosophy is large. A million believers may be a safe guess. Several trades unions are avowedly socialistic in this sense, as, for example, the Journeymen Bakers' Union, the International Furniture Workers' Union and the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union.

These ideas are advocated in some of the labor papers published in English, as, for example, in the New Haven "Workingman's Advocate," and the principles of the Knights of Labor, if carried to their logical outcome, undoubtedly mean socialism. Many thinking "Knights" might perhaps object to this classification somewhat in these words: Yes, our Declaration of Principles undoubtedly means socialism, but, after all, it is not fair to call us Socialists in the ordinary sense of the word. Like John Stuart Mill, we contemplate socialism only as a dim and distant ideal, and not as anything capable of realization in the present.

From socialism, as such, the American people, in the writer's opinion, have nothing to fear. So long as Socialists confine themselves to peaceful methods there is no reason why their right of free speech should be abridged or even feared. It were wiser to seek to learn anything from them, which they have to teach, than to become alarmed. It is the glory of America that she has faith to believe that only such institutions as rest upon sound common sense and approved experience will be supported by the people. It is to be hoped that we will never imitate the disastrous folly of older nations, and attempt the suppression of an idea by physical force.

The only real danger which can threaten the future of our country must proceed from private sin and public wrong. The true patriot, unmoved by frightened and angry denunciation, will close his ears to incendiary utterances, whether they be those of the poor and ignorant who would destroy wealth, or those of the rich and cultured who would shoot down working-men like dogs; for such an one will recognize the fact that righteousness is the only sure foundation for American institutions, and he will endeavor to plant them firmly on that rock.

RICHARD T. ELY.

FREE TRADE IN DISCUSSION.

WITH the liberal and considerate judgment born of culture, Professor Sumner, in his entertaining book on the subject, characterizes protectionism as "an arrant piece of economic quackery masquerading under an affectation of learning and philosophy;" as deserving, in his exuberant phrase, "only contempt and scorn, satire and ridicule"—with which, but for its strength in the traditions and the ignorance of people, he would be glad, as a matter of entertainment, to overwhelm its advocates.

That the present paper contains neither learning nor philosophy, the reader will, I fear, all too soon find out for himself; but in order that the courteous Professor may not be annoyed by another masquerade, let me at the outset disavow the assumption of anything but pure scientific ignorance, and only plead that all algebra skirmishes around an unknown quantity and that the solution of the equation is just as absolute as if the coffee or the copper were on the blackboard instead of the x and y which represent them. So may tariff and free trade be the symbols of logic, serving as well for the terms of a syllogism or for the test of fallacy as if one owned a coal-mine, or invented a loom, or left fifteen years of exclusive devotion to political economy in order to explain to "intelligent voters of all degrees of general culture what protectionism is and how it works." The principles on which a reasoner proceeds and the methods which he employs, concern all discussion, irrespective of the thing discussed, so that we may, perhaps, inspect his methods without tapping those reservoirs of "satire and derision" which "remain reserved" for the masqueraders who add hypocrisy to ignorance.

But no sooner has one raised a shelter against this deserved downpour than the *mise en scène* is shifted, and we find it is not the cold chill of satire but the hot blast of "moral indignation" that threatens us. Protectionism, which, in one paragraph, had merited only "contempt and scorn, satire and ridicule," in the next paragraph arouses the Professor's "moral indignation." The "arrant piece of economic quackery," over which he could hardly stop laughing and be "patient and serious," in the twinkling of an eye becomes "a subtle, cruel, and unjust invasion of rights" which forces him to the front. One cannot help wishing that he had kept to the quackery theory. To begin an economic discussion by scorching one's opponent with "moral indignation," seems a womanish rather than a scientific mode of procedure. If anything might claim to be discussed calmly, it is a purely business question like protectionism. Professor Sumner derides the "sentimental protectionist," yet himself attempts to sentimentalize free trade by classing it with free conscience, free worship, free speech, free press, free soil. But, so far as it can be there, it has always been there. When our nation was founded on freedom, freedom was in them all except for the negro, and he racked the country with convulsive throes till he too was free. The Professor is at his old trick of "smelling pine." The principle of freedom was enthroned a hundred years ago. But when he says: "Trade does not need *any* regulation or restraint," he slyly slips trade out of the class of commerce and conscience and sets it above all social laws. Worship needs restraint; Freeman was incarcerated. Conscience needs restraint; Guiteau was hung. Speech and press are not free to malign. Soil is not free to the trespasser; a man may not dam his own brook to the flooding of his neighbor's field. Our State is founded on the principle that a man has freedom till he reaches the line of another man's right; all dispute is as to where that line ought to be drawn. It is not a question of principle but of fact. When two farmers go to law about a division wall, it is not a matter of free soil; it is a question of where the stone wall should stand. The lawyers do not declaim on the rights of man. They go to the register's office and look up deeds; they go to the probate office and inspect wills. The free-trader admits that government has a right to restrict trade by a tax for revenue, and in so doing he gives up the whole question of unrestricted free trade. He concedes the right to restrict. The only question remaining is, what restriction is wise? In society nothing is absolutely free. Everything is free, subject to the necessities of society. Restriction of trade for revenue is to pay the expenses of the government. Restriction for protection is to benefit the people who own, uphold, elect the government. Protectionism does not profess to protect for one man, or for one set of men alone. It professes to protect for the advantage of all. It may be mistaken. It may protect to the disadvantage of some. But that is a matter of detail, not of principle; a matter for investigation, not for denunciation.

Unhappily, Professor Sumner has for this tortoise mode of procedure only contempt. He has "been studying political economy almost exclusively for the last fifteen years," and this miserable matter of petty detail throws it all into confusion. Before it, "the science falls dead on the spot. . . . What can the economist learn or do? What function is there for the university or the school? . . . The only questions which can arise are as to the number, variety, size, and proportion of the taxes. As to these questions, the economist can offer no light. . . . He can deduce no principles, lay down no laws in regard to them. The legislator must go on in the dark, and experiment. If his taxes do not produce the required result, . . . he has to change it. If the result still fails, change it again. Protectionism bars the science of political economy . . . and the only process of the art of statesmanship to which it leads is eternal trial and failure."

This is, undoubtedly, a true indictment against protectionism. For the purposes of the schools and colleges, free trade must be far superior. It easily adapts itself to a formula as incontestable as the multiplication table. In the class-room, major premise, minor premise and conclusion slip into place as easily as the pink and blue countries of a dissected map. Free trade being a simple negation, a man of science can go into his study and lay down laws and deduce principles and make up a scheme of political economy in five minutes, which shall be absolutely perfect, and run to a charm in the classic silence of his library, because unscientific facts are not apt to come in and clog the works. As an intellectual effort or a class-room exercise, free trade is far the more manageable and satisfactory. Compared with its simple requirements, the hand of the legislator is clumsy indeed, who imposes a tax, stands off to regard it, and then tries again, makes no pretense of forming a science, and looks askance at the deduction of principles. Nevertheless, science itself seems to show that, outside college walls, the world and all that is therein were made on the clumsy legislative "if-at-first-you-don't-succeed-try-try-again" pattern, and not upon the perfected politico-scientific pattern. The protectionists are practicing at the art of statesmanship, just as the Creator of protectionists set the example. The science of political economy—it is saying a good deal, but I venture the suggestion that the science of political economy—lay in the creative mind as clearly as in Professor Sumner's, and that Creative Energy could have evoked humanity in an instant, complete; but, so far as we know, it began with an atom, went on with a plant, still higher with a fish, and higher yet with a bird, and then the protectionist came, slowly corrupting the earth, until the crowning effort defied failure, and the free-trader

> "God-like, erect in native honor, clad
> In naked majesty, seemed Lord of all."

But if the universe could wait uncounted years while Omnipotence was experimenting in our dark, cannot the free-trader wait a little longer for the limited intelligence of sinful man to experiment in the same darkness?

Yet one would not deny that the method of Creative Energy, as manifested in the free-trader, has a certain superiority over the ordinary Divine-historic method. The celerity with which, "led by a study of political economy," Professor Sumner simultaneously settles a country and a question laughs the geologic ages to scorn.

"*Suppose* that a district, A, has two million inhabitants, one million of whom produce a million bushels of wheat, and one million produce a million hundred-weight of iron; and *suppose* that a bushel of wheat exchanges for a hundred-weight of iron: now, by improved transportation and emigration, *suppose* that a new wheat country, B, is opened, and that its people bring wheat to the first district, offering two bushels for a hundred-weight of iron—plainly, they must offer more than one bushel for one hundred-weight, or it is useless for them to come. Now, the people of A, by putting all their labor and capital in iron production, produce two million hundred-weight. They keep one million hundred-weight, and exchange one million hundred-weight of iron for two million bushels of wheat . . . by which they have gained a million bushels of wheat. *Such is the gain of all trade.*"

Certainly, no other merely human Logos has come so near the summary of Genesis: "God *said*, Let there be light and there was light." With that swift irresistible *suppose* of Professor Sumner, districts are organized, harvests reaped, manufactures "planted," countries opened, trade established, profits secured, problems solved. Never was an easier emigration than that which sailed down the ink on a facile pen and landed the new nation B beside the old nation A; or a cheaper transportation than that which set the million of B wheat at the doors of the A district, or any "boom" in iron equal to this sudden doubling of price in the B offer to the A folks. It seems, even to Professor Sumner, something of a jump; for he stops the emigration a minute to lift his head and explain: "Plainly they must; . . . or it is useless for them to come!" If they must, of course they do, though it is not easy to see at once the why and wherefore, still, with a hundred per cent. profit in prospect, higher bars than these might be lightly climbed; but, oh! immigrants of A and colonists about to be, thrust in your sickles at Professor Sumner's library windows, for nowhere outside do the waving wheat-fields whiten to so bounteous a harvest! I also am a farmer.

No wonder Professor Sumner has small respect for statistics, and with its Indian wars, its congressional tariff tinkering, its droughts and freshets, its over-production and its labor-strikes, detests the details of a *bona-fide* State, when pure Science, off-hand, can construct a State and a Trade without a hitch and with millions in it. No wonder he cries out with a loud and bitter cry when he sees his pretty little scientific model all jarred out of gear by being ruthlessly trundled off to the factories and fields. He cannot rescue it or keep it from going to pieces, but he can stand at the front gate and forestall failure by shouting: You won't prove anything even if you do rattle it to powder. "Prosperity in a free-trade country, or distress in a protectionist country is fatal to protectionism, while distress in a free-trade country or prosperity in a protectionist country proves nothing against free trade. Hence, the fallacy of all Mr. R. P. Porter's letters is obvious."

And with this, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose" pronunciamento, which we have all heard fizzing from toy guns, but never before saw fired off as a logical canon by a college faculty, the bereaved scientist returns to those "scientific pursuits" which, happily for politics, form his "real occupation."

I have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with Mr. R. P. Porter or his letters, but can hardly help congratulating his surviving relatives upon the neatness and dispatch with which his arraignment, indictment, trial, sentence, and execution are accomplished. It is an instantaneous intellectual cremation which scarcely leaves of Mr. R. P. Porter ashes enough to inurn.

But even a political scientist cannot be supposed to sweep away two powerful and almost exhaustive classes of evidence without some reason. Prosperity is the object of all effort. One would say that the relative prosperity of free trade and protection countries is the chief thing to be looked at for testimony. Why is it that prosperity in a free-trade country makes for free trade, but prosperity in a protectionist country does not make for protection ? Because, we are assured, the protectionist assumes that if we have free trade "we shall fail of our highest prosperity," while if we have protection, "we can be led up to a higher prosperity." True ; but to the intelligent voter of a low degree of general culture it still seems that the relative prosperity of protection and free-trade countries bears directly on that point. To the free-trader, protectionism is the great corrupter and crippler of our country, and simultaneously appears Professor Huxley and announces without further ado that England, the exemplar free-trade country, is also going to the devil, and by a circuitous route. The American professor has been "studying political economy almost exclusively for the last fifteen years," and the profoundest impression produced on his own opinion is that nobody understands it. The English professor has been devoting still more time to study, and arrives at the corresponding conclusion that the English majority is "grossly ignorant of the elements of political science ;" yet the majority in America decrees protection, and the majority in England decrees free trade. If protectionism in America is attributable to gross ignorance of political science, why is not free trade in England attributable to the same gross ignorance ?

Statesmen suited to the American professor's type of State "have not yet come forward in any great number" under the degrading and corrupting, the grotesque and revolting influences of our sentimental, dogmatic, Philistine, stupid, humbug, invincibly ignorant and dishonest Protectionism ; but the English social and natural-science professor puts up his glass to his eye, and, sweeping around the British Parliament, reared upon long years of free-trade principles and practices, asks imperiously : "Have we one real statesman ? I see no signs of any."

Misery loves company, and, like Professor Sumner, does not trouble itself "to keep or to throw off scientific or professional dignity." When it is charged that, under protectionism, statesmanship has disappeared, this unhappy country declines to be deprived of the melancholy consolation to be found in telephoning over to its free-trade brother : "Hello ! England ! you're another !"

The American professor is morally indignant at the "grotesque and revolting" legislation of American protectionists ; and the English professor thinks that the English leaders—who are free-traders—are "simply the fastest runners and the loudest squeakers of the herd which is rushing blindly down to its destruction." Why is not the squeak of the English Liberal as disastrous to the logic of free trade as the squeak of the American protectionist to the logic of protection ?

It may be suggested, in an aside, that Professor Huxley, who is wide and wonderful in his scope of science, is certainly a little out in his New Testament. He represents his countrymen as a herd of swine "going to the devil ;" but if he will refer to the original herd of swine which served for their prototype, he will notice that the devil had come to them. That is why they were on the run. He represents the herd as going to its disreputable goal by "a circuitous method," yet at the same time as "rushing blindly down to its own destruction," or, as St. Matthew has it, literally, "running violently down a steep place." The very point is that they did not go roundabout. If their method had been circuitous, if they had simply rooted their way along, feeding and gruntling, (that is the nearest I can get to *the busy* and contented noise made by pigs at play !) leisurely around the sides of the steep place down to the water by gradual descent, the devil would not have been in them. That is the natural way for pigs to go. *Experto crede.* Believe a farmer. In that case, the water would not have been their destruction, but their life. Let us hope that the great scientist who is worthy of all honor as an apostle of the living God and a devout student of the Old Testament of the rocks, builded better than he knew in this revised version of the New Testament of the gospel. Let us hope that England's most graceful runner and most musical squeaker—the golden-mouthed Gladstone—who once was blind, but who now sees, shall lead a willing herd by a circuitous method ; not to be ingulfed in a Red Sea of anarchy, but to drink the life-giving waters of national freedom and lasting peace.

It may seem a small matter, but I am sure that the learned Professor would be as loath to annoy his ignorant readers by driving his herd awry, as they would be to annoy him by splashing a Triassic atlantosaurus into a Laurentian lake.

Unhappily, Professor Sumner does not confine himself to his first fair representation of the protectionists' pretensions that protection will lead the country to a higher prosperity than will free trade. He represents the protectionist as promising "to make everybody well off," as having a "device for saving the country from hard times," while the free-trader makes no such promise and possesses no such device. The protectionist "is like the doctor who can give us just the pill we need to cleanse our blood," while "the respectable" free-trade physician will not "tell us that he can give us specifics to keep us well." If this were true, if protectionists did promise that everybody should be well off, and that there should be no hard times, then distress in a protectionist country would be fatal to protectionism; but I never heard protectionism make such promises except from a free-trader's mouth. What protectionism holds is exactly what Professor Sumner said at first, viz.: that it held that prosperity will be greater under protection than under free trade. Enthusiastic advocates may sometimes hope greater things than experienced leaders warrant, but a party in church or state is to be judged by its "substance of doctrine," not by its irresponsible extremists. To adopt the professor's own figure, Dr. Fritz advertises under his portrait that he will "Read diseases by the eye of the patient. Daily. Hours 9 to 12 A.M., 1 to 4 and 7 to 9 P.M. No information from the patient—no examination—no previous knowledge of the case. Every ache, pain and symptom described without a single mistake. Heals the sick and deformed without medicine or surgical operation. DON'T let procrastination seal your fate." Yet this does not at all prove that the family doctor is a humbug. He cannot cure hydrophobia, but he may be of great service in pleurisy. *He* never promised to cure you by staring at you, especially if you persist in playing with a mad dog, but he does think that a community which will follow his directions will be less liable to be ill, and will be sooner rid of illness when illness befalls, than if it had rigidly refused all "intelligent assistance;" and vital statistics are very much to his purpose.

The announcement that the most marked effect of fifteen years' exclusive study of political economy is the conviction that nobody understands the effects of taxation, is to be taken with a mental reservation. For, to the intelligent voter, it is immediately explained that "taxes are crippling, shortening, reducing all the time;" that "all taxation, beyond what is necessary for an economical administration of good government, is either luxurious or wasteful," and that "all the assumptions of protectionists must be abandoned as false." Nobody understands the effects of taxation; but the free-trader understands them enough to know that they are all bad. He cannot tell what they mean, but he knows that what the protectionist thinks they mean is false.

This fable teaches the immense self-satisfaction to be derived from fifteen years of close attention to the facts which make for your own theory, and entire exclusion of those which make for your opponent's theory. It reveals the superiority of a "system to which one is led by a study of political economy," in "school and university," over the patchwork system which one slowly builds up by observing the working facts of experience. It will also be seen that the peach-blow vase which enshrines the ashes of the late lamented Mr. R. P. Porter, is quite large enough to hold the remains of the whole protectionist party after it has passed under Professor Sumner's furnace-blast.

From his fifteen years of exclusive scientific study the American professor has conceived as great a contempt for our national legislators as the English professor has for England's "poor Right Honorable rhetoricians." "We select some of ourselves, who certainly are not the best business men among ourselves, to go to Washington, and then turn around and tax ourselves blindly, or if not blindly, craftily and selfishly. [In which case it is "we" who are foolish rather than the congressmen whom "we" select.] This Congress has *never had, and has never seemed to think that it needed to get, any knowledge of the mode of operation of protective taxes.*"

Yet, two pages before this astounding declaration, the information is given that, in 1882, Congress "appointed a tariff commission which spent several months in collecting evidence." Congress may not have got any information; it may not have known what to do with it after it had got it; it may not have had any to begin with, and there may be no knowledge of taxation in the country except what is contained within the brain cells of the

Yale College faculty, but the intelligent voter who is sufficiently cultured to read words of more than one syllable knows that what Professor Sumner says on one page contradicts what he says on another page, and deep in the electoral conviction is planted a mustard-seed of mistrust regarding that great political science which is so magnificently unknown.

"An examination of the tariff as a piece of legislation, offers to us nothing but a burden, which must cripple any economic power which we have." Then, with his remarkable facility at forgetting those things which are behind, when he is reaching forth unto those which are before, Professor Sumner maintains that even if this stupid Congress *could* devise a scheme of legislation that should be just right, it would not last a week, because we *grow so fast!* Under this blind, selfish, crafty, grotesque, revolting protection legislation, which "offers us nothing but a burden," which must cripple any economic power we have, which *is* crippling, shortening, reducing, all the time over and over again, "diminishing capital and lowering the average of comfort," we are "fifty-five millions of people on three and a half million square miles of land. *Every day new lines of communication are opened, new discoveries made, new inventions produced, new processes applied.* . . . How . . . could Congress *keep up* with the changes, and re-adaptations which would be required? The notion is preposterous."

Is it a crippled, burdened nation that is leaping ahead every day, so fast and far, that no legislation can keep up with it? The intelligent voter of a very low degree of general culture, would talk thus of a prosperous, energetic, alert and successful nation; and he needs to have it explained to him, that it is only by devoting fifteen years in one's library, to the study of political economy, and leaving out all the trivial little facts of trade, and manufacture, and population, and profit, which make against one's own theory, and make for the humbug and sentimental protectionists, that this Republic can be thus crushed and crippled. By pure science, in his lecture-room, Professor Sumner can ruin his country; but, in the census returns, and on the hills and valleys, the population keeps rolling up and the manufactures keep rolling on. The free-traders' persistent pessimism is like that of the old-fashioned Harlem railroad-president, who long refused to put on a new morning train to New York, and, after he had been forced into it, groutily justified his refusal and emphasized the folly of his associates, by pointing out that the new train was just as crowded as the old ones! "Take off your foolish taxes," cries the free-trader; "they are crippling the country. And if they were wise taxes, they would not stay on because the country is running so fast!"

To all which one can only exclaim, with the small boy contemplating for the first time his smaller brother, "Funny 'ittle beggar!"

With the clutch of immortal youth, Professor Sumner swoops down upon the protectionists' idea of nationality, or as he, in his mild, philosophical way calls it, "their pretended nationality." This becomes "fatally broken up at the first step," because "economic units are not national units." True; but is it fatal? We tramp over a page or two of assumptions and assertions that it is fatal, and that any other theory is matter for satire and derision; but after all, *is* it fatal?

The economic unit and the national unit, are not the same, but is not the national unit stronger than the economic unit, and, if either is to be sacrificed, ought it not to be the economic rather than the national unit? "Nova Scotia," say satire and derision, "did not join the revolt of our thirteen colonies. Hence, it is thought ruinous to let coal and potatoes come in freely from Nova Scotia. If she had revolted with us, it would have been for the benefit of everybody in this Union, to trade with her as freely as we now trade with Maine." Yes, certainly, because in that case, Nova Scotia would have been bearing her share in the support of our government, in the cost of our post-office, and of the new carpets for Congress, the signal service, and all our coast defenses. Instead of which, she supports Queen Victoria—to whom God give grace of wisdom in her grave and great opportunity—and, if it came to the point, Nova Scotia would attack our defenses instead of strengthening them. That is why we do not give her the advantages of Maine. John offers himself to Jane, and she refuses him. If she had accepted him, he would have paid for her gowns, her house, her food—and good reason for it, because she would have taken care of his mind and manners; but she chose James instead. She cannot expect to have the spending of John's money, for whom she does nothing, as she has of James's money, for whom she does all things. When Jane refused John, he turned to Susan who accepted him. The two families might live together in one house more cheaply than they live separately in two houses either of which is large enough for both. Cooking can be as easily done for four as for two, with scarcely more coal, with scarcely more food, but they stubbornly prefer two houses, and all the cost and cumber of two establishments. The economic unit does not coincide with the domestic unit, and, much as man loves money, the domestic unit is the stronger. He sacrifices money to seclusion, to separateness, to the family. "Is this wisdom," asks Professor Sumner, "or is it all pure folly and wrong-headedness?"

Wisdom? A thousand times over, it is wisdom. The family unit is founded on the sacrifice of the economic unit; yet, on the other hand, so marvelous are the ways of the power outside ourselves that makes for righteousness, that this very sacrifice of the economic unit to the domestic unit works to the infinite widening of the scope of economic forces. He that hateth his life shall keep it. It is the Revelation of the Word and the Revelation of History. The rearing of the family takes the chief part of the money that most men earn, yet, by a paradox of Heaven, the wealth of a nation, and even the wealth of a family, is far greater for the rearing of families, than it would be if men refused to rear families, and devoted their lives to themselves alone; nay, more, the satisfactions which wealth secures are vastly increased by wife and children, who are consumers and not producers, yet, who contribute far more by stimulus than they detract by expenditure.

The nation is but a large family. The boundary lines of nations are no more selfish, no more imaginary, than the boundary lines of families. In heaven, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage. In the millenium, the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and there shall be no cages, or contracts, or customs, or taxes. Until that day, the exclusive and separated family of earth, is the best ideal of, and the best preparation for, the one perfect family, which is the form of the social life of heaven; and the secluded and separate nation, building itself up in prosperity and perfectness, is the best preparation for the time when all the kingdoms of this world shall become the one kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ.

Professor Sumner will not tolerate this Divine method of evolution. He will have the economic unit dominant, yet will act as if the heavenly unit were dominant. He wants the nations to do now just what they would do if the millennium were here. He thinks trade ought now to be perfectly free—just as we all would wish it to be perfectly free, if the world had reached the stage where all men's good is each man's rule. He argues that for one nation not to have free trade until all nations have free trade, is just the same as to say that a man cannot afford to be honest unless everybody is honest. But this is to speak like Job's wife, not like a man of science. It is not the cultivated mind which sees in political opposition personal dishonesty.

It would be nearer things as they are to say no man can afford to trust everything to everybody's unselfishness until everybody is unselfish. I venture to suggest that, in this, Professor Sumner is as rigid as any protectionist. If he owns the house he lives in, he has a deed of it. He does not trust his tenure to the benevolence of the preceding owner. If he owns a share in a bank, he keeps a certificate of ownership. He does not trust the directors to give it to him when he wants it, because it is right. If he has lent a railroad ten thousand dollars, he holds a note for it, and if he has lent money to some Western farmer he holds a mortgage on the farm. This is not being dishonest, but it is not acting as if everybody were unselfish. Professor Sumner does not pull down jails and dismiss the police because honesty is the best policy. Honesty *is* the best policy; still there are many burglars and sneak-thieves, and Professor Sumner locks his doors. Nations are not all of one mind, with all men's good for each man's rule. It is still each man for himself, except as the divine institution of the family has made a man sacrifice himself for the weak of his own family, and for the weakest most, and so has led him gradually into the courtesies, the benevolences of society, and the sense of universal humanity. It is still each nation for itself until, through intense patriotism, each nation is learning respect for the patriotism of other nations; is learning the power of international amenity, the imperativeness of international justice, the solidarity of the nations, and slow and sure comes up the golden year.

"If the man who first sees the truth and first acts wisely did not get a special premium for it, the whole moral order of the universe would have to be changed." It is not necessary for the protectionist to cross swords with the free-trader on his modest little assumption that he is the first discoverer and disciple of truth; or on the womanish assumption that a question of pecuniary and industrial method is a question of morals. Before we reach these we stumble upon the principle which supports them both, and find it contradicted all along the line of history. If spiritual premiums are referred to—the *mens conscia recti*—the principle is right but irrelevant; for free trade or protection is not a question of spiritual reward but of per cent. profits. If material rewards are referred to, the statement is not true. On the contrary, if the man who first sees the truth and first acts wisely got a special premium for it, the whole moral order of the universe would have been different all along from what it has been ever since we knew it. The first and only man who ever saw the whole truth and acted wisely from the beginning died ignominiously on the cross. To see the truth first and to act in accordance with it, has been for ages the signal for martyrdom, until martyrdom has so conquered the blind brute in humanity that he no longer gores—he only roars. We still crucify the seer among thieves, but only in the press and on the tongue—which is a great advance beyond the bloody assizes of old time, and toward the season of the golden year. But no man can establish himself as seer and apostle of the truth by simply calling his peers, his superiors, or his inferiors,—humbugs, hirelings, thieves, robbers. Not with such breezes

> "Fly, happy, happy sails and bear the Press;
> Fly happy with the mission of the Cross;
> Knit land to land, and blowing havenward
> With silks, and fruits, and spices, clear of toll,
> Enrich the markets of the golden year."

GAIL HAMILTON.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

II.

History grows more difficult as the world goes on. The art of printing, that is regarded as an aid, is its chief hinderance; for history is putting to record popular beliefs. The daily journals photograph, through their instantaneous process, these beliefs as facts, and, while this process seems to throw a piercing glare on all events, it only confuses the mind of the impartial investigator. It is an electric light that deepens the shadows while it distorts all that it shines upon. The old style, of genius patiently delving among time-stained documents and half-forgotten facts in search of the truth, was more satisfactory; for it made events, if not clear, at least consistent, and, while monsters of goodness and wickedness were created, the mass of facts, as recorded, harmonized with each other. We may not have got a true story, but we did receive a lesson that refined and elevated its pupils.

Through this process, the conduct and character of our great war secretary suffer unjustly. The late Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, and the late Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, had a fierce controversy over Stanton's conduct while a member of President Buchanan's cabinet. The one maintained that, if the other was correct in what he asserted, Stanton was a monster of duplicity and ingratitude.

Both were wrong, and, to a certain extent, both were right. Senator Wilson was a man all sentiment and of little information, while Judge Black squared all creation on certain principles, that were as narrow in their bigotry as Wilson in his beliefs. Both failed to take into account the impulsiveness of the secretary, whose feelings often ran away with his better judgment. He was bound, by his position in Buchanan's cabinet, to sustain his chief in his charming proposition which asserted that, while a state could not secede from the Union, the government could not restrain such secession by force. Stanton saw the absurdity of an attempt to hold the turbulent Union by the rotten ground-rail of a Virginia abstraction, but he looked in wrath that ended in sickening disgust at the noisy abolitionists, who, through their hatred of the master, would scuttle and sink the ship of state. Between these conflicting feelings he gave open expression to his impatience, that Wilson seized on as information, and, after Stanton's death, claimed as evidences of sympathy.

I cannot believe that a man of Stanton's force of character and fixed opinions, was suddenly converted from a pro-slavery democrat to an abolitionist. He was not the man to be stricken down, by one blow, in his sin, and rise in his righteousness. It is my opinion that he took the place tendered him by President Lincoln, precisely as he would have accepted a retainer from a client in an important case. He saw from the beginning that the issue was to be fought out to the bitter end. He found no difficulty in making the case his own. It was his habit; and, in this instance, it came easy; for, while he loathed the anti-slavery organization, he loved the Union with the strongest pulsation of a heart that had in it truer guidance than the loftiest leader of the abolitionists had in the light of his brain.

In the same way, General McClellan hurries into print to charge Edwin M. Stanton with treachery to the man who claims to have made the secretary. This is natural and of easy solution. When the "young Napoleon" graciously consented to the selection of Stanton as secretary of war, he did so under the impression that he was to have the same sort of humble supporter Simon Cameron had been. He awakened to the fact, that it was one thing to have a sympathizing friend in a brother democrat, giving him what lawyers call street opinion on supposable cases, and quite another, to have the same man made master, with the responsibility of an empire thrown upon his shoulders.

Stanton assumed the powers of secretary with the solemn resolve to execute its duties to the best of his ability, without fear, affection or favor. He failed in many instances, as I shall show, but not in respect to McClellan. His first important move grew out of the very intimacy that is made the foundation of this charge. Stanton saw, as did Lincoln, Seward and Chase, that only half the enemy was under arms at their front; that the other half, far more deadly, was coiled in silence at their rear.

Lincoln was a minority President. The unknown rail-splitter of Illinois had no hold on the affections of the people he presided over. He told us once that he felt like a surveyor in the wild woods of the West, who, while looking for a corner, kept an eye over his shoulder for an Indian. The late Whigs and immediate free-soilers voting against the extension of slavery, more from the necessity of having some sort of a platform on which to rally than opposition to slavery, accepted without enthusiasm the President a minority had elected; while the democrats at the North felt, as deeply as Stanton himself, nothing but hatred and contempt for the cause.

The firing on our flag at Sumter, that so aroused the war spirit at the North, had disconcerted and discouraged the democratic sentiment at the same North, but did not kill it. It was observed and it must be remembered, that, as the thousands wheeled into line and marched to the front, it was under cries of "Save the Union," and not to free the negro. They went out to punish and put down the miscreants who had dragged in the dust the flag of our fathers, and they gave the abolitionists the cold shoulder for being, as they believed, the real cause of all this turmoil. How long this war spirit would last was the question. Lincoln believed it would continue with his success in the field. He and his cabinet suddenly awakened to quite another fact, and that was that, while a victory seemed to arouse the rebel spirit at the North, and a demand was heard to cease fighting and negotiate with the wrong-doers for peace, a shameful defeat, that sent mourning through the households of the patriotic, seemed to arouse a spirit that not only silenced open discontent, but sent thousands on thousands of brave fellows to the field to retrieve the disaster.

It was impossible to tell how long this state of affairs would continue. Our great statesmen in control at Washington well knew that this rebellious discontent grew on delay. Hence Stanton's demand, "We will have some fighting, gentlemen."

He awakened to another startling fact, and that was that this spirit of distrust in the government had crept into the army. West Point, that teaches everything but patriotism and the art of war, had been prolific of pro-slavery democrats. Taught blind obedience to the powers that be as the essence of soldiership, and having known no other power than a pro-slavery government, the West Pointers divided at the sound of the first gun, and while one half, acknowledging allegiance only to their States, went South, the other half, recognizing their obligations to the National government, remained faithful, and yet, with few exceptions, secretly despising the rule of abolitionists. This feeling arose from the additional fact that West Point is more of a social feature than a military school, and as reformers are not fashionable, seldom, if ever, even respectable, the cadet had a horror of the howling abolitionist.

These are unpleasant things to say now, but I am giving Stanton's views at the time, and the views shared by his eminent associates. We look back and wonder at the cold neglect awarded George H. Thomas, the most brilliant and most successful soldier of the war, but Lincoln had been taught to distrust a West Point democrat and that distrust was deepened by Thomas's Virginia birth.

"This man has no heart in the cause," said Stanton of McClellan, "he is fighting for a boundary if he fights at all; our great difficulty is to make him fight at all."

I have not the space here to follow the young Napoleon through his fearful disasters on the James. Stanton maintained to the last hour of his life that these defeats came as much from disloyalty as incapacity. I differ from him. The same lack of capacity that brought defeat saved us from any well-defined project of treachery. The man who shrunk from a move on Richmond after Malvern Hill, had not in him the stuff to make a Catiline.

I have nothing to do with the war, save so far as the facts go to disprove the charges now made against the dead secretary. Stanton told me after he left the War Department to die, that "all the time the huge army lay coiled about Washington, a distrust of the government at Washington, as a nest of vicious abolitionists, was insidiously cultivated among the men; and, after the terrible defeats before Richmond, when distress from sickness and disaster depressed the army, the men were taught to believe that the government had abandoned them to their cruel fate. This was so marked," continued the secretary, speaking in gasps, "that when Lincoln visited the camps a fear was had at headquarters that he would be insulted, and orders were issued to cheer the President when he appeared. Instead of holding to all that we had gained through such terrible loss of blood and money, the entire army had to be returned to the fortifications of Washington, before Lincoln dared put another general in command. McClellan's restoration was a mistake, but it originated in the same fact. Lincoln said: 'This man may not be the best to continue as our general, but he has the confidence of the men and is the only one able to reorganize our forces after these defeats. We must bear with him a while longer.'"

I have not space to treat of this McClellan affair further than is necessary to illustrate the character of Secretary Stanton. If the democratic general had his plan of a campaign, he was as remarkable for keeping it to himself as he was cautious in putting it in operation. Nothing but repeated orders could force him to move, and the only interference he could complain of was in the directing that Washington should not be uncovered.

The true story of the late war has not been told. It probably never will be told. It is not flattering to our people, and, as I have said, unpalatable truths seldom find their way into history. All books, so far, are confined to the armed conflict, which was but one-third of the war the administration was called on to prosecute. I have referred to the disloyal feeling that fairly honeycombed with treason the Northern States. There was another third of the conflict that concerned the power at Washington that the able Seward, under Lincoln, managed with eminent ability, and that was the danger from foreign interference. Had the war powers of Europe combined, as they were disposed to do, in a recognition of the Confederacy, I would now be writing this under the Northern Republic of America. This fear was never made prominent, for it was not policy to have it known, but it hung on the horizon like a heavy cloud, with muttering thunder, that Lincoln and his cabinet were forced to see and hear.

Now, our capital was in the country of the enemy. Sandwiched between Virginia and Maryland, with treason simmering in the one and at a boil in the other, it was in continual peril. To lose that capital at any time, was to fetch on from Europe not only recognition but armed interference. The clear, capable brain of Seward saw this, and hence the order from the secretary of war that kept an army well in hand, not so much to repel the attacks of an organized force, as to keep in subjection a people whose stones and clubs would have been as much to the purpose as Lee's armed brigades of disciplined men.

I am pained to write, striving to do so with truth, that against other charges of injustice on the part of the great secretary I can make no defense. With all his eminent ability, with all his earnest, honest desire to do his duty for the government he served, he was, without exception, more subject to personal likes and dislikes, more vindictive in his gratification of the last, than any man ever called to public station. Nothing but his wonderful ability and great force of character saved him and his cause from utter wreck in this direction. Not only so, but it seemed to me that both Stanton and Seward were drunk with the lust of power. They fairly rioted in its enjoyment. While Lincoln and Chase were as pure and simple in this as children, with no such morbid desire to gratify, with no personal friends to favor, and no enemies to punish, Stanton and Seward not only reveled in despotic authority, but Stanton used the fearful power of the government to crush those he hated, as he sought through the same means to elevate those he loved.

Of the many instances memory brings to mind, the most cruel, one may indeed write infamous, was that awarded General Rosecrans. William S. Rasecrans, a brave, patriotic soldier, with brilliant qualities as a commander, and many striking defects, had wounded Stanton in a way never to be forgotten or forgiven.

"Old Rosy," as his soldiers affectionately called him, and, in so doing, gave the man in two words, did not know one man from another. In regard to character he was color blind, and, of course, did not recognize a great man when he saw him—certainly not, unless under epaulettes manufactured at West Point. He regarded Stanton as a clerk to the President, and the President as an impertinent interference in the management of the great war, which interference he regretted that the Constitution prevented removing.

I have said he had brilliant qualities as a general in command. He could plan a campaign and fight a battle equal to any officer in the United States. But in the selection of his subordinates he could not distinguish George H. Thomas from Alexander McDowel McCook, and in receiving instructions or advice from his superiors he could not see that they were apt to be wiser than he, from their having escaped what he was pleased to call a military education. In the personal intercourse first had between the secretary and the soldier occurred a mutual misunderstanding of each other that continued to the end. Nature has given to all its creatures an instinctive knowledge of their enemies. This enmity really had its origin in ignorance, but it is doubtful whether any amount of information would have corrected the difference. Rosecrans saw before him, as I have said, a mere clerk, and instead of sweeping the floor with his new plumes, with bated breath and humble attention, as other generals were wont to do, he not only held his perpendicular with the martial bearing becoming the sashed and gold-embroidered soldier, but with a soldier's indifference to the views of a clerk and civilian on matters of war. Of course, the secretary resented such extraordinary conduct and could see no good in the shallow brigadier.

A vacancy of a major-generalship in the regular service occurring some time after Stanton assumed the duties of secretary, he issued a circular to all the generals open to such promotion, offering the position to the one achieving the first victory.

The secretary did not entertain the highest opinion of his epauletted subordinates, and did not know that he was wounding men who, whatever may be said of their military capacity or patriotism, had, through training and association, a nice sense of honor. All of these felt what Rosecrans alone had boldness enough to resent. Seizing his pen, always as fatal to himself as his sword to the enemy, he worded a rough rebuke that went home to the heart of the author of the circular. After that this brave man and efficient officer had, first, neglect, and then cruel punishment and abuse from the secretary.

When the Army of the Cumberland required a new commander after the failure of General Buell, Chase urged Rosecrans, and Lincoln called him to the place, in spite of Stanton's opposition. The secretary of war preferred Thomas, not only because he had learned to admire and believe in that greatest of all our generals, but for that he had sworn "Rosy" should never again be officer of his. I speak of what I know, for I had excited Stanton's wrath by urging the selection of Rosecrans, and I remember well the day when he entered the war department, flushed with anger, for I happened there, and said, abruptly to me, "Well, you have your choice of idiots; now look out for frightful disasters."

No army in the field called for the same patient consideration and care as that of the Cumberland. The success of our campaigning turned on a question of transportation. The enemy occupying the inner line of a circle, could, with comparative ease, concentrate on any point selected, while to the geographical difficulties before us, were added the dishonesty of our agents furnishing supplies and the wanton improvidence of our men, who, feeling the huge government at their back, were, with all their courage and endurance, as improvident as children. We wasted in a day what would have sustained an European army for a month.

We had three armies in the field, and if my reader will turn to the map, he will see that, while one operated on the James, the other had the Mississippi. The third, Rosecrans's force, struck through the interior from Louisville, and for six hundred miles over the enemy's territory had to depend on a single line of railroad. Rosecrans had more trouble to keep open this line, and after every victory and successful turn, to accumulate supplies, than he had to whip the enemy. The two armies, right and left of him, moved on with ease, and while their generals were congratulated on their maneuvers, Rosecrans was censured for delay, although at every halt he won a victory and rebuilt his railroad. His objective point was Chattanooga, the Gibraltar of the South. Nature built the impregnable fortifications of the place, while almost impassable mountains stretched their palisades east and west for two hundred miles.

Rosecrans, after delays Stanton would not appreciate, and the people grew impatient over, penetrated these mountains, turned Bragg's flank, and forcing the Confederate to a fight on equal terms, repulsed him and fell back on Chattanooga. He had accomplished his objective point. He had won the apparently impregnable fort, from which our armies operated from that out, and his reward was, under a cloud of lies, to be dismissed in the most insulting and brutal manner. This was so evident, that Thomas, who had won our victory at Chicamauga from the very jaws of defeat, repudiated the call made on him to succeed Rosecrans, and only accepted, when forced, after he had put on record his high appreciation of his late commander.

Stanton had his defects, but he had no weaknesses. His very sins had a fierce strength in them, that helped on, instead of retarding his work. He could crush a personal enemy under the iron heel of his military power, but the men he favored, such as Hooker, Pope and Thomas, were eminently fitted for the tasks assigned them.

Stanton's was the master mind of the war. To his indomitable will and iron nature we owe all that we accomplished in that direction. When he saw, after the battle of Gettysburg, that the Confederacy was sinking from sheer exhaustion, he crowded on men to stamp it out. He knew that Lee was leaving a highway of human bones to mark Grant's road from the Rapidan to Richmond; that we were having more killed than the Confederate generals had in command; he knew that Sherman's march on Atlanta was a succession of bloody defeats, and he said, "He can give five men to their one, and win; these victories to the rebels are disasters they cannot afford." He knew that forty thousand of our poor fellows were dying of exposure and starvation in Confederate prisons, yet when Grant wrote him that to liberate that number of healthy rebels would be the ruin of Sherman, the exchange was stopped. There was no sea of blood, no waste of treasure, to stand in the way of a restored Union and the empire of a continent.

He finished his great work, resigned his commission of office and life at the same instant, for he staggered from his Department on the arm of Death. The terrible strain that a fierce nature had actually lived on, gave way, and the relaxation meant dissolution. The silver cord did not snap; it unraveled and fell to pieces. He died in the golden glow of his greatness, and was spared that most pitiable of all spectacles, the hero who survives himself. It was a cold, stormy night, when this stormy nature sank to its last repose, and the Carnot "who organized victory" surrendered quietly to the victor of all.

As the smoke of battles and the mist of conflicting passions pass away, five grand, stern figures loom up before us, standing strange and solemn as fates raised by destiny to save our Government in its hour of peril. The monument to Lincoln has not yet been built. When it is, the column that holds aloft the form of our greatest man of that trying period, should have supporting the base, four bronze figures of Chase, Seward, Stanton and Thomas. And so will history, in the hearts of the people, group those to whom we owe our existence as a Nation.

DONN PIATT.

WHY AM I A PRESBYTERIAN?

THE writer hesitated about undertaking a reply to the above question in a Review, not from any indefiniteness of opinion, or weakness of conviction, but from some sense of the responsibility incurred. In the United States and Great Britain alone, there are seventeen or eighteen thousand congregations, at least, adhering to Presbyterianism. This does not include the Continent of Europe, the wide field of missions, nor the Australian Colonies. Men's minds reach the same practical results by different roads, and it is easy to see how some one might say: "I am a Presbyterian, but not for these reasons. This answer does not represent me." He would be a bold man who would try to formulate an answer to the question, "Why am I a Democrat?" or "Why am I a Republican?" with the confidence that all the adherents of these parties, respectively, would feel that just their convictions had been clearly stated. The caution, then, is proper that no one is committed to the arguments to be presented but the writer; and if any reader can make the case clearer or stronger to himself, or, in fitting ways to the world, the writer will be among the first to "accept the amendments."

One other preliminary statement it is proper to make. The question "Why am I a Unitarian?" has been answered in these pages. The answer involves the discussion of vital doctrines, and, strictly speaking, of nothing but doctrines, for one might be a Unitarian and hold by a Congregational, a Presbyterian, or a prelatic organization. I know, in fact, a small body of Unitarians who hold by Presbyterian government. Now a casual reader may expect a second discussion of doctrines in reply to our question. But a little thought will modify that expectation. Presbyterianism is a form of church government, and as such it is here presented. It does not, as a term, touch the question of theological beliefs as they are summed up, for example, in the Westminster standards, or the Thirty-nine Articles. It deals with organization and methods of administration. That there are affinities between doctrines believed and the ways in which their believers shape their common organizations is admissible; but we are not necessarily led, in answering the question, to minute details. Without tiring the patience of the readers, and without assuming that busy men and women have time for all the minute details of historical and denominational discussions, it will be the aim of the writer to show the main reasons why we hold by Presbyterianism.

A statement of the theory of Presbyterianism is proper in the first instance. This will naturally lead to the grounds on which the theory is rested. A reference to some of the ways in which Presbyterianism is differentiated from other forms of church organization, it is hoped, will bring into clearer light its characteristics and conclude the article.

The fundamental idea of Presbyterianism is that in the New Testament, the one guide-book, all ministers stand on the same level, as distinguished from the "orders" and grades that sprung up in the progress of the ages, and that they have no one over them such as a diocesan bishop. In a body of believers, one of their number, believed to be qualified by gifts and graces to edify his brethren, chosen by them, and duly recognized, is a New Testament minister. A group of such bodies of believers, or churches associated together, for the sake of order, mutual edification and increase of spiritual strength, must needs arrange methods of mutual recognition and common operation. If gathered together by outside leaders, such as missionaries or evangelists, they would avail themselves of their moral weight and aid in the settlement of ministers and the adoption of rules of joint action; but the ministers once recognized have no human superior in office. They are subject to one another as in the very nature of society of any sort; but there is no ruler or governor between them and the "Chief Shepherd and Bishop of souls."

Then is the minister, or pastor, the autocratic ruler of the congregation over which he "presides?" No. Presbyterianism includes the representation of the people by a body of men chosen by themselves, and called "elders." It anticipates the free form of modern civil government. Of these elders the pastor is one for administrative ends. Just as the directors of a bank, finding all the time of a man needed for the conduct of its affairs, will select one and enable him to live without other business while they are joined with him in management, so an elder with gifts and graces, is put in a position to "give himself wholly" to the ministry, while the body of elders—he being one of them—has in hand the governing of the local community. All rule; some are fitted especially to teach and assigned to that duty. When the "church" includes a number of congregations, that they should be associated together for common ends is natural. So it is the natural outgrowth of the common life that men should be trained for the teaching, just as young men are trained for banking. When a region is occupied by such Christian communities, meetings become a part of the common life, and rules and regulations follow as in any other form of social co-operation. Here the elders, ruling and teaching, constitute the natural representatives. If a statement of common belief has to be framed as a testimony to man; if rules are to be framed for carrying out the ends of the Church; if they are to be maintained and enforced, the assembled elders, representing the company of believers, and with no power above them, civil or ecclesiastical, constitute the court. These details are not set forth in form in the Scripture, just as the doctrines of the Christian system are not formulated in Scripture as in a creed. They are the outcome of Scriptural principles applied to a Christian community, just as courts of law are the outcome of right principles applied to civil life, and as an elective judiciary supersedes the "chief" of savagism or the despot of the Orient. Strictly speaking, any body of elders is a Presbytery. So the Protestant German brethren (among whom the elements of Presbyterianism have been accepted since September, 1873) call our "Session" a Presbytery or body of elders, and our "Presbytery" a local Synod. It is not meant that the details of so many synods or general assemblies are set down in Scripture. These are matters for Christian discretion. To say this is to concede nothing to outsiders. No pleader for the divine origin of prelatic government, (we use this phrase to avoid confusion, for, as will be seen, we claim episcopal government,) would claim to find the size and number of the dioceses prescribed in Scripture. All the "elders," or "presbyters" are "bishops:" all rule. Some labor in the word and teaching.

Do "elders" include all the officers in a congregation of the Presbyterian order? No. We have "bishops and deacons," as had the church at Philippi (Phil. i. 1). Any organization must have questions of means, of accommodation, of poor members, of the care of them, to be attended to. These are not purely spiritual matters. They are the common affairs of a spiritual body, just as the bank account, store, dwelling and expenses of a Christian man are his common matters. These he has in common with all other men; but he is expected to manage them in a Christian way. So a church has buildings, means, claims, obligations in common with other forms of organized society; but it is expected to manage them in consistency with its distinctive character. This is the function of the "deacons." United States' law has made a body of "trustees" necessary to the holding of congregational property in some quarters, and in Great Britain, elected officers perform this, and other diaconal functions, without bearing the precise name, although in this regard more exact language is now coming into use. Presbyterians, taking the rules given by the Apostle Paul to Timothy as their guides in this matter, do not look for teaching or preaching from these deacons. (See 1 Tim. iii. 8–10.) The elders or bishops must be "apt to teach" (1 Tim. iii. 2), "able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers" (Tit. i. 9). There is no such requirement regarding the deacons. It is even conceivable that Christian communities may be so placed as not to need these as ministers, bishops, or elders are needed. Hence one does not wonder that Titus has no directions given him on this matter.

These, then, are the principles of government and the two classes of officers of Presbyterianism. Moderators are no more permanent officers than are the chairmen of public meetings. Disorderly members are judged by officers chosen by the membership; officers are tried, if disorderly, by their peers, just as a lawyer, discrediting his profession, is tried by "members of the bar," vindicated if innocent, disbarred if guilty.

It is needless to say that Presbyterians have no place for *a* pope, or for *the* Pope. They have no place for an archbishop, or a prelate of any kind. Ministers in a Church of over six thousand congregations may differ in gifts, experience, influence, and the like, but the vote of the pastor or the ruling elder of the smallest congregation in Dakota is of equal value with that of any of his brethren. The parity of the ministry, the adequate representation of the people, the privilege and responsibility of choosing their officers—these are the leading elements in Presbyterianism, resting as we believe on principles enjoined in Scripture, historically traceable, and working on the whole as well as the best principles do when intrusted to human hands. Presbyterianism is not without constituted authority. It seeks elders that "rule well," and it calls on its people to "obey them that are over them in the Lord." It has its "orders"—bishops, or presbyters, and deacons. It owns Christ as the sole Ruler and Legislator, and it traces to His gift apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the body of Christ. In this list of servants it sees no room for a prelate. In accordance with the radical idea of the Reformation, we hold the Scriptures to be the rule in this matter. Hence to show that early "Fathers" or councils did so and so does not touch our position. We try to move along the lines laid down, in directions and in practice, in the word of God.

It is now proper to pass on to a concise statement of the grounds on which the Presbyterian theory rests. Again I venture to recall the form of the question, "Why am I a Presbyterian?" It may be allowable to state the reasons as they seem to have weight with the respondent, though others might, with conclusions no less strong, arrange them differently. The following statement of the form of Church government from which, among Protestant churches, Presbyterianism is most widely parted, will show how they are called for. "The ministry is divided into three orders: 1. Bishops; 2. Priests; 3. Deacons. The priests at first were called Bishops and Elders. After the Apostles died, as there were no more Apostles, the name Bishop was confined to the first order which took the Apostles' place. Timothy and Titus were such Bishops. Bishops consecrate their successors in the Episcopate; ordain the Lower Orders of the Clergy; confirm the baptized and preside in the Councils of the Church." This is the exact language, even to the capitals, of a prelatic Catechism in use and on sale in New York. It is easier to transcribe than to understand it. Now, in the first place, I find no such arrangement in the New Testament as officers taking the apostles' place; no such officers as "priests;" no subordination of those called "elders" and "bishops" to bishops who took the apostles' places. But the New Testament is the one authority. We do not go to the Fathers for doctrine nor for Church government. The sufficiency of

Scripture is maintained. We hold that if men will only go far enough down with "the Fathers" they must accept the elements of papal organization and doctrine. We hold to the word, and we see in it no order of men superior to those called "bishops and elders." One of the later writers on "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," Hatch (Bampton Lecture, for 1880), argues that the body of officers in the early Christian communities were known individually and collectively as *presbuteroi* (we put the Greek into English), and he adds, "they were also known—for I shall here assume what the weight of evidence has rendered practically indisputable—by the name *episcopoi*" (p. 38). Not one word or suggestion has Mr. Hatch—a zealous and able advocate for prelacy as a development in post-apostolic times—to produce for any officer provided for *in the New Testament* superior to the elders or presbyters. Of course he can show that, later, the diocesan rose above them, just as the Roman Catholic can show that, later, the Bishop of Rome came to the headship of the Church. We believe there is no place and no provision for them in the New Testament. He shows "the causes which led to that great change in Christian organization by which the functions of this original plurality of probably co-ordinate officers came practically to pass into the hands of a single officer" (p. 39). We are for keeping things as they were before this passage, just as Protestantism is for keeping things as they were before the development of the papacy. His history begins with Justin Martyr, and indicates that the elder who received and distributed the gifts for the poor came to be called *episcopos*. Whether his argument is weak or strong is not the point. That he makes it at all is evidence that a most learned advocate of prelacy with all the advantages of scholarship up to 1880 has to admit that the superior to the *presbuteroi* is a development of post-apostolic times, is not apostolic, and has no basis in the New Testament. The space at our disposal does not admit of much more that might be said on this matter.

2. Without detailing the process, or wearying the reader with ancient words, we proceed to say, in the second place, that there was a historical preparation for Presbyterianism in the Apostolic Church. The Hebrews had a tribe of priests and Levites in which office was hereditary. But there were frequent apostasies under this priesthood. Captivity and dispersion of the people followed. To reprove the apostates and to revive religion prophets and

teachers came in. Congregations of Jews came to be formed in the great cities of the East and the West. They carried the elders of their earliest times with them. Teachers thus came to supersede priests, whose functions implied the temple at Jerusalem, and the Church was prepared for the abandonment of the priestly order and the setting up of the teachers. No one pretends that the hereditary priesthood of Judaism is continued. So in God's providence, which takes in all time and all lands, the existence of Hebrew congregations, with boards of elders governing the members, prepared for the Christian congregations with the like governing body. So Mr. Hatch expends much learning in proving that Jews, when they became Christians, had "a governing body of elders" in each community (p. 58), and no "change was needed in the organization" (p. 59). He spends much learning in tracing the process by which Gentile churches also came to have "government by a council or committee," all but universally, but spontaneously. "The Christian council of presbyters" exercised discipline, and "exercised a consensual jurisdiction in matters of dispute between Christian and Christian" (pp. 68–71). What is thus with much erudition made out by Hatch we accept from the New Testament. From Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus for the elders of the Church (Acts, xx. 17), and in a most solemn charge and warning against dangers he never once hints at deference to a diocesan or relief through his rule. He lays all the responsibility on the elders. The Church at Philippi (i. 1) had its "bishops and deacons," and not a hint is given of the need of a diocesan. Titus was left in Crete to "ordain elders in every city." Not one word is said of any successor to him who would claim submission and manage affairs.

Having in view these facts, we can see how the providential forces at work in the Jewish Church prepared for the organizing of Christian congregations with governing bodies of elders. It is needless to hunt up parallels in civil life to explain the like arrangement in churches of Gentiles. The churches which God's blessing on Anglican missionaries' work in India secures, will take the form of the Anglican Church. The Presbyterian missionaries organize their native brethren on Presbyterian lines. The aggressive workers—missionaries—of the Apostolic Church were Jews, and they organized on Jewish lines. Nowhere do the apostles say: "Your elders were equal in rank, and managed your affairs, but it shall not be so any more. You shall have successors to us, diocesan bishops who will be over you, and who will be above pastors, will consecrate successors in the episcopate, and ordain the lower orders of the clergy among you." We argue from the absence of any repeal of the law making children members of the Jewish Church that no repeal was contemplated. The silence of the founders of the churches as to prelatic successors to them we take as conclusive in like manner that no change was contemplated.

3. We hold that the New Testament treats the *presbuteroi* and *episcopoi* as two names for the same officers. Why argue this? Because it is common to say in defense of prelacy that the *episcopos came to mean* one superior to the elders, as one can see in the Fathers. We say this plea is worthless, hardly even deserves notice. "My Father is greater than I," came to mean at an early day, and in a most pronounced way, that Jesus was not in any sense the equal of the Father. The "power of the keys" came to mean papal supremacy. Do we therefore stand with Arius or submit to the popes? No. We aim at realizing the plan of the apostles and the ideal of the New Testament before decay and apostasy began. It is of importance, therefore, to show that in the New Testament the "elders" and the "bishops" were the same parties with the same powers. The friends who are interested in prelacy are the only parties who are interested in denying our position; so we shall be content to offer our readers the conclusions to which representative Greek scholars, with every inducement to think otherwise, have been brought. Alford, a dignitary of the Anglican Church, combines the views of De Wette and Meyer, and says: "The *presbuteroi* are in the New Testament identical with *episcopoi*" (see Acts, xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7; 1 Peter, v. 12). Then quoting in evidence of his position Theodoret on Phil. i. 1, he adds: "The title *episcopos* as applied to one person superior to the *presbuteros,* and answering to our 'bishop,' appears to have been unknown in apostolic times." The same author says on Acts, xx. 17: "The English version has hardly dealt fairly, in this case, with the sacred text in rendering *episcopous,* ver. 28, 'overseers,' whereas it ought there, as in all other places, to have been 'bishops,' that the fact of elders and bishops having been originally and apostolically synonymous might be apparent to the ordinary English reader, which now it is not." No. King James's translators (who put in Easter for Passover) did not wish to imperil

their bishops, and hence the unauthorized postscript to the Epistle to Titus making him out "first bishop of Crete." Millions of good Anglicans have represented him to themselves in full canonical costume, mitre on his head and crosier in hand. Here, of course, as in other cases, the Revision sustains the Presbyterian view. It would be easy to add testimony of the same kind from Bishop Ellicott, Dean Stanley, not to speak of devout and sensible Anglican commentators like Thomas Scott.

That good men making these admissions yet accept prelacy on the ground of its development, of a process of evolution, of its early post-apostolic establishment is a matter for themselves. On their conscientiousness we make no reflection. We only allege that to us this line of argument seems to "give away" the Protestant cause; and as a concession it justifies Presbyterians in keeping their ground, consistently with their belief that the Scriptures are a perfect rule of faith and practice, and that the Church is to be organized on the lines the apostles lay down.

It may be mentioned as confirmatory of the views here given that Luke reports in the "Acts of the Apostles" the appointment of apostles and of deacons among Jewish believers, but says nothing of the eldership. Why? Because the eldership was the one permanent recognized office of the Jews, and without any need for appointment passed on into the Christian churches composed of Jews. But when Gentiles are organized into churches, as at Lystra, Iconium and Antioch (Acts, xiv. 23), he reports the "ordaining" ("appointing," in Revision) of elders in every church. So Titus has to set in order the things that are wanting, and appoint elders in every city of Crete (Tit. i. 5), these elders being of course identified in ver. 7 as "bishops" or overseers.

Now it may be objected that there is no popular right here, that Titus is spoken of as "appointing." Let this be illustrated. An agent of the Sunday-School Union goes through Dakota, organizes schools, getting teachers and pupils together, showing the need and place of a superintendent, etc., and leading the people to choose and call some one of their number thereto, he aiding with needed counsel. Would it be a historical error, or imply any disregard of the people's rights, if he said, "As instructed, I set in order the things that were wanting, and appointed officers in all the schools?" Surely not. Now the language of Acts, xiv. 23, runs in the Revision: "And when they had appointed for them elders in every church"—not one elder but several, in each church. But the Greek word for "appointed" bears out our analogy precisely. Dr. Lechler of Leipsic (in "Lange's Commentary") on Acts xi. 23, gives a long and clear statement of which this is the substance. "*Cheirotoneo*" (we put the Greek word in English letters) "signifies: *to raise the hands ; to vote, elect by stretching out the hands.* The expression accordingly suggests the thought that the apostles may have appointed and superintended a congregational election. And this view is supported by the circumstances related in ch. vi. 2 ff., where the Twelve directed that the election of the Seven should be held." Paul and Barnabas, then, he argues, did not nominate suitable men solely on their own authority. They aided the congregations in the election. There is not a week in the year in which new Presbyterian churches are not supplied with officers in identically the same way. The people of the early churches are told of the need ; their confidence in some of their own number is an essential to their filling the places ; they agree on the selection of these officers, and the organization needed, where there were so many adversaries, is completed. The plan was simple, in the line of the ways of the people, and is a precedent for all time.

That later methods came in we can well understand, but we do not imitate them. A writer in "Appleton's Cyclopedia" on "Bishop," says: "At first the bishops were elected by the clergy and people of the diocese, but on account of the tumults inseparable from popular assemblies, various councils, from that of Laodicea in the fourth century to that of the Lateran in 1215, restrained and suppressed the electoral rights of the laity." Passing by the opening clause—the whole article is crude—would the "development," or "evolution," described here be a precedent for a Christian Church in the United States to-day ? If not, why not ? Poor human nature sometimes makes trouble in choosing ministers, trustees, even choirs, as it does, now and then, in political elections. Shall we get rid of all that by "suppressing all electoral rights of the laity ?" This would be the logical following out of the principle that post-apostolic development is to be our rule.

We repeat, then, that the parity of the ministry, the existence of only elders and deacons, and the identity of the elder with the bishop—the distinctive features of Presbyterianism—are, as principles of organic life, illustrated and enjoined in the New Testament, which is our authority in this matter. "Priests" in the Anglican sense, as men who alone can, as separate from preaching deacons, administer sacraments and "absolution" are nowhere recognized in the New Testament. All believers are a "holy priesthood." The ministers of the gospel are not described as priests in Scripture, nor by us. We deem the word unscriptural and mischievous and representative of ideas unprotestant, and which is final, unscriptural. "Successors to the apostles," in any rational sense of that phrase, are nowhere to be found in the Scriptures. If they were to be, twelve would be, as with the Irvingites, the logical limit. Diocesan bishop are, whether for good or ill, post-apostolic. We aim at being apostolic.

If varied repetition of these things has made them clear, we may add that on the same general line the Presbyterian Church goes without fasts and festivals, saints' days, and rites which the Catechism, already quoted, makes out to be "lesser Sacramental Rites," as Confirmation and Absolution. Nor do we put "Holy Orders" and Matrimony in this relation. If we did we might as well take the seven sacraments of Rome. Nor do we call the communion-table an "altar," nor hold with this Catechism that in the Lord's supper first the bread and wine, afterward the body and blood of Christ, under the form of bread and wine, are offered to the First Person of the Godhead. We know that this view was "developed" in the progress of the ages, but we reject it as unscriptural. Forms of prayer Presbyterianism allows, but does not make them uniform and compulsory. These are specimens of details in which Presbyterianism follows its rule of deference to the New Testament on all that affects the Christian Church.

We now pass naturally to the third matter proposed to be touched, namely, some of the ways in which Presbyterianism is differentiated from other systems of Church organization. Except in the matter of names it is the same with the Reformed Church till lately known as "Dutch." The Congregational and Baptist brethren, as a whole, group together neighboring congregations, the pastors and some representatives of the people meeting as an "Association" for the recognizing of churches, settling of ministers, and the like, but they disclaim any more than advisory authority. Presbyterianism makes this executive, but gives the right of appeal, to any member, to the higher courts, much as the State gives to a citizen. This, however, is a matter of agreement and arrangement, and the present writer has, again and again, been permitted to join in "Association" meetings that had all the merits of an orderly Presbytery, and he is bound to confess he has seen Presbyteries where some resolutions at least were treated as only "advisory," and not acted on even at that.

The English and Canadian Methodists, now having the laity represented in their courts, are so much on Presbyterian lines that in the Dominion a union of the organizations has been gravely proposed. We do not—the writer here speaks for himself—regard the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church as claiming succession to the apostles, the sole right to ordain, or other individual powers. They are rather like the synodical missionaries of the Presbyterian churches in the Western States, chosen by the church in its Presbyteries, set free to inspect, advise, arrange, find places for men, and men for places. That they are not an essential of that Methodism which God has so blessed, is shown by their being peculiar to the United States. Methodism in Great Britain is not "episcopal" and has no bishops. It may be said that Presbyterians differ in modes of administration. Granted; but the Anglican Church in the Old World and the Anglican in the United States have wider differences, springing out of their respective histories, than ordinary Presbyterian churches present, and there are no such divergencies of convction as we see represented in the Anglican "High Church," "Low Church," or Evangelical, and "Broad" Church parties. It is sometimes alleged that Presbyterianism does not hold the people. Well, look to England with royal and government patronage, endowments, universities, and all outward things in favor of the "Established Church," and a good half of the people have gone out of it. In Scotland, on the other hand, most of the landowners are of the Anglican Church and have often been extremely partisan, and yet about two hundred and fifty small Anglican congregations represent the numbers that have kept, or gone, out of the national Presbyterianism. There is, moreover, this suggestive distinction, that while bodies have gone out of the Scottish Church, it has been to find a purer Presbyterianism, while in England, Dissent has never tried to carry with it the distinctive features of "the Church." It seemed to say, "farthest from these is best."

If inquiry be made as to the Presbyterian way of combining churches in synods and assemblies, on a plan not recognized by multitudes with whom we are one in the substance of doctrine, we have only to say that as we read the New Testament we cannot but see that in Jerusalem, for example, with five thousand believers at a very early day, there must have been many congregations. Even differences of nationality and of language would contribute to this; but they are grouped together as the "Church at Jerusalem." And when error as to the continuance of Judaistic rites threatened the peace and purity of the Church, a conference, synod, or general assembly (we shall not quarrel over details of name), met as reported in Acts, xv., considered the matter, and came to a decision described in this fashion: "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole Church to send," etc. The writing of the decision was on this wise: "The apostles and elders and brethren" (or in the Revision, "the apostles and the elder brethren") "send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia." A deputation of brethren with their letter seems to have settled the matter, ended the strife and produced great joy. Not only so but (Acts, xvi. 4) as Paul and his associates "went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem," to the establishment in the faith of the churches and their daily increase (ver. 5). On this line we proceed, in all matters common to widely scattered congregations, in synods and assemblies. The idea of the unity of all the churches, rather than the independence of each of all the rest, seems to be assumed through the narrative. But we repeat that the points of divergence here are of comparatively little importance. A Presbyterian synod on a missionary day and a meeting of the A. M. B. C. for Foreign Missions have much in common.

The same general remark applies to our Baptist brethren. It has been the frequent joy of the present writer to partake of, even to administer, the communion in Baptist churches. A Presbyterian Church receives the certified member of any Baptist, Methodist, Episcopalian, or Congregational Church as a brother, demanding no further qualifying rite. So the ministers ordained in any of these bodies are received on equal terms. Re-ordination is not required. That interchange of pulpits with them is both common and delightful, does not need to be proved. There are divergences of view, but they are not held to be barriers to communion either in feeling or in working.

In the Catechism already referred to, the "Catholic Church is made to consist of the Roman, Greek and Anglican," *not* in communion with one another; and the great churches just named outside them are the "Protestant sects," called so, we are told, from a Latin word to *cut off;* "they have cut themselves off from the full fellowship of the Christian Church." Without discussing the meaning and origin of the Latin "secta," or the charity of this application of it, we only claim that Presbyterianism is more catholic, more scriptural, more self-consistent, than "Anglican, Greek or Roman," so widely separated from one another, and so pronounced in their censures upon one another, and that it is adapted by its organization to work easily and harmoniously with the great bodies of believers known as Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and constituting no small portion of the great Church of Christ on the earth.

There are only two points to which, in conclusion, we devote a few sentences. Taking the argument of such a writer as Hatch, we see that the "evolution," until errors came in, and Church and state came into new relations, produced in the earlier stages practically Presbyterian congregations. "When," he says, p. 78, "the episcopal system had established itself, there was a bishop wherever in later times there would have been a parish church. From the small province of proconsular Asia, which was about the size of Lincolnshire, forty-two bishops were present at an early council: in the only half-converted province of North Africa 470 episcopal towns are known by name." This is a familiar truth to Presbyterians of the Old World, and hence they have no difficulty in accepting the statement that St. Patrick, when Ireland had but a small population, left it with 365 bishops. They were "bishops" of so many congregations; and if Rome and England had left the island to this organization and the connected doctrines, there would, probably, be less complication about the Irish problem today!

Our second point is that Presbyterianism is well adapted to work on a line parallel with that of civil institutions in the United States. The history of the Constitution readily explains this fact. Election of officers by the people—an element which the Anglican Church in England largely ignores, the accountability of officers to their peers, independence of the sections in their own matters, inter-dependence of the whole, with sessions, presbyteries, synods, and assemblies or supreme courts, up to which appeals can be carried—in these things American citizens find a simplicity, a practical directness, and a recognition of individual rights with which their civil life—if they accept its responsibilities, must make them familiar. They find the Church's teachers are not "priests," but ministers chosen by themselves; they with the people, make a "holy priesthood;" all true churches and ministers are in succession to the apostles in holding their doctrines (the apostles, in the nature of things, could have no successors); nothing human—antiquity, tradition, "fathers," or councils—divides authority with the supreme word of God, enthroned in the Church as it is to be in the heart; and they find all ecclesiastical history warning against the beginnings of compromise and surrender, just as civil history shows how liberty is secured only by constant resistance to insidious interference with original and heaven-bestowed rights.

JOHN HALL.

DEFENSE OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA,

In 1862, 1863 and 1864.

II.

The repulse of Admiral Dupont's iron-clad fleet before Charleston had not been looked upon as a thing possible by the North; and when the news of the Federal discomfiture reached that section, it engendered a heavy gloom of disappointment and discouragement—a feeling not unlike that which had prevailed there after the Confederate victory at Manassas, on July 21st, 1861. It was clear to me, however, that the enemy, whose land forces had not co-operated in this naval attack, would not rest upon his defeat, but would soon make another effort, with renewed vigor, and on a larger scale. Public opinion at the North would have given the Federal Administration no quiet had nothing further been attempted to retrieve what the New York Herald had already called "one of our most discouraging disasters," and another journal had denounced as "a shameful abandonment of the siege." I was therefore very much concerned when, scarcely a week afterward, the War Department compelled me to send back to North Carolina Cooke's and Clingman's commands, and, early in May, two other brigades, numbering 5,000 men, with two batteries of light artillery, to re-enforce General Joseph E. Johnston, at Jackson, Mississippi. The fact is, that on the 10th of May, Mr. Seddon, the Secretary of War, had even directed that still another force of 5,000 men should be withdrawn from my department to be sent to Vicksburg to the assistance of General Pemberton. But my protest against so exhaustive a drain upon my command was fortunately heeded, and I was allowed to retain the reduced force I then had under me, amounting on the 1st of June, for the whole State of North Carolina, to not more than 10,000 men. With these, it was evident, I could not protect each and every vulnerable point at the same time, and, henceforth, whenever the occasion arose, I had to withdraw troops from one quarter of the department to re-enforce another.

When, on the 12th of June, 1863, General Gillmore relieved

General Hunter and assumed command of what was called "the Department of the South," the enemy already occupied "Folly Island, north of the Stono; Seabrook Island, on the north Edisto; St. Helena Island, Port Royal Island, Hilton Head Island, Tybee Islands, Fort Pulaski, Ossabaw Islands, Fort Clinch, and Amelia Island, and the City of St. Augustine."* The fact that a new commander, of high engineering repute, had been sent to supersede General Hunter, confirmed me in the opinion that we would not have to wait long before another and more serious attack was made. A further reason for such a belief was the presence at that time of six Federal regiments on Folly Island, under Brigadier-General Vogdes, an officer of merit, perfectly familiar with Charleston and the surrounding country, he having been stationed at Fort Moultrie before the war. I had notified the War Department to that effect by a telegram dated May the 10th. It read as follows:

> "Enemy in force on Folly Island, actively erecting batteries yesterday."

Again on the 15th of June, speaking of the depletion of the forces under me, I drew the attention of the War Department to the danger of an attack by Morris Island, and even indicated the possible result of General Gillmore's operations. I said:

> ". . . The force in the department is already at the minimum necessary to hold the works around Charleston and Savannah, constantly menaced by the proximity of the enemy's iron-clads.
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> "The garrison of no work in the harbor can be withdrawn or diminished, as they are all necessary links in the chain of defenses. . . . It is not safe to have less than a regiment of infantry on Morris Island, which, if once carried by the enemy, would expose Fort Sumter to be taken in reverse and demolished."

I was making the greatest exertion to have finished an important battery which, by my orders, was in progress of construction near the south end of Morris Island. Want of adequate labor prevented its completion in time. Another paramount obstacle also thwarted me: no heavy guns could be procured for it.

On the 7th of July four monitors were seen off the Charleston bar. The fleet had not otherwise increased up to that day. During the night of the 8th the noise, apparently made by extensive chopping with axes, was distinctly heard from the extreme southern end of Morris Island. The sound reached us, but we were unable to distinguish what was really going on. The sand hills, so numerous on Little Folly Island, afforded much facility to the enemy for keeping us in the dark as to his ulterior designs, although nothing indicated any effort on his part at concealment. The following is an extract from my official report to the War Department upon this important event in the siege of Charleston:

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* General Gillmore's book "Engineer and Artillery Preparation against Charleston," p. 18.

"On the night of the 9th of July an immediate attack being anticipated, the whole infantry force on the island was kept under arms at the south end.

"At five o'clock on the morning of the 10th of July the enemy's attack commenced by a heavy fire on our position, from a great number of light guns apparently placed during the preceding forty-eight hours in the works lately thrown up on Little Folly Island. Three monitors about the same time crossed the bar, and brought their formidable armaments to bear on the left flank of our position, while several barges with howitzers in Light-house Inlet flanked our right.

"For two hours the enemy kept up the fire from these three different points, our batteries replying vigorously.

"The barges of the enemy, filled with troops, having been seen in Light-house Inlet in the direction of Black Island, and Oyster Point being the nearest and most accessible spot for debarkation from them, it was justly considered the one most necessary to protect, and therefore the infantry, consisting of the Twenty-first South Carolina Volunteers, about 350 effective men, were stationed by Colonel R. F. Graham, the immediate commander of the island, on the peninsula leading to that point.

"In this position the infantry were unavoidably exposed to the fire of the boat howitzers, but sheltered by the nature of the ground from that of the guns on Little Folly Island.

"About seven o'clock the enemy advanced on Oyster Point in a flotilla of boats containing between two and three thousand men, a considerable portion of whom endeavored to effect and hold a landing, in which they were opposed by the infantry until about eight o'clock, when another force of two or three regiments made good a landing in front of our batteries on the south end of Morris Island proper. These formed in line of battle on the beach, and advanced directly upon our works, throwing out on each flank numerous skirmishers, who very soon succeeded in flanking and taking the batteries in reverse. After an obstinate resistance our artillery had to abandon their pieces—three 8-inch navy shell guns, two 8-inch sea-coast howitzers, one rifled 24-pounder, one 30-pounder Parrott, one 12-pounder Whitworth, three 10-inch sea-coast mortars—eleven in all—and fall back.

"Two companies of the Seventh South Carolina Battalion, which arrived about this time, were ordered to the support of the batteries; but they could not make head against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy.

"This success of the enemy threatened to cut off our infantry engaged at Oyster Point from their line of retreat; and, consequently, about nine o'clock, Colonel Graham gave the order to fall back to Battery Wagner, which was accomplished under a severe flanking fire from the monitors.

"The enemy thus gained possession of the South end of Morris Island, by rapidly throwing a large number of troops across the inlet, which it was impossible for the available infantry on the spot, about 400 effective men, to resist.

"It was not the erection of works on Little Folly Island that caused the abandonment of our position; it was clearly the want on our side of infantry support, and the enemy's superior weight and number of guns, and the heavy supporting brigade of infantry, that swept away our feeble, stinted means of resistance."

It is not true that this attack was a surprise. The commander of Morris Island and all the troops on it knew that the enemy was preparing to make one from Little Folly. I knew it as well, and the War Department was also aware of it; for I had kept the Secretary of War and General Cooper well advised of all the operations of the enemy in my command, and, especially, of his movements in that particular quarter. The real cause of the Federal success, on the 10th of July, was insufficiency of our infantry force on Morris Island; let alone the fact that I could not, for want of necessary labor, complete the battery already referred to, and which was of no service whatever to us on that occasion. The following table shows what force I could dispose of, at that time, in and around Charleston, that is to say, in all the First Military District of South Carolina. I had:

1.—On James Island—		
Infantry	1,184	
Heavy and light artillery	1,569	
Cavalry	153	
		2,906
2.—On Morris Island—		
Infantry	612	
Heavy and light artillery	289	
Cavalry	26	
		927
3.—On Sullivan's Island—		
Infantry	204	
Heavy and light artillery	726	
Cavalry	228	
		1,158
4.—In Charleston proper—		
Infantry	462	
Heavy and light artillery	235	
Cavalry	153	850
Total		5,841

Nor should it be forgotten that the enemy, in order to divert our attention from the main object he had in view, was not only landing troops at the southern end of Morris Island, but was also seriously threatening James Island, and had made a strong demonstration against it by the Stono River. It is clear to me that, but for my determination not to weaken my force there for the support of Morris Island, this demonstration would have been converted into a real attack, the results of which might have been far more disastrous; for, as I have already stated, James Island was the avenue of approach I dreaded the most to see selected, and which on that account I feared the enemy would select. It was, in reality, the "entrance gate" to the avenue which would have almost assuredly led into the heart of Charleston. The enemy had preferred breaking in through the "window;" and I certainly had no cause to regret his having done so. That he was held in check there, and never got in, until we finally opened the "gate" ourselves, toward the end of the war, is not to be denied. On the evening of July 10th detachments from various Georgia regiments which I had called for, began to arrive. They were re-enforced by the Twenty-first South Carolina Volunteers, and Nelson's Battalion now garrisoned Battery Wagner. I also urgently pressed the War Department to order back Clingman's brigade to Charleston. Part of it came on the 12th. The day before, at early dawn, the enemy assaulted Battery Wagner, but was repulsed with great loss to him. Two Federal officers and some ninety-five men were killed within pistol range of our works. We captured six officers and about one hundred and thirteen men. Most of them were wounded. Three monitors and three wooden gun-boats assisted the Federal land forces on that occasion. Battery Wagner was again shelled on the 12th by part of the fleet, while the land forces were engaged in putting up works near the middle of Morris Island. They were very much disturbed by the accurate firing of Fort Sumter and of Battery Gregg.

On the arrival of the whole of Clingman's brigade and of other troops called from the Second and Third Military Districts of my Department, I was about to issue an order for an attempt in force to expel the enemy from Morris Island. But the configuration of that island, its proximity to the Federal monitors, and the fact, no less important, that fully four thousand men would have been required for that purpose, convinced me that no step of that kind could have then been successful. Our limited means of transportation was also a great drawback to us, and strongly militated against the adoption of any such offensive move on my part. Upon further reflection I came to the conclusion that we could do more toward checking the progress of the enemy by erecting new batteries on James Island and by strengthening others already in position there and elsewhere. I issued orders to that effect and they were vigorously carried out. Battery Simkins, in advance of Fort Johnson, on Shell Point, was one of these new batteries. It was armed with one 10-inch columbiad, one 6.40 Brooke, and three 10-inch mortars; and guns were taken from Sumter to increase the armament of Moultrie.

The damages in Battery Wagner were soon repaired, and the fire of the monitors and gun-boats regularly answered. Three guns, instead of two, were mounted at the Shell Point Battery; and I also caused gun-batteries of 10-inch columbiads to be substituted for the mortar-batteries at Fort Johnson. I ordered the forces on Morris Island to be reduced to a number strictly sufficient to hold our works there. And the enemy's pickets along the Stono having been increased at that time, I instructed General Hagood to advance at once on the position occupied by the Federals, and thus ascertain what was their real intent as to James Island. This was done with General Hagood's usual promptitude of action, and on the 16th the Federal forces were driven to the shelter of their gun-boats, our troops occupying the ground they had lost on that occasion. My order to Major Harris, Chief-Engineer, was, nevertheless, "to increase the batteries on James Island bearing on Morris Island by at least twenty guns on siege carriages, so as to envelop the enemy with a 'circle of fire' whenever he might gain possession of the north-east end of Morris Island; all works to be pushed on day and night." * On the 18th the Federal troops crowded the south end of Morris Island and took position behind their breastworks. It was clear that another attempt was about to be made against Wagner, and it was made with no less vigor than obstinacy. The "New Ironsides," five monitors, and a large wooden frigate joined in the bombardment. The firing of the enemy was more rapid on that occasion than it had ever been before. General Taliaferro, of Virginia, the gallant and efficient officer in command of Battery Wagner at the time,

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* "Military Operations of General Beauregard," vol. ii., chap. xxxii., p. 117.

estimated "that nine hundred shot and shell were thrown in and against the battery during the eleven hours that the bombardment lasted." Wagner answered but slowly to this terrible onslaught. Not so, however, with Sumter and Gregg, which fired with even more rapidity than the enemy, and, as ever, did splendid work. After dusk on the same evening the Federal fleet was seen to retire and the land forces advanced to attack Wagner. They displayed great determination. A portion of them succeeded in crossing the ditch and actually gained a foothold on the southern salient of the battery. General Hagood, with Colonel Harrison's Thirty-second Georgia, arrived opportunely at that hour, as per orders received from me, and was of great assistance in precipitating the flight of the enemy, though it had fairly begun before his arrival. In my report of this incident of the day is found the following language :

> "The assault was terribly disastrous to the enemy. His loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners must have been three thousand, as eight hundred bodies were interred in front of Battery Wagner on the following morning. . . . Our own loss during the bombardment and assault was one hundred and seventy-four, killed and wounded."

From that time up to the evacution of Morris Island, the enemy scarcely allowed a day to pass without heavily firing upon our works—sometimes with his land forces alone, at other times with these and his fleet combined. He was also busily engaged on his batteries and trenches, while, on our side, we were straining every nerve to repair the damages done to our works and to strengthen the weakened walls of Sumter, whose disarmament was carefully carried on at night, in view of the disastrous effects of the enemy's heavy guns, from stationary batteries which would eventually render it untenable as an artillery post. That such a result was inevitable no one could possibly doubt, and that the whole of Morris Island would, sooner or later, fall into the hands of the enemy, was no less evident. But, so long as the batteries in process of construction on the main were unfinished, I had resolved to hold Wagner and Gregg to the last extremity. Every movement of the enemy was, in the mean time, watched with the utmost vigilance ; while the accurate firing of Sumter, Gregg, and Wagner continued to seriously interfere with the working parties engaged on his lines of gradual approaches.

Among the most memorable incidents of this period of the siege was the seven days' bombardment of Fort Sumter, which commenced on the 17th of August and lasted up to the 23d. It appeared to be, on the part of the Federals, a desperate and final attempt to force the surrender of the fort, and thus effect the reduction of Morris Island, and even of the City of Charleston. This was evidenced by the peremptory demand which I received from General Gillmore on the 21st, for the "immediate evacuation of Morris Island and Fort Sumter," followed by the threat that, if within "four hours" after the delivery of his letter into the hands of the commander of Battery Wagner no reply was had, he would "open fire on the City of Charleston from batteries already established within easy range of the heart of the city." This communication reached me after the time specified, as must have been anticipated by General Gillmore; for it was evident that no message could go from Battery Wagner to Charleston and be answered within the limited space of "four hours."

I protested against the bombardment of a city filled with old men, women and children, before giving the customary notice of three or four days in which to allow them to escape from danger. From a work which was called "the Swamp Angel," because of the spot where it had been erected, the enemy, with an eight-inch Parrott rifle-gun, and before receiving my answer, did open fire upon "the heart" of the city. I have reason to believe, however, that the energy of my protest, which in due time reached the head-quarters of the Federal commander, forced him to somewhat recede from the position he had at first taken; for he ultimately ordered the firing upon the city to be suspended for the space of two days. When resumed it was not continued long; the "Swamp Angel" gun, after thirty-six rounds, very fortunately burst, and none other was mounted in that locality to take its place. The result of the seven days' bombardment of Sumter was to convert that historic fort into a confused mass of crumbling *débris*, but without altogether impairing its capacity of resistance. The greatest danger threatening the garrison just then, and one, no doubt, counted upon by the enemy, was the probability of the explosion, by shot and shell, of its powder magazine, which was, indeed, momentarily apprehended by the gallant men within the work.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

(*To be Concluded.*)

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE.

THE collision between the President and the Senate and the debate which it has caused are both interesting and important. They relate to the great central powers of the government. They foreshadow the issues of the next presidential election, as viewed by the leaders of the Senate. They have united the Democrats, for the first time during the session, in vigorous support of the President, enabling them to make an effective assault upon their opponents, who are not well united. They have called forth a significant condemnation of the secret and partisan methods of the Senate in dealing with appointments. They have rendered conspicuous its unwarranted claim of authority in connection with removals.

The debate has disclosed the precedents of official intercourse between the President and the Senate, but has not done justice to the rights of the former under the Constitution. It has hardly touched the conditions of good administration. With some exceptions, senators seem unconscious of the usurpations of the Senate, and of the absurdity of persisting in their own secret methods even at the moment when they are arraigning the President on the charge of concealment. In portraying the injustice of his alleged secrecy, senators seem unmindful that the people are making this answer : "You are describing your own secret doings. You have not the courage or consistency to let us know what you say and do, or to avow the principles or the interests by which you are guided. Open your own doors, and be *public* servants. You ask for papers, only to use them in secret sessions behind barred doors."

The result has been not only that the Senate has brought condemnation upon itself but that a distrust has been aroused which will not be allayed until the people are enabled to know what senators say, and how they vote concerning nominations.

It has been one of the curious facts of the debate, that senators have assumed an air of candor and disinterestedness, almost ludicrous, when claiming themselves to be unbiased judges, and the Senate to be an impartial tribunal, for final judgment between itself and the Executive. Even democratic senators seem to forget that, by the common sense of civilized mankind, no one can be a fair judge in his own cause. The claims of the Senate, if allowed, would not only greatly increase the political prestige of each senator, but also, his patronage and his ability to re-elect himself. The liability to bias on the part of republican senators is far greater, for to allow their claim, would be to embarrass their opponents and to keep thousands of their own party in office.

Yet, not a lawyer in the Senate has appeared to be aware that we have a Judiciary—one of the three great departments of the government—which may properly have something to say before one of the other two departments can be allowed by an *ex parte* proceeding to adjudge the rights and jurisdiction of the third. I say *ex parte*, because the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate treated the President as an intermeddler, when, in a timely message, the President explained his motives and the facts of his action which the Senate had arraigned. Why has it not occurred to some member of the Senate, as it has to so many candid minds beyond it, that the true way to settle the question raised, is to bring it before the Supreme Court, where there would not be the bias of either partisan blindness, senatorial pride, or official patronage. Far from anything of this kind, the Senate, by a bare party majority, having decided for itself in its own case, in favor of its own usurpations and the patronage of its own members, has also adjudged, in like manner, a penalty to be enforced by itself, for questioning any part of its decree ; which penalty is, first, a refusal to discharge its own constitutional functions ; and, second, a resolution and a threat to obstruct the discharge of the function of the President, and the normal action of the government—an unprecedented and revolutionary policy which cannot be enforced, which now recoils upon its authors, and which tends to an issue between the House and the best sentiment of the country on one side, against the Senate on the other, in which the latter is certain to be defeated. In some particulars, democratic senators asserted the constitutional authority of the Executive with vigor. But they seemed blind to the usurpations of their own body, and unwilling to surrender the patronage which these usurpations have enabled its members to grasp. The larger and higher interests of the people and the true construction of the Constitution, irrespective of its effect upon the prestige and authority of the Senate, were lamentably subordinated to other topics. These short-comings, I assume, were not by reason of conscious indifference to the public interests, but are the natural results of the exaggerated views and theories as to the rights of the Senate now hereditary among its members. These views and theories, never adequately challenged anywhere—and generally treated as too sacred and hallowed to be questioned on the floor of the Senate—have hardened and ripened into a mysterious arrogance and a misleading, pernicious philosophy, never before presented in a manner so conspicuous and threatening as in this debate.

I do not forget the saying of Gouverneur Morris, that it is dangerous to be impartial in politics. All the more, therefore, I wish to state my high estimation of the functions of the Senate, and of the great part, as a whole, which it has acted. It has nobly preserved the freedom of debate. Its discussions have been more useful, and less tainted with personalities and demagogism, than those of the House. By reason of the longer terms and greater ability of its members, it has been by far the most useful body in legislation. Its vicious element, and its seduction from the path of moderation and justice, have been its share in the appointing power, which is utterly foreign to the functions of a legislative body.

Let us note the development of senatorial assumption, arrogance and usurpation which this element has caused. All legislative powers granted by the Constitution are vested in Congress, limited always by the veto power of the President. Among the enumerated powers of Congress, there is none which is executive in its nature ; but the veto power, essentially legislative, is defined as a limitation on the legislative power of Congress. If the President vetoes a bill, it can become a law only by the vote of two-thirds of the Senate and two-thirds of the House. The Constitution, therefore, gives as much weight to the opinion of the President, even in matters of legislation, as it does to the opinions of one-third of the senators and one-third of the representatives combined. Hence, twenty-five senators and one hundred and eighteen members of the House are, at this moment, in their own sphere of legislation, less than a counterpoise to the President alone.

The Constitution vests the executive power in the President. He is made commander-in-chief of the army and of the navy. He is to take care that the laws are faithfully executed. He negotiates all treaties. He alone may fill all vacancies in offices when the Senate is not in session. He commissions all officers. He grants all reprieves and pardons. Contemplating that he will know, better than senators or representatives, not only the condition and needs of his great department, but of the whole country, the Constitution calls upon him "to give to Congress, from time to time, information of the state of the Union." It empowers him, at his discretion, to convene the Senate, to convene the House, or both of them, for business, and to adjourn them if they disagree as to an adjournment. By and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the treaties he has negotiated are made binding. By and with the same advice and consent, he appoints the ambassadors and all other officers whom he alone is authorized to nominate. Aside from giving this advice and consent, and the trying of impeachments, the Senate merely shares legislative authority equally with the House; but not always this even for the House has the sole power of originating revenue bills and of impeaching officers. A senator represents, in one-half part, a State. The President not only directly represents the whole body of the people, but he is to execute the policy they have approved in a national election, whatever party may control the Senate.

It thus appears that the President provided for by the Constitution, and the President recognized by the Senate, are, as we shall more clearly see, two very different officers. The participation by the Senate in the appointing power, known as the power of confirmation, is an exception from the grant of executive authority to the President, analogous to the exception of the veto power from the grant of legislative authority to Congress. Neither exception can be enlarged by inference, for each is equally repugnant to the general authority conferred. There is no more right on the part of the Senate to demand papers or explanations of the President relative to his exercise of the appointing power than on the part of the President to make the same demand concerning the exercise by Congress of legislative power. Equal liberty on the part of each is an essential condition of the constitutional independence and counterpoise of each, which are among the supreme ends of free government.

The power of removal is nowhere expressly conferred by the Constitution. In its nature and the conditions of its exercise, it is wholly an executive power. How can members of Congress—who, in view of the Constitution, need to be informed by the President of even the general affairs of the country—know the internal needs of departments, the kind of service rendered by, or the character of particular officers serving under, the President? What could be more destructive of discipline and subordination, what more disastrously separate authority from responsibility, than to deny to the Executive the great power of removal and to concede it to one or two political bodies, which act by party majorities, and have neither the information nor the responsibility which are the essential guaranties for its salutary exercise?

When, in 1789, the question arose as to where the power of removal was vested, it was held, and has ever since by a vast preponderance of authority been held, to be an inherent executive power, distinct from the power of appointment, to be exercised by the President alone. For nearly three-fourths of a century this view was almost universally accepted. There was for many years little temptation on the part of senators to usurp it. In the whole period before Jackson's time, there were less than one hundred removals. The many he made stirred the ambition of senators. The Senate soon showed a disposition to encroach on the Executive, which that resolute President withstood in a way that furnishes an example for President Cleveland.

The creation of a four-year term in 1820 for collectors, district attorneys, and various other officers—a term before unknown, I believe, except in a single instance, among appointed officers—united with a rapid increase in the number of executive officials, greatly augmented the political importance of the power of appointment and removal, and made it very tempting to senatorial ambition. The demand for this term sprang from greed for patronage and a partisan spirit, nowhere more developed than in the Senate itself, or more pernicious than in the elections of its members. Jefferson declared, in 1820, in a letter to Madison, that this four-years' term "saps the salutary and constitutional functions of the President, and introduces a precedent of corruption which will soon leaven the whole mass of senators, and keep in constant excitement all the hungry cormorants for office, and render *them as well as those in place, sycophants to their senators.*"

These predictions were rapidly verified. Confirmations by the Senate began to be made not merely for partisan reasons, but so as to increase the patronage of senators and their power in their States. It was soon seen that each senator had but to concede to his fellows the same control over confirmations for their States which he naturally sought over those for his own State, to constitute him the dispenser-general of its patronage. The senators of each State divided their patronage to suit themselves, fulfilling the pledges of the last election and bribing voters for the next. Under the specious name of the "courtesy of the Senate," this vicious and demoralizing barter, division, and concession, screened by secret sessions, became the law and the scandal of confirmations. Under it the senators of each State became its partisan despots and feudal lords of office-getting. All the other senators were thereby bribed to neglect their duty of honest and fearless investigation in all cases outside their own State monopoly. This "courtesy"—this slavish law of silence and division—which has made many worthy senators blush for shame, which has put thousands of scoundrels into office, which has caused tens of thousands of worthy men to despair of office, which has demoralized parties and degraded the very name of politics—this star-chamber secret courtesy still lingers. It appears to have given one scoundrel and dunce a place even in the very hours during which its apologists have been arraigning the President for alleged concealment of his actions and motives.

Once able to control the selection of collectors and postmasters, senators found it easy to condition their confirmations upon the courtesy-monopoly senator having the selection of the clerks of the officers confirmed. The new collector at Baltimore seems to have declared that such was the fact in his own case last month. To give senators potential control of nominations, it was only necessary to use their political and legislative authority against President and heads of departments. That control had to some extent been secured by senators years before Senator Marcy proclaimed, in 1832, in a public session of the Senate, the senatorial doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils.

Senators found their increased patronage so enjoyable that, four years later—in 1836—a law was passed which, for the first time, created a four years' term for a class of postmasters—then about four hundred in number—and making them subject to confirmation by the Senate. The desire for the patronage of confirmations seems to have been the motive for this new four-year term. There are now more than 2,200 postmasters subject to such confirmation. This requires 550 confirmations of postmasters every year, being at the rate of two every day the Senate is in session. Here is a constant stream of secret, vicious patronage. With such success in extending their patronage, what more natural than for senators to begin to inquire whether participation in appointments did not imply participation in removals ? Might they not say they could not advise an appointment unless they thought the removal had been for a good senatorial cause? If the favorite of a senator was removed, or a friend of a political rival—or a member of the opposite party—was nominated, how could a senator approve ? It was, therefore, good senatorial logic and morals, at least in the minds of some senators, to insist that the removal as well as the nomination, must be approved—even by the courtesy-monopolist senator ! That most senators who have reached that conclusion were not conscious of other than patriotic motives I readily assume.

It was true that the giving of one power implied an intent to withhold the other, that the two are so absolutely distinct that an appointment must be complete before a removal can be proposed, and, also, that they are so unlike that a removal is the very reverse of an appointment, and may, perhaps, never be followed by an appointment.

No matter. Senatorial logic and metaphysics, backed by the great power of the Senate and the promptings of an insatiable ambition, may do much even against the President and the Constitution. There is even senatorial authority, however, for declaring that threatened refusals of confirmations and appropriations greatly desired by presidents and the heads of departments, have not unfrequently enabled the Senate to dictate removals as well as nominations. Only those utterly destitute of humor can keep sober faces when such precedents are now quoted to bolster more arrogant demands than the Senate ever made before.

Such an experience had well prepared the Senate for the bold avowal of its theories, of which the refusal of President Johnson, in 1867, to yield to its demands for patronage was the occasion. The tenure-of-office act of that year was the most audacious violation of the Constitution ever perpetrated. The Senate grasped a potential control of the power of appointment and removal, and became the dominating power in the government. Under that act even a suspension could not be made by the President except for "crime or misconduct," which he was required to report "to the Senate with the *evidence and reasons for his action.*" He was reduced to a mere executive agent bound to give, in each case of dealing with any one of his subordinates, humble and humiliating explanations at the bar of the Senate. The Senate was thus exalted to a power hardly less mighty than the senates of Rome and Venice. It had secured the gates of supremacy in the future.

The constitutional counterpoise had been destroyed. Good administration had been made impossible. Senators openly declared on the streets that "they had got the President in their power." They became autocrats in State politics. Their elections became more and more corrupt. Representatives were affronted by senatorial insolence. The law speedily became unendurable. In 1869 its most flagrant provisions were repealed, but others subversive of the essential rights of the Executive were retained. These provisions assumed that the power of suspending an officer, in its nature and effect a mere fragment of the power of removal, is vested in Congress, and was, through that act, conferred upon the President. Congress may unquestionably regulate, but so as not to substantially impair the power of removal, including that of suspension. But it has no such power to confer or to exercise, however much courage it may take to plainly declare the true construction on the floor of the Senate. There are not, I believe, five lawyers in the Senate who regard even the amended tenure-of-office act, upon the extreme verge of which the majority has stood in its collision with the President, as being constitutional. Every President and nearly every member of the Cabinet since its enactment has held it to be both unconstitutional and disastrously obstructive of good administration.

The retirement of President Johnson did not take away the ambition of the Senate, or the greed of senators for patronage. The everlasting truth in government that a power once usurped is never surrendered but to fear was to have a new illustration. It was in vain that President Grant in his first message recommended "the total repeal" of these acts, and declared them "inconsistent with a faithful and efficient administration of the government." Without answering the charge senators clung to their patronage and tormented the President about appointments. The House, in the same year, by an overwhelming vote, declared for the repeal of these laws. Senators, behind their barred doors, went on enforcing their courtesy, wrangling over places, and domineering in State politics. The House again declared for their repeal by a vote of more than six to one. Senators, in secret session, went on confirming their favorites and rejecting their enemies for reasons and by votes which not one of them dared make public and of which many of them were ashamed. The House, in 1872, for a third time, by a vote practically unanimous, declared for the repeal of these laws. The majority of senators, scorning the reiterated voice of the people's representatives, as they had the appeals of the President, persisted in their secret and demoralizing methods, which have been and now are the strength of the spoils system. They are as plainly repugnant to republican institutions as they are insulting to an enlightened citizenship. President Hayes called in vain for the repeal of these laws. For the cowardly silence with which they had met the language of President Grant, not a few senators substituted open defiance of his less powerful successor. As feudal lords of patronage, they were during his term the terror of the departments and the despots of State politics. Senators Conkling and Platt, because their supremacy was challenged by that executive agent called a President, resigned and went home to rally their clans in rebellion. He fell before that aroused public sentiment which finally made Grover Cleveland, then an unknown man, President—a sentiment, the strength and spirit of which some senators do not even yet seem to comprehend. President Garfield declared in the House that the tenure-of-office acts have caused "the usurpation by the Senate of a large share of the appointing power;" and in a magazine article that "the President can remove no officer without the consent of the Senate —*not often given,* unless the successor is *agreeable to the senator in the State where the appointee resides—a power most corrupting and dangerous.*"

Even such thorough believers in making the most of partisan opportunities as the late Senator Morton and Mr. Blaine have condemned these laws. Senator Hoar declared in this REVIEW, that, "in this way the Executive may be *subjected* to another branch of the government." Senator Pendleton declared that senators are thus "drawn into a neglect of the chief duties of legislation." In view of charges so grave, coming from such men, I am sure nothing I have said can be thought extreme. Compelled to admit that an appointment and a removal are two distinct and independent acts in the theory of the Constitution and the action of the President, senators have claimed them to be one thing, or rather the appointment to be both, on the side of the Senate, and for increasing its authority. This reasoning rests on the assumption that to determine whether John Jones is a fit person to be confirmed, senators need to decide whether Peter Simpson was suspended for good reasons. On this mere assumption, the entire argument for the Senate in the late debate is based. It affirms that the Constitution makes removals, not less than appointments, subject to the approval of the Senate. It repudiates the great decision of 1789 and all the precedents under it. It practically restores the repealed clauses of the act of 1867. It makes the secret committees of the Senate and a party majority of senators behind barred doors, deciding by secret party votes, not merely jurors on points involving their own patronage and the fate of great officers of their party, but also judges on appeal in every case, to decide whether there was good cause for removal, even where great questions of policy, determined by the people in the last election, are involved. The Senate and its committees as lords-paramount of patronage—thus interposed between the President and all his subordinates—are made supreme over conduct, discipline, character, efficiency, practical methods, and everything to which removals may properly relate ; in short, everything which constitutes the greater parts of administrative functions. Such a change would revolutionize the government. The President would be made contemptible. The Senate would become intolerably arrogant and hopelessly corrupt, a patronage-mongering body, which would be sure to become odious to the people and unendurable by the House. Madison's prediction would be verified.

But let us not fear the Senate will ever get control of removals. The reaction against its attempts has begun. That reaction will repeal or greatly modify the tenure-of-office act. It will not stop until senators are forced to the duty of voting and speaking upon nominations under the public eye, or at least under rules requiring a prompt publication of their votes and speeches. The certain publicity thus secured, will leave small inducements for bad characters to gain nominations through lying recommendations, and poor chances for scoundrels being confirmed.*

Senators Platt and Logan comprehend this reaction. Their demands for open doors will gain as many votes for their party as the pyrotechnical, paleological, but not otherwise logical, spoils system advocacy of Senator Ingalls, will drive away from it in New York and Massachusetts, if not in Kansas. There was an early day, I believe, in Kansas, when all that was noblest in her citizenship was as little represented—and was as much ridiculed and maligned—in the Senate by the partisan leaders of political savagery and border-ruffianism, for rising above party proscription, and for asserting a manly independence, as the successors of that class of her people now are for acting in the spirit of their fathers. Self-interest and false theories distort the true proportions of things, and lead even great minds into strange inconsistencies. Here are some examples which would be simply laughable, if they had not led to obstructive measures in the Senate.

Standing by his seat in the Senate, from which, as we have seen, the President may dismiss him to his home, and to which seat he may call him back again, by directing an adjournment or calling a session of that body—seeing it plainly written in the Constitution, that the President commands the army and the navy, and that he alone can negotiate treaties governing our relations with all mankind—a senator, nevertheless, plumply tells us in this debate, that, "the President is an officer to execute the laws, *nothing else.*" Representing but in half part a State, in a body which has but two-thirds of one-half of the sum of the law-making authority, while the President, directly representing the whole people, has one-third of the law-making authority in each House of Congress, a senator, nevertheless, astounds us by asserting that the President, "is not one of the makers of laws!" A member of a body with no function whatever which the President does not share, except that, rarely exercised, of trying impeachments, while the functions of the President, sweeping over the whole constitutional domain, save that of the judiciary, extend to every place on the globe where an American ship or an American citizen can be found, a senator, nevertheless, has the audacity to assert in this debate, that the jurisdiction of the Senate, "is INFINITELY BROADER than that of the President!" A senator, having first declared that the "state of the Union," refers to everything within it, and plainly hinted that the Senate is by far the greatest thing in it, next assures us that the clause of the Constitution which provides for the President's giving to Congress the information which the Constitution assumed it would lack, really means only this—that the President is a sort of Chief Executive Clerk, to gather and report facts and send up packs of papers as the Senate may be pleased to call for them; adding, admonishingly, that he would be guilty of an "impertinence," if he should speak, or give the people information about the Senate! Can arrogance go further than this?

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* This article was in the hands of the editor before the debate began on Senator Platt's resolution for considering nominations in open session. The debate has shown that the Senate is realizing the temper of the public condemnation of its secret methods—even more rapidly than I had anticipated. For moral courage, patriotic disinterestedness and comprehensive and forcible statement, no speech delivered in the Senate during the present decade equals that of Senator Platt's, on this resolution. It should be read by every thoughtful citizen. D. B. E.

Why, after such assumptions, be the least surprised, when the Senate haughtily "directs" papers to be sent to it which relate solely to the independent functions of this Chief Clerk—according to senatorial philosophy—sometimes called the President. What more natural than such strange language—to say no more—as this, in a single speech, concerning the President's message—a message which for candor, strength and sagacity is, to put it mildly again, in broad contrast to that speech: "—has interjected his supplementary report to the report of the minority;" "the argument of their fellow-coadjutor;" "I notice a very high official, in a supplementary report;" "his supplementary minority report." Is not the President, in fact, a mere chief clerk of the Senate? Indeed, cannot the clerk of the Senate perform the whole duties of the Executive and the trouble of having a President at all be saved? The public judgment upon these matters, I venture to think, varies widely from the views and theories of the Senate. It as strongly condemns the supercilious tone as it does the usurpations of that body. I think I but express an enlightened public opinion, worthy the serious attention of senators, when I declare there is great need that they should consider the Executive more in the spirit of the Constitution and less in the interest of their own prestige and patronage. If they do not voluntarily withdraw, they must be compelled to retreat within their own constitutional sphere. The President is not a subordinate of the Senate.

The papers demanded by the Senate had no relevancy to any function of that body concerning the subject before it, except on its theory of sharing the power of removal; nor on that theory even, for the term of the officer suspended had expired by limitation before the Senate called for the papers. The President recognized the right of the Senate to have all the official papers on file in the public offices relating to its functions. He brought his claim for the independence of his office, not only within the constitutional limits, but within the limits approved by President Hayes and stated by Senator Sherman, when Secretary of the Treasury, in November, 1877, in answer to a similar demand made by Senator Conkling, speaking for the Senate.

Now, a few words concerning the debate as foreshadowing the strategy of the next presidential election. It can be shown, I think, that senators greatly overestimate the effectiveness of mere party discipline and partisan appeals, and greatly underestimate the political influence and the numbers which will stand resolutely for the reform policy of the President. The Republican party, in which the reform sentiment first became a political power, in great measure lost the strength it could give by refusing, in 1875, to support the reform policy of President Grant, and by too tardily passing the civil service act for retrieving that mistake, thereby making it possible for the Democrats to capture that power and elect President Cleveland by its aid; doubtless most of the Democrats believing they could force him to be unfaithful to that policy. They were mistaken. He has enforced the civil service act faithfully and with as much comprehensiveness as it was enforced by President Arthur. Within the civil service rules and examinations, the removals under President Cleveland have hardly exceeded those in the same period under each of the last three presidents. Looking beyond the examinations, we find that only 288 postmasters out of the 2,233 removable by the President have been displaced. I venture to assert that there are not five senators who believed he had the patriotism and moral courage to withstand the solicitation, the pressure and the threats, unparalleled in presidential experience, and in no small measure coming from senators themselves—required to keep removals within such limits; and to add that, while the partisan-bourbon leaders of the Democratic party sorely deprecate the facts, there are fifty Democrats to-day friendly to a reform policy for every one who favored it a year ago. That policy has already become a political issue, threatening to divide the Democratic party into factions in at least one-third of the States, if it repudiates the policy of its President. The speeches of Senators Vance, Voorhees and Kenna show that they comprehend what I mean. To fight the President on a reform policy is to ruin the Democratic party. The Republican friends of reform, deprecating the sneers of their senators, and their injustice in allowing the President no credit for the great efforts he has made for it, regard him as being now its greatest champion. Regretting, as every friend of reform must, that more than 8,000 postmasters out of the more than 52,000 in all, have been displaced in a year, they do not forget that Republicans enforced a partisan test in their selection, and that the President has made a more heroic struggle than all his predecessors together ever made against the spoils system savagery, which has clamored for that universal proscription which every Republican leader predicted, and which many of them would welcome as insuring the return of their party to power in 1888. Several Republican Senators who have arraigned the President for allowing so many removals, hardly disguise their great regret that he has not made three times as many. They think such proscription would not only help their party to power, but that it would be a precedent, in that event, for another proscription which would give them unlimited patronage.

Of all the misrepresentations of the acts and motives of the President, none is greater than that which declares that every suspension carries with it an implied charge of corruption in office. He stated that he would regard the use of official authority and the neglect of public duty for partisan purposes as a cause for suspension ; and, therefore, a suspension implies that indefensible kind of conduct, *but it implies nothing more.* Another misrepresentation hardly less gross, is that which declares that, by such removals, the President has violated the pledges on which he was elected. But the only authority referred to for the charge is a letter written a month after his election. No one can regret more than I do that the Democratic leaders are so greedy and short-sighted as not to leave the President at liberty to do better. His standard of duty is above that generally accepted by either party, and he deserves the vigorous support of the friends of reform in both parties.

In Massachusetts and New York, the votes of which will be at least as decisive in the next election as in the last, the same reform methods sustained by President Cleveland have been enforced with the most salutary results during the past year. Governor Hill, of New York, who as clearly as any man comprehends the future of that State, has in his last message committed himself to their enforcement quite as emphatically as President Cleveland. The Democratic Mayors of Boston and New York City are vigorous supporters of that policy.

In such facts and considerations, senators and leaders of both parties may well see that a great political force is behind the President, that the decisive question will not be how zealous partisans will vote, but how that great and growing body of intelligent, thoughtful, conscientious men, little amenable to mere partisan discipline, will vote. No senator has spoken for them, but several have needlessly affronted them, in the late debate.

DORMAN B. EATON.

GLADSTONE.

ONCE more Gladstone is to the fore. His return to power at the head of a coalition between the Irish party and the Liberals constitutes one of the most important political situations the British Empire has ever known. A Parliament composed, for the first time in history, of men elected by the people of every class, is to decide upon the claims of the Irish for distinct government and a separate Parliament—claims put forward by a party able to enforce them, or to throw either Whigs or Tories into opposition.

Gladstone, the friend of Ireland through many arduous struggles, the man who carried the disestablishment of the Irish Church, who re-made the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland—was opposed in the late elections to the attempted alliance of Parnell and Salisbury. He declared that the way to do justice to Ireland, and yet secure the integrity of the Empire, was to grant as a right, not concede under a threat, what Ireland demands. But the elections went against him, and he instantly rose to the situation. He pronounced it better for the Liberals to do what is right, even under defeat, even because they were compelled to, than to allow the same measure to be accomplished through the unnatural coalition of Tories and Irish patriots. He goes further, however, in yielding to the Irish than many of his own party, and must make a Titanic effort if he brings them up in sufficient numbers to his level. But he is used to contests and to victories; and this much is already certain: whatever the issue of a single battle, the result of the campaign will be the triumph of the principles for which he strives. If Gladstone should die to-morrow, his name would be forever associated with the emancipation of Ireland. He has made it sure.

The great antagonist of aristocracy in England began his career as a Tory and High Churchman. One of Macaulay's early essays was a Whig attack on a manifesto by a young man whom he styled "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." The book was Gladstone's defense of "The State in its Relations with the Church." To-day, the Tory has passed beyond the position even of the Whigs and left them far to the rear. In both Church and state they are the drag, and he is the leader—as the coach rolls rapidly down the hill of revolution—the Tories say.

His transition has been gradual. No statesman in history has grown more steadily or furnished a finer instance of evolution. For years he was simply the great financier of his party; he looked little to the revolutionary or progressive politics that were developing around him. But as the old leaders like Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, and the last Lord Derby, passed away, and Lord Russell became decrepit and finally senile—two younger men stepped into the arena, grander figures in English politics than any since the days of Pitt and Fox, and one at least destined to leave a deeper impress on the history of his country than even those giants of the Napoleonic day.

In 1869, when I first went to England, Disraeli and Gladstone were the acknowledged chiefs of the two great political camps. One had worked his way up by the adroitest use of all the arts of policy and personal address, by attacking his friends and deserting his chiefs at opportune crises, by truckling to the prejudices and trading on the fears of a powerful order; above all, by the aid of an intense selfishness that was able to perceive its ends from afar, and to subject principle and even passion to its purposes; the very Mephistopheles and Machiavelli of modern politics; mocking, insincere, indifferent, so far as others were concerned; persistent, devoted, all-grasping in his own designs; grand in his power to compel a race that he despised and an aristocracy that despised him, to do his bidding. The other was a religious zealot, an intense thinker, and yet a practical man, full of love for the Church, and saturated with scholarly veneration for the past, with all the inborn reverence of an Englishman for whatever is established, and the awe of a middle-class man for the aristocracy—yet impelled by the combined force of his own energies and ambitions, and the tremendous vigor of his ever-expanding intellectual convictions, as well as by the influence of the iconoclastic and reforming spirit of the time, that penetrated and finally permeated him, till he turned upon the institutions he had loved the best, and, like one inspired by the Fates, attacked and destroyed what he had been all his life upholding and defending.

He was at the head of a brilliant band of ardent thinkers and earnest patriots, some of them, doubtless, crude or doctrinaire, impractical and over-zealous ; others inclining to the extreme of caution, yet representing the element in English statesmanship which at that time had accomplished whatever had been achieved by or for the English people since the downfall of the Stuarts.

The first gage of battle was the Irish Church. Gladstone was made prime minister that he might overthrow that relic of the ancient alliance of Church and state which he had once written a book to defend. The religious enthusiast, the early apostle of Establishment, led the Whigs and the Radicals in their assault on the Church, while the political adventurer, the renegade from Liberalism, the foreigner in blood and belief, was the champion of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of the aristocracy, and in reality of the court. Their rivalry lasted till the death of Beaconsfield. Only one of these men could be prime minister so long as both were living.

Gladstone's convictions, his enemies say, have always been easily changed when the motive was strong ; and it must be admitted that his conversions have often been seasonable. Any one who had studied his career could easily have predicted his course in the Irish emergency. He was certain to yield when the Irish became irresistible, to lead those to victory whose victory he himself had opposed. Circumstances, however, make potent arguments. When the political necessity is pressing, the political vision becomes clearer ; and emergency often compels to a course that if the emergency did not exist might be unadvisable. It should be remembered, too, that Gladstone's progress has always been in one direction. After he once set out toward Liberalism he has never been a backslider. When he could not proceed as far as he wished he has neither retreated nor recanted. Whatever the inducement, whether of hope or fear, he never returns to his idols.

He has been accused of a jesuitical tendency, of a disposition to find arguments in favor of acts after the acts have been performed, and it is certain that when good logic was not at his disposal he has sometimes resorted to sophistries unworthy of the preacher of purity and Christianity infused into politics. Two notable instances of this occurred while I was in England. One was generally known as the Ewelme scandal.

The living of Ewelme is in the gift of the prime minister, but a provision of law requires the incumbent to be a member of the University of Oxford. Mr. Gladstone had a favorite who was a Cambridge man, and so that this clergyman might receive the coveted preferment, he was first made a member of Oxford and then immediately promoted to the position reserved for Oxford men. The proceeding provoked much harsh criticism, and the Christian statesman certainly laid himself open to the charge of evading the law for personal purposes.

The other case affected the judiciary. Only judges who have sat in certain courts are eligible for appointment to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a court of appeal of the highest dignity and consequence. Its members must be selected from the bench, so that their judicial experience may tell in their new position. But Mr. Gladstone appointed his attorney general, Sir Robert Collier, to a judgeship for two days, and then bestowed on him the preferment intended exclusively for judges. These acts speak for themselves. His enemies not unnaturally proclaimed that the man who talked so loudly of truth and purity had poisoned the fountains of both religion and justice, and carried his favoritism in spite of law into the Church and the courts.

These traits may not be omitted from the portrait, but it is pleasant to turn to other features of his character and other incidents of his career. The long list of his achievements in behalf of progress should not be forgotten in America. During his first two administrations Gladstone accomplished more than any other English statesman since Cromwell has even attempted in the way of overthrowing abuses and reforming institutions. He not only disestablished the Irish Church and renovated the system of Irish tenancy; he introduced the ballot into England, he abolished purchase in the army, he offered education to all, he brought about the recent extension of the franchise. He has opened the way for the admission of the poorest and humblest Englishman to the highest political rights, and made inevitable the modification and eventual abolition of the firmest-rooted wrongs and the unfairest privileges. Whenever equality, not only of position, but of opportunity, is established in England, Gladstone will be looked upon as the John the Baptist, the fore-runner of the Messiah.

In foreign matters he has championed the oppressed of many countries. More than a quarter of a century ago he directed attention to the atrocities of King Bomba of Naples, and assisted in precipitating the downfall of that royal monster, and in this way pioneered the coming of the Kingdom of Italy. His eloquent utterances after the Bulgarian massacres, the tremendous invectives he poured on Turkish depravity, are not yet forgotten, and undoubtedly were the chief weapon that struck the cynical friend of the Turk, Lord Beaconsfield, from power.

For in foreign affairs Gladstone has never hesitated to manifest a spirit almost unexampled in the statesmen of any country or time. Hardly ever has republican or monarchist dared to set his country right when she was in the wrong, before the world; to confess for her the wrong, to withdraw her from a false position, to emulate the gospel spirit, and carry Christianity into politics on so grand a scale. The retrocession of the Ionian Islands, the similar policy in South Africa, the determination not to do evil in India that good might come, the refusal to resist the encroachments of Russia by perfidious or iniquitous means, or to support the Turk in evil practices because those practices might tend to the benefit of England—these are remarkable instances of what I mean. The submission to arbitration of the question whether England had done wrong in the Alabama matter—was a step of the same character; while the expression of regret for the injury inflicted was a humiliation that no statesman ever before in history put upon his country willingly. Some will call the act sublime, but there were many Englishmen who considered it pusillanimous. It was not pusillanimous, for it was not extorted by fear; and it tended to produce a cordial sentiment between the two countries that nothing else could have evoked.

Gladstone went through a storm of obloquy and condemnation on this account. I was in England and could watch his course. Public sentiment was so violent that at times the representatives of the United States felt its influence in their personal and social relations. And when the famous "Indirect Claims" were presented, the nations stood on the verge of war. Americans at home hardly appreciated the intensity of the British sentiment, but those of us in England, especially if we had access to official or important circles, knew the depth of the feeling. The press and Parliament were almost unanimous in their bitterness and their unfairness. But Mr. Gladstone never swerved from his intention or his effort to carry out what he had promised. His loyalty and the skillful diplomacy of Secretary Fish and General Schenck, which has never been recognized as it deserved, brought the two peoples through a crisis of no ordinary character.

The foreign policy of Mr. Gladstone has never met the general approbation of his countrymen: his genius does not shine in the sphere of diplomacy. Certainly the result in Egypt was not one to be proud of. The bombardment of Alexandria was a reproach to the English nation and an outrage on the civilization of the age—punished in the same region and the same decade by the disasters of the Soudan and the massacre of Gordon. In each of his earlier administrations Mr. Gladstone so mismanaged his foreign relations that they undoubtedly contributed in each instance to his downfall. He offended unnecessarily the spirit of the English nation, humiliated its pride, and seemed at least to ignore its interests.

And this cannot be attributed to his lieutenants. Though he had at the head of his foreign department a man utterly without force or originality, it was not Lord Granville's fault that the tangle was so bad. Gladstone is always master in his own cabinet. He controls and directs absolutely. His will is law. He dictates the general policy and decides every detail of importance, and his subordinates must yield or leave. His party too, has followed, as well as his cabinet. No man has more absolutely swayed the nation when he was at its head. It was he who determined on disestablishment in Ireland, and arbitration with the United States; on peace or war with Russia, and Africa, and Egypt, and America. It is he who made the coalition with Parnell; it is he who decided that Ireland must have a Parliament. Not Bismarck, not the first Napoleon, was more of an autocrat.

His ablest subalterns are proud to serve under him, though they scowl at any other chief. When, after the Liberal defeat in 1874, he retired for awhile from the leadership of the party—to a man they besought him to remain. And when upon his refusal, Lord Hartington was given the reins, Gladstone was still a disturbing element. Whenever for a night he appeared in Parliament, the nominal chief at once went into eclipse; and when at last his party returned to power, the country would hear of no one but him for prime minister. The Queen opposed him, but made herself and her weakness ridiculous by the opposition.

His personal popularity is prodigious, but like all great men he provokes the most violent animosities; not only among those who know him individually, but in the country at large. He is hated by the mass of the aristocracy with a bitterness almost unexampled, but very natural, for with a true instinct they feel and know that he is their greatest foe. Whether he means or wishes it, or no, he hurts them more than any million of men beside. He once said of them: "The Lords are up in a balloon;" elevated above the ordinary world, but unable to observe or affect the course of affairs. Another time he declared that he should think once, he should think twice, he should think three times, before he would abolish the House of Lords; but if the third occasion passed, he did not say what his course would be. And these were the utterances of a man who had it in his power to fulfill his threats. More than once he has compelled the Lords to do his bidding by the menace of adding to their number or lessening their hereditary privileges. When they obstinately resisted the abolition of purchase in the army—although the measure had passed the House of Commons and was unmistakably approved by the nation—Gladstone revived a disused prerogative of the Crown, and forced the unwilling Queen to declare purchase abolished by royal warrant—a weapon that had not been resorted to for two hundred years. He strained the Constitution but he conquered the Lords. The last great difference between him and them was upon the extension of the franchise. In this instance the peers yielded in time; but had they held out, he would undoubtedly have shaken the very foundation of their position as legislators.

This single man, who threatens and assails one of the ancient orders of the state, who places himself in antagonism with an entire aristocracy, who forces a still powerful class to abandon its privileges and trample on its prejudices, is of course the object of their profoundest antipathy. But not only the aristocracy themselves; all the mass of their followers, all the prejudiced Tories of the middle and lower class, above all those of the press or the literary sort—detest the name of Gladstone. To compensate—about two-thirds of the English nation adore him. No one in England in my time could evoke the enthusiasm that followed him.

All this is the magic of genius as well as the might of will; it comes from the combination of intellect and character; the belief in his intention, the knowledge of his achievements, the sympathy with his efforts, the magnetism of his presence and personality, the authority of a born leader of men.

Of his natural gifts eloquence is the most easily recognized. His oratory is fiery and convincing by turns, but more often fascinating and persuading. His lucidity of speech, though he is neither terse nor often epigrammatic, is so wonderful that he is famous for the charm he flings about the most abstruse questions of finance. His long involved sentences never weary, are never obscure, and always lead up to some lofty sentiment that either excites the imagination or touches the heart.

Like most men of genius he exerts a personal fascination that is irresistible. His conversation is seductive in its interest. You cannot turn away from it. He holds you like the Ancient Mariner, till he "tells his tale." I was once asked to meet him at dinner, when there was no American minister in England. It was at the house of Lord Halifax, one of his colleagues in the cabinet, who had corresponded with me the winter before, while I had a room at the White House; and whose letters had been avowedly written for me to show to President Grant. At the date of the dinner the discussions of the Treaty of Washington were at their height, and there were grave doubts of the success of the negotiations. Lord Halifax asked me to meet Mr. Gladstone so that I might convey his opinions direct to the President. The prime minister talked half an hour with me alone on the subject of the treaty, and under these circumstances he naturally wished to impress me very fully with his ideas. I saw him therefore to unusual advantage, and was never more impressed with the power of a man to expound and illustrate and enforce his views by conversation. Afterward he continued the talk on other themes, and discussed the difference between the British and the American constitutions, the permanency of the systems and institutions of both countries; and was as brilliant and as fascinating as his reputation had led me to anticipate. I remember his saying that the American constitution was the most perfect ever written by man, which as a good Englishman he could admit, for the British pride themselves on the fact that their constitution is unwritten. He thought Americans had a great advantage in "elbow-room," as he called it; and that our institutions could not be said to have stood their severest test till the United States were as crowded as England is to-day.

On another occasion, some years later, he was good enough to ask me to breakfast. It was the morning of a day when there was to be a great debate, which he was to lead; the result might decide the fate of a momentous measure, and either retain him in power or overthrow him. He had at table a party of ten, only two of them ladies, and one of these his daughter. Among the other guests were a distinguished divine; an ecclesiastical architect or architectural ecclesiastic, I forget which; the liberal son of a duke, a member of the House of Commons, and so on. We sat at breakfast an hour and a half, but not a word was said about politics, not a reference was made to the debate in the evening. The principal subject discussed was the Revision of the New Testament which had just been given to the world. The prime minister was extremely interested in this theme. He is learned in his Greek, as every one knows, and quoted the original text freely. He was entirely opposed to the Revision, and offered to lay five pounds that it would never be authorized to be read in the churches. I was amused to hear him offer a wager and on such a theme, and said so to his daughter. She told me she had never known him make a bet but once before, and that was that Disraeli would be a peer before himself.

This versatility of attention displayed at such a moment was characteristic of his genius. His information is various and his learning catholic, as well as profound; his power to discuss the most different themes astounding. When he was for a while out of office and nominally in retirement, the activity of his mind was incessant. He wrote pamphlets on the Vatican decrees, published whole volumes on Homer and the Youth of the World (*Juventus Mundi*); and debated artistic, antiquarian, ecclesiastical, and purely literary subjects in half the periodicals in England. He was a lay reader at morning prayer in the parish church at Hawarden, and a hewer of wood in the park immediately afterward; and he answered himself every post-card that any one chose to send him. Finally, came his wonderful attack on the Tory foreign policy, which tumbled Lord Beaconsfield headlong from office and reputation, and indeed terminated his career.

Mr. Gladstone's position in regard to the American Rebellion was one of the mistakes of his life. He has had the courage to admit the mistake, and the magnanimity to seek to atone for it. He thought that the right of secession was implied, if not admitted, in the American Constitution, and like most Englishmen he failed to see the reasons that would have made the admission of that right practically impossible even if it had been logically tenable. Even after his famous apology to the American people—"Kin beyond Sea"—I heard him declare that he still could not see that Jefferson Davis was wrong. This is what I should call the doctrinaire side of his mind, which disappears or is hidden completely in his practical contests in English politics. No man can put abstract notions more entirely aside than he, or so envelop them in a cloud of explanatory comment as to make them invisible or innocuous whenever it is desirable for his purposes.

He is, indeed, a curious development of the English type; a strange outgrowth from the Anglo-Saxon root. With his ardent religious faith, apparently never disturbed in this age of scientific and intelligent unbelief, with his lofty Christian sentiment, carried, however, more often into foreign than domestic politics; with the extraordinary indirectness of his mind in some of its workings, as manifested in the Ewelme and Collier affairs—he is in many ways as un-English a representative as it is possible to imagine. Intellectually, I have sometimes thought him more like an American or a Frenchman. His keen penetration, his logical acuteness, his abstract philosophy remind one almost of Emerson at times, while in profundity and power of generalization, he is not unlike Montesquieu. From one point of view the most transcendental and unpractical of statesmen, yet when he descends from the lofty heights where he evolves his theories of arbitration and religion, and doing good to one's enemies—to the arena of actual, daily politics, no one is shrewder, more politic, more adroit; no one sees the situation more clearly, and—far more important and rarer quality—no one is readier to adapt himself to the situation that he perceives; no one knows how to hit harder or parry better, or understands more exactly the strategy of important situations and the tactics of significant details. No one has carried great measures through greater difficulties; against the opposition not only of avowed enemies, but of loyal friends; against the influence of the Queen, the dislike of high society, the rooted prejudices often of the English people, the disapproval occasionally of the best and soberest minds. Yet he marches on in a career of successive triumphs. He defeats the heir to one of the oldest dukedoms, in his family borough; he forces his colleagues to the support of measures they detest, he compels the acquiescence of the court, he arouses and sometimes justifies the wildest apprehensions of his enemies. He is, at the close of his career, the most important and imposing figure in English politics; the leader in the army of progress before the world; the champion of the people in a land where they still need one; the ally of a downtrodden sister country to whom he holds out a hand to assist her to rise. High-minded and high-purposed; with his faults, like all that are human, but battling always against wrong or in favor of the weak, he is indeed the model knight-errant, with even a Quixotic dash of romance in his temperament; but able to support as well as to attack, to defend as well as to destroy. This veteran of nearly seventy-seven, dashing against his enemies with the vigor of youth, leading the common people of England whom he has raised to a position and power they have never known till now; urging them to make the first use of that power to undo the wrongs of centuries in Ireland, offering to the men who had just dealt him the severest blow, the justice that they claim,—this man may not extort from the aristocrats of Europe the approbation he deserves, but Americans and democrats, believers in the people and friends of the people everywhere, cannot but wish him well in his last encounter with vested wrong.

ADAM BADEAU.

THE LABOR CRISIS.

I.

The Knights of Labor have undertaken to test, upon a large scale, the application of compulsion as a means of enforcing their demands. The point to be determined is whether capital or labor shall, in future, determine the terms upon which the invested resources of the nation are to be employed.

To the employer, it is a question whether his individual rights as to the control of his property shall be so far overborne as to not only deprive him of his freedom, but also expose him to interferences seriously impairing the value of his capital. To the employees, it is a question whether, by the force of coercion, they can wrest, to their own profit, powers and control which, in every civilized community, are secured as the most sacred and inalienable rights of the employer.

This issue is so absolutely revolutionary of the normal relations between labor and capital, that it has naturally produced a partial paralysis of business, especially among industries whose operations involve contracts extending into the future. There has been at no time any serious apprehensions that such an utterly anarchical movement could succeed, so long as American citizens have a clear perception of their rights and their true interests ; but it has been distinctly perceived that this war could not fail to create a divided if not hostile feeling between the two great classes of society ; that it must hold in check not only a large extent of ordinary business operations, but also the undertaking of those new enterprises which contribute to our national progress, and that the commercial markets must be subjected to serious embarrassments.

From the nature of the case, however, this labor disease must soon end one way or another ; and there is not much difficulty in foreseeing what its termination will be. The demands of the Knights and their sympathizers, whether openly expressed or temporarily concealed, are so utterly revolutionary of the inalienable rights of the citizen and so completely subversive of social order, that the whole community has come to a firm conclusion that these pretensions must be resisted to the last extremity of endurance and authority ; and that the present is the best opportunity for meeting the issue firmly and upon its merits. The organizations have sacrificed the sympathy which lately was entertained for them on account of inequities existing in certain employments ; they stand discredited and distrusted before the community at large as impracticable, unjust and reckless ; and, occupying this attitude before the public, their cause is gone and their organization doomed to failure. They have opened the flood-gates to the immigration of foreign labor, which is already pouring in by the thousands ; and they have set a premium on non-union labor, which will be more sought for than ever, and will not be slow to secure superior earnings by making arrangements with employers upon such terms and for such hours as may best suit their interests. Thus, one great advantage will incidentally come out of this crisis beneficial to the workingman, who, by standing aloof from the dead-level system of the unions, will be enabled to earn according to his capacity and thereby maintain his chances for rising from the rank of the employee to that of the employer. This result cannot be long delayed ; because not only is loss and suffering following close upon the heels of the strikers, but the imprudences of their leaders are breeding dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the organizations, which, if much further protracted, will gravely threaten their cohesion. It is by no means certain that we may not see a yet further spread of strikes, and possibly with even worse forms of violence than we have yet witnessed ; but, so long as a way to the end is seen, with a chance of that end demonstrating to the organizations that their aspirations to control capital are impossible dreams, the temporary evils will be borne with equanimity. The coolness with which the past phases of the strikes have been endured, shows that the steady judgment of our people may be trusted to keep them calm under any further disturbance that may arise.

It is quite evident that the back-bone of the strike is broken and that the worst is past, and that a general recovery of trade will assert itself, more or less, in spite of whatever obstacles may be raised by the labor organizations.

The labor movement inaugurated as a stupendous undertaking and announced to come off on the first of May, now past, has been a signal failure. The cause of justice and peace has achieved for itself new prestige sufficient to give it longevity, for the reason that the strike movement has been deprived of justification and right of existence.

Before the strike at the Missouri Pacific, Jay Gould was one of the most hated men in the country. He was anxious to have public respect and sympathy. He had made all the money he wanted, and was willing to spend part of it in gaining the respect and honor of the country. What his money could not do for him this strike on the Missouri Pacific has done. The sympathy and good-will which previously was with the strikers has been shifted from them to him. There is no doubt that the strikers selected the Missouri Pacific because it was a property with which Gould was known to be most largely identified, and because they thought that general execration would be poured out on him in any event. But instead of injuring Mr. Gould they have done him an inestimable service.

The timely and forcible action of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, will put dynamiters and rioters where they belong, and thus divide the sheep from the goats in a very short time. If officials would sink political bias, the country would soon be rid of law-breakers and disturbers of the peace. As this plan has now been adopted, it will be far reaching in its effect, and stop mob gatherings, riotous speech-making and other such bad incentives, which recently have been so conspicuous in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and elsewhere. The laboring classes, who are parties to the strike, will now have an opportunity to retire to their homes, where there will be more safety than in the streets—which will bring to them reflection ; they will then soon become satisfied that they are the aggrieved parties ; and the not unlikely result will be their turning upon the leaders who have deceived them.

There have been numerous vacancies created by the strikers voluntarily resigning. There has been no difficulty in filling these vacancies by those that are equally capable, if not more so, from other countries flocking to our shores. The steam ferry which connects this country and Europe has demonstrated this by the steamer that arrived in six days and ten hours' time from European shores to our own. As the interval between the down-trodden and oppressed operatives of the Old World and America is thus reduced to hours Europe will quickly send to us all the labor we need to meet the emergency. Mrs. Gray, the Third Avenue Railroad Company and the Missouri Pacific, are the Generals that have won the victory. Strikes may have been justifiable in other nations but they are not justifiable in our country, and there is where the mistake was in organizing such a movement. The Almighty has made this country for the oppressed of other nations, and therefore this is the land of refuge for the oppressed, and the hand of the laboring man should not be raised against it.

The laboring man in this bounteous and hospitable country has no ground for complaint. His vote is potential and he is elevated thereby to the position of man. Elsewhere he is a creature of circumstance, which is that of abject depression. Under the government of this nation the effort is to elevate the standard of the human race and not to degrade it. In all other nations it is the reverse. What, therefore, has the laborer to complain of in America? By inciting strikes and encouraging discontent he stands in the way of the elevation of his race and of mankind.

The tide of emigration to this country, now so large, makes peaceful strikes perfectly harmless in themselves, because the places of those who vacate good situations are easily filled by the new-comers. When disturbances occur under the cloak of strikes it is a different matter, as law and order are then set at defiance. The recent disturbances in Chicago, which resulted in the assassination of a number of valiant policemen through some cowardly Polish nihilist firing a bomb of dynamite in their midst, was the worst thing that could have been done for the cause of the present labor agitation, as it alienates all sympathy from them. It is much to the credit, however, of Americans and Irishmen that, during the recent uprising of the labor classes, none of them have taken part in any violent measures whatsoever, nor have they shown any sympathy with such a policy.

If the labor troubles are to be regarded as only a transient interruption of the course of events, it is next to be asked—What may be anticipated when those obstructions disappear? We have still our magnificent country, with all the resources that have made it so prosperous and so progressive beyond the record of all nations. There is no abatement of our past ratio of increase of population; no limitation of the new sources of wealth awaiting development; no diminution of the means necessary to the utilization of the unbounded riches of the soil, the mine and the forest. Our inventive genius has suffered no eclipse. In the practical application of what may be called the commercial sciences, we retain our lead of the world. As pioneers of new sources of wealth, we are producing greater results than all the combined new colonizing efforts which have recently excited the ambitions of European governments. To the over-crowded populations of the Old World, the United States still presents attractions superior to those of any other country; as is evidenced by the recent sudden revival of emigration from Great Britain and the Continent to our shores.

HENRY CLEWS.

II.

The method employed by the "Strikers" in this country, during the past ten years, and more especially in their recent strikes, is most unreasonable, violent, as well as disastrous, in its results.

The organization of labor was originally started to benefit the workingman by securing more pay for the same amount of work. All went well until designing men became the leaders. Some of the associations still retain the respect and support of the community at large: for instance, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which is not only a benefit to every member, but is a benefit to the public at large as well.

There are traceable causes for the present state of affairs. Men read, or are read to; their minds are influenced, pro and con, by what they thus learn. The press of a community molds the opinions of those of its readers who rely upon it as their only source of information, and who accept its utterances as truth. A paper of 100,000 circulation has, perhaps, an average of three readers to each copy, and can, therefore, by misrepresentations, mislead three hundred thousand people each day. It can pander to man's very worst instincts and passions; or, on the other hand, it can bring men to a proper appreciation of their duty to each other and to what is equitable. Its influence for good or evil is incalculable upon those who depend upon it for their knowledge and guidance. The newspapers have had much to do with inciting dissatisfaction in the laboring classes.

The sudden accession of wealth by the few is another great cause of dissatisfaction to the many. How, in two generations, a fortune of three hundred millions can be accumulated by one family, in legitimate business enterprises, is something the ordinary mind cannot comprehend, and the more the bread-winner ponders over it the more dissatisfied he becomes.

Corruption in high places is still another cause of public discontent. The decisions of judges, in cases involving millions, have in more than one instance been so manifestly unjust as to create a suspicion of bribery. Yet impeachment and removal, for such offenses, are rare.

Impurity in city, state and national governments is another cause of irritation among the laboring classes.

The questionable methods of amassing large fortunes, attributed by the press and public to certain prominent capitalists and financiers, must also be added to the list.

The laboring man has read about, and thought over, all these things. The newspaper has told him of the "pooling" of railroad earnings; of combinations in coal companies to advance the price of that commodity; of the consolidations of both corporate and private capital. As a natural consequence, he asks himself, "Why should not labor also organize?"

These Knights of Labor associations were unquestionably formed, at first, upon a proper basis, and tended to improve the condition of the laboring man. For a while, they accomplished this purpose; but, gradually, designing men, politicians, and educated tramps, came to the front. The so-called laborers, who never did and never intended doing an honest day's work in all their lives, succeeded in being made officers; lodges were multiplied until the membership numbered thousands and hundreds of thousands, until, now, they assume to control the price and the hours of all labor, both of corporations and individuals, and to dictate how the whole business of the country shall be run.

The strike of the car-drivers in New York city to reduce the hours of labor from sixteen and fourteen to twelve, was a righteous one, and met with the sympathy and support of all fair-minded men. On the other hand, the strike ordered by Mr. Irons, on the South-western railroads, because of the dismissal of one man, was ill-advised and most unreasonable. It threw 14,000 men (only 3700 of whom belonged to the Knights of Labor), out of employment, directly and indirectly, simply because the managers of one of these roads, for what they deemed good and sufficient reasons, discharged this man. By this strike, a whole system of railroads, amounting to thousands of miles, was blockaded, and the entire business of a very large section of the country was brought to a stand-still. Many of the men who were then ordered out, are still idle, and the majority of them likely to remain so, as their places have been filled. The recent strike of the employees of the Third Avenue Street Car Company, of New York city, is another instance of a similar character. It is stated that, because there were eight men employed on the road who did not belong to the Knights of Labor, the strike was ordered. Nine hundred men gave up their means of subsistence because eight independent fellow-workers did not wish to join their order. They might as well try to compel all Freemasons to join the Odd Fellows. Since the riot, and the murdering of policemen and innocent people by dynamite bombs in Chicago, Grand Master Powderly and his lieutenants are anxious to pose before the public as law-abiding citizens, deprecating all violence.

But what roused the anarchists to action ?

A few more such strikes as those mentioned, and one-half the Knights of Labor in the country will be out of employment, to be supported by the other half. How long such a state of affairs can last, is a question which answers itself.

Some twenty years ago, when the Chinese Minister and his suite first visited England, they were found to be highly-educated, polished gentlemen. All England turned out to entertain them. The Queen bade them welcome, and her prominent noblemen did the honors, each in his own portion of the kingdom. The Minister was shown the beauties and wonders of London, taken to the ship-yards of the Clyde, and through the woolen mills of Manchester, where the finest machinery in the world is to be seen. Throughout their entire visit the Chinamen remained silent, merely observing, without commenting upon the machines that were shown them. Finally, a blunt old nobleman, who had become somewhat nettled by their silence and apparent indifference, determined to force some sort of expression from them. He asked what they thought of all this vast and complicated machinery and the results produced by it ? The Minister replied : "In my country we try to find work for two idle hands to do."

Perhaps Grand Master Powderly and his large army of sub-masters, instead of ordering strikes or allowing them to exist, had better take this lesson to heart and find work for "two idle hands."

Another story which fits the situation is one told of a certain General Wind who was neither a doer nor a lover of work—a sort of corner-grocery politician. He came puffing along Montgomery Street, San Francisco, one warm evening, with his arms full of sky-rockets. "Got our bill passed," he said, almost out of breath, to the ex-Collector of the Port, who approached him in surprise at his unusual effort. "Got your bill passed? What bill?" "Why our eight-hour bill—eight hours now constitute a day's work; the governor is going to sign it." "Well," the ex-collector replied, "that will take two hard hours' work off each day's labor that you and I perform." The general hesitated for a moment, and then dropped his arsenal on the sidewalk; for the first time in his life, he "saw himself as others saw him."

That is about the way some of the leaders of the Knights of Labor appear. So long as they can assess their brother workmen they will keep up the present labor agitations, or, at least, they will try to do so. The result must inevitably be a breaking up and falling to pieces of these organizations; for, as now managed, they are antagonistic to the constitution of the United States, and destroy the first principles of free government by restraining freedom of thought and action—reducing each man to a mere tool or machine in the hands of designing leaders.

Out of this break-up will come a laboring-man's organization founded upon the relation that should exist between the employer and the employed, and which will not only elevate and benefit the laboring man, but be approved of and supported by all classes of the community.

If Grand Master Powderly and the honest men he has associated with him in the management of the labor question, wish to benefit their fellow-workmen, they should listen to the advice of such good friends as desire to see them succeed in all just and reasonable demands; they should disband the present order, and start anew with an organization to be known as the Knights of Labor of the United States of America—admitting none to membership who are not American citizens, and ready to uphold to the uttermost the principles of freedom upon which our government is founded.

They should make the order and its members amenable to the laws as they exist, and, as General Grant said, "if there are bad laws, enforce them and have them repealed."

Under such an organization, "boycotting" would have no place. It has always been maintained that "boycotting" was a foreign method and did not belong to the United States. Yet it has been practiced in our midst for years. Not until within a few weeks—since the Chicago riots—have the newspapers come out boldly and denounced it as a crime, fearing, perhaps, lest their own papers should be subjected to a boycott.

No matter how mildly practiced, boycotting is a crime, a conspiracy, that should be punished without fear or favor. The laws in the different States are not stringent enough to meet this particular offense, and a general law should be enacted without delay, which should place those engaged in boycotting behind prison bars. This would speedily end the infamous practice. Let the remedy be universal and sweeping—the punishment the same in all States and Territories, and its application instantaneous.

The President of the United States should rise above the level of the politician and for once act as a statesman, and should request Congress to frame and pass a law to meet this particular form of crime, and one that would nip it in its bud ; instead of sending roving commissions to "investigate" and to use their time in making political capital for themselves and local politicians.

The Anarchists, Nihilists, Socialists, and Communists must be disposed of by the police and the criminal courts, and these outlaws be made to realize that, while this country has many broad acres and square miles of unoccupied land, it has no room for the criminal classes of Europe, and will not tolerate them.

But a large portion of the Knights of Labor are hard-working, self-respecting men, who have no sympathy with law-breakers or boycotters ; and these men, these skilled laborers, should have a proper recognition in all large corporations. There should be three classes of employees, divided according to length of service, general ability, etc.—say, apprentices, journeymen and master workmen. Those who have been faithful in the discharge of their duties for, say, fifteen years, should be paid higher wages than those who have been but ten years with the company, and the ten year men more than the five, and so on, down to the new employees.

When times are good, the country prosperous, and the companies earning and paying dividends, the workmen should share in the good fortune, and when depression comes and the companies are losing money, these same men should consent to a reasonable reduction in their pay. In other words, the wages of the employees should bear their proper relation to the profits of the business. Men should not be discharged without cause. This and all other matters of dispute should be settled by arbitration committees, in which both employer and employed should be fairly represented. A temporary increase in the help employed might be necessary occasionally, but that might be a shifting class of workers who should be taken on and cut off as required.

To sum up the whole question, there must be a full and fair recognition of the rights of each, by both employer and employed; and the latter should be as much interested in, and as much a part of the corporation or company he works for, as its road-bed, rolling stock, mill or machinery.

Another suggestion: If one-half the money, now spent in carrying on strikes, were used for buying land for idle men to cultivate, and a bureau established for inducing the unemployed to go west and till mother earth—which, after all, is the real source of wealth, and the only dividend payer—this war between capital and labor would be materially reduced.

And Mr. Powderly with his followers, should protect the "little red school-house on the hill"—the cradle and nursery of our future citizens, keeping it free from religious and political influences. They have the same interest in promoting the education of the coming generation as the rich have, and must see to it that the representatives of the working classes do nothing intolerant, or calculated to shake the faith of the young in free thought, free speech and the right to live and let live which our Constitution gives to all.

RUFUS HATCH.

III.

RECENT events have brought the old problem of capital and labor from the sphere of speculative opinion within the range of practical discussion. What I have to say on the question, however, at the request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, must be more or less—and rather more than less—a new presentation of views that I have often hitherto expressed.

The nineteenth century will be set down in the world's history as the century of material progress, and in its great advance the United States takes the lead. In this rich world this nation stands the richest. The valuation of property in 1884 was 51,670 millions in round numbers; that of Great Britain, mother and rival, being more than six thousand millions less.

In the United States wealth has increased from 1850 to 1884 forty-three thousand two hundred and forty millions of dollars. According to Mulhall, since 1830 Great Britain has almost trebled her wealth; France has quadrupled hers; the United States has multiplied in wealth six fold, and at present we are growing nearly four millions richer at sunset than sunrise each day. The accumulations of Europe and the United States make up daily $11,000,000, and the increase in population is 11,000 daily.

The great increase in population, large immigration from Europe, amounting in four years to over twenty-four hundred thousand people, overcrowding of cities, increase in manufacturing establishments, rapid absorption of public lands, consolidation of wealth, importation of contract labor, and other causes, are reproducing in nearly all the States many of the economic and social conditions of Europe. In the midst of great wealth, with powers of production unsurpassed, with material success unparalleled, there is, nevertheless, a social and industrial revolution.

I am, with others, to some extent an employer of labor. I take a deep interest in the labor question. To my mind it rises in importance above all others.

In Europe the discontent is due to two causes. One, the unfinished struggle on the part of the people for political freedom, which has been active since the eighteenth century; the protest against privileged classes, monarchy and imperialism. Learning that they are the source of all political power, the people want their will registered as the law that alone should govern them. This discontent has taken the form of nihilism in Russia; socialism in Germany; communism in France; radicalism in England; and mano negraism in Spain. These nations have also to deal with another cause—the industrial question, involving the relations between employer and employed, the rate of wages and the proper distribution of wealth, which is the recurring question of all civilization, the problem of all the ages.

The nations of Europe are obliged to meet both problems at the same time. This not only gives rulers great concern, but taxes to the utmost the ability and ingenuity of the wisest statesman. Some governments are making concessions to the people. In England classes are coming to an end, and henceforth the people will rule. The right of franchise has recently been conferred on two millions of English subjects. In other countries relief is sought through colonial expansion and immigration, and in Russia war is still invoked to subdue discontent and give imperialism repose for a season.

The founders of the great Republic have solved the political question and eliminated this element from the problem which we are now called upon to solve. Through their wisdom we have thus secured a government by the people and for the people, which has stood the test of foreign and civil war, shown its ability in dealing with the most complicated questions, and is about completing the first century of its existence. The nation now has to deal with the industrial problem. Struggling humanity awaits the action of the Great Republic, to see if, after giving man government on a Christian basis, it will give him industry on a Christian basis, and thus take the next great step in civilization.

The question presented by the present labor agitation is both industrial and social, and concerns, not the capitalist nor the wage receiver exclusively, nor the one more than the other, but the whole body of society and the State itself. It involves a great principle, in the presence of which individual interests become insignificant. No question more serious or of graver importance ever came before the American people, and upon its right settlement may not only depend the future of society, but ultimately the fate of the Great Republic.

It is not the part of wisdom to sit still and hope that social and industrial questions will adjust themselves without giving man any concern. Remedies only follow effort and preparation. We have advanced sufficiently under the inspiration of liberty and knowledge to know that our industrial system should be on a better basis, that strikes, violence, friction between employer and employed should cease, and, instead, there should be unity of interests, peace and harmony. In all reforms fair discussion and candid admission of the wrong has been the first, and conscientious effort to right it the next step. Reform and revolution begin with the people and never with rulers; rulers are contented with power and do not want a change. The propositions that all men are free and equal, that slavery is wrong, that one man is as good as another before the law, were all opposed, and those who advocated them were looked upon in their time as agitators, dreamers, doctrinaires. So will those be now regarded and resisted who advocate a better industrial system, by which labor shall have more of the wealth it produces. But in a popular government, where the preservation of the State depends upon the people, no person can fail who advocates making the people wiser and better. That teacher, that leader, and that political party in this government will have success, that is found on the side of the people, working to elevate them, and better their condition.

But the citizen should never be led to believe, and the rightly educated citizen will not believe, that the government can directly or indirectly relieve him from the necessity of labor as a means of support, or from the need of economy and self-denial, as the best possible provision for his own future, and for the future of those dependent upon him.

The ordinary remedies, such as forcible division of property, nationalization of land, socialism and communism as generally understood, furnish no relief for existing evils. If all property were equally divided among the people and there was no change in the industrial system, those that have the most now would probably get a still larger share soon after the division. The right to property legally acquired, under the existing system, ought never to be disturbed. The question is to secure better distribution in the future. The time for labor to get its fair share is not after wealth has been created and distributed, but at the time of its creation. There is not and there never can be too much wealth in the world. All the wealth is needed that the ability and power of individuals and corporations can legally produce.

Wealth honestly acquired stands for frugality, thrift, self-denial, personal effort, and personal sacrifice. Labor stands for quite as much, and is equally deserving. They are the greatest forces in civilization, without which it would perish. Both alike require and should have in an equal degree all the aid, encouragement and protection that the law or individuals can afford them. If capital is in distress, labor is in trouble ; if it leaves a country, labor also disappears. Injury to capital through individual or State action is hurtful to labor. Labor can never gain any advantage from the oppression of capital.

Society has grown away from a true appreciation of the dignity and importance of labor. Adam Smith has said: "Not by silver and gold, but by labor, was the wealth of the world purchased." There was a time when there was no capital; there never was a time during man's existence when there was no labor. In the beginnings of society, labor, as it is the real creator, receives all it produces, and the worker is treated with respect. In our complex civilization man could not exist without the fruits of labor. Everything that ministers to his wants, tastes, comfort and ease, is the result of labor. It is labor that gives him food, shelter and raiment, that transports him across continents and seas. "Labor wide as the earth has its summit in heaven."

Before any of the remedies offered for the solution of the industrial problem can avail, man and society must be made ripe through preparation, the preparation that comes from knowledge, wisdom, discipline and restraint, and the active work of the moral forces. The atoms composing the organism of society must be worked upon. Man individually must be made better and wiser, and selfishness conquered. Society grows only by slow degrees. We are in the infancy of the world. It is vain to hope for perfection at once—it is not to be expected. Something must be left for those who come after us. All this generation can hope to do is to begin the work at once, and if it takes one step in the right direction it will do well.

As a nation we are not without experience. A social and industrial question, in the early history of our country, took the form of slavery, and cast its shadow over our land, finally resting down in dense darkness over one-half of it. It grew noiselessly at first, but soon reached such dimensions that it not only threatened our national existence, but brought on the greatest war of modern times. To preserve the Union, the lives of nearly a million men were laid down and five thousand million dollars expended, while woe, misery and desolation were brought to unnumbered households throughout the land, particularly in the South. In the "red flame of war" slavery "went out," and four millions of chattels were raised from property to citizenship in the first Republic of the world. This was the greatest strain ever laid upon the government. It proved equal to the emergency, and society and civilization are better, and the government reaches nearer its ideal, for having been purged of the sin of slavery.

In the South the negro, fresh from slavery, without lessons in political economy, soon discovered that the wage system brought him no return, and he at once demanded an interest in the crops his labor produced. The landowner, the capitalist, at first objected, thought the negro unreasonable, but soon saw his way clear to grant the demand and take his former bondsman into partnership.

There is much for the capitalist to learn and do. He must learn the lesson that, as a matter of policy, it is safer and better to be just; that by agreeing to divide profits with the worker upon some plan, he may make more in the long run, and that competition, supply and demand are not the only laws that should govern the industrial world. He must learn that wealth is only a trust, and out of the abundance that has come to him he can afford to spare a portion of it in deeds of charity and philanthropy, and in helping the deserving poor and unfortunate. There is also much for the worker to learn. He must know that the way to aid himself is not through violence and coercion, but through obedience to law; that he can by proper effort do more to elevate himself and better his condition than can be done for him; that thrift, frugality, and economy are needed; that waste and intemperance are his worst enemies. The use of alcoholic drinks costs annually in the United States more than nine hundred millions of dollars, a sum that exceeds the combined annual earnings of all the railroads in the United States.

The object sought is not an ideal state where all will be equal in power, wisdom, goodness, position, wealth and influence. There will always be some to serve and some to lead. Absolute equality can no more exist in the social world, than all the peaks, mountains, hills and valleys can be reduced to a level in the physical world. The relief sought is not equality, but equity and justice. Some will always be wiser, better and stronger than others. Society, however, should be cast and formed on such lines that the good, wise and kind shall govern. Through the difficulties that environ the question, it is plain that some adjustment must be reached by which the war now raging between employer and employed, in the industrial world, must come to an end and be superseded by a system that will unite the interests of the employer and those of the employed. They must become and continue partners, instead of enemies, in the enterprises they operate. During the process of the creation of wealth, there should be such a division between employer and employed, that the latter shall secure at least the three essentials of existence : food, clothing and shelter, and, in addition, means to subdue sickness, and by frugality and thrift, something over for the feebleness that grows as the years come on. He is entitled to this, and should have it. It is a modest and surely not an unreasonable demand. Nature has made provision for all her sons. This is an unanswerable reason why all who are worthy should have enough. The industrial system which does not permit the worthy to get enough is at fault. One of the greatest statesmen and orators of our times has said "wages are unjustly reduced, when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age."

The methods which now seem to promise the best results in solving the industrial problem after knowledge becomes more general and society better prepared for their adoption, are—

Arbitration and conciliation.
Cō-operation, and
Profit sharing.

Arbitration, as a method of settling differences between nations and individuals, has already made great triumphs and secured the best results ; but is a preventive rather than a cure. It has already prevented some strikes and violence, and promises in the future to do well. When employer and employed can lay down their irritations and grievances sufficiently to meet as equals, and discuss frankly and candidly the disputed issues before a Board of Arbitration selected by both parties, it is a great step gained. The best fruits of arbitration and conciliation will only be gathered after education and intelligence become more general. It has been hindered by the want of these, and in the future, as progress in both is made, it is not too much to hope that arbitration and conciliation will be the means adopted alike by nations and by individuals, to adjust all differences.

Western civilization has entered upon a great industrial and social revolution, the outcome of which will be many radical social changes now looked upon as impracticable if not impossible. One of these changes will be the adoption of an industrial system in which the wage feature, as we now understand it, will largely disappear.

Society even now demands a better system, where antagonisms between employer and employed will disappear, where there will be less strife and more security, less disturbance and more repose, less selfishness and more charity.

Profit sharing based on industrial copartnership seems to furnish the best means of uniting the interests of employer and employed in agriculture, manufacturing and other large business enterprises. Profit sharing is not new in this or other countries; it has been adopted in agricultural industry in portions of some of the Southern and Western States, and is growing in favor. The two forces employed in transacting business and producing wealth, are labor and capital. The question is to unite these forces in a way that the interests of those controlling them shall be the same, and not hostile, as now. Constant war between employer and employed has brought great loss to both. Such war can be and ought to be superseded by their becoming partners, so that both shall have an interest in the business in hand. The interest need not be equal at first. As a basis, it has been suggested, the capitalist should have for the use of his capital a percentage of the amount he contributes, and as against this, the worker fair wages. Then, after paying all expenses, the profits should be divided between the capitalist on one side, and the body of workers, according to their earnings, on the other. In addition, each worker should have the right, by leaving with the working capital of the concern such part of his earnings or shares as he may choose, to become a partner in the ownership.

But it is said, this is all theory, all sentiment; the capitalist has not in the past been found ready for any such arrangement, and will not in the future agree to it. This is a natural objection, and there are others, all difficult to meet; else the great question would not give society such concern.

There is, however, this answer. Already some capitalists in various civilized countries, partly as a matter of self-interest, and partly to do good to their fellow-men, have entered into just such copartnerships with satisfactory results. Moreover, the past and the present are growing unlike. Conditions are constantly changing. New elements are entering into the question. One is, that the worker is to be armed with knowledge, which is power, and particularly the power of intelligent combination. Just as the capitalists combine to do their work more efficiently, so workers will combine to settle the terms upon which their labor shall be joined to capital for production.

There is an association in this country, composed of peaceable, honest, law-abiding and intelligent workers, who through their chief officer can, by a word, stop in a day all the locomotives on the trunk line railroads in the country. This is the power of combination, and where is there any other power equal to it? Without violence, and without violating any statute or principle of law, it can in a day paralyze the trade and commerce of a continent. How can it be resisted? The government has neither the right nor the power to resist it. Will any one undertake to say that such a power in the industrial world will not make itself felt in adjusting the interests between employer and employed? This power exists, is increasing, and must be considered in dealing with the industrial problem.

There is another element even more irresistible. It is the power of public opinion, which is reaching the conclusion that the laws of competition, supply and demand, as applied to the wage-receiver, operate unjustly; that the worker does not now, in many cases, get a fair share of what he helps to produce; that he is in effect a partner with the capitalist, though not treated as such. It is to be further considered, that the worker, who heretofore has had little to say, is helping now, through education, to make this public opinion, which in the end must stand as the sole judge and final arbiter of what is just and fair between him and the capitalist. In view of these new conditions, and for other reasons, the capitalist should seriously consider the best plan of uniting his interest with that of the wage-receiver. In admitting the principle of co-partnership, would he not make, in the way of increased profits, nearly if not all that he would be called upon to concede? The worker, having a direct interest, would do more and better work. The saving, by better care of property, tools and machinery, and by diminution in the cost of superintendence, would in the aggregate afford a large return to increase the profits. With co-partnership between employer and employed, the worker would feel he was more nearly the equal of the capitalist, his pride and ambition would be stimulated to better action, and the sense of inferiority he is made to feel by having no interest in the business would largely disappear. Unity of interest would prevent strikes, and the loss of time and wages, and the destruction of property incident to them.

Mazzini said:

> "Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question a religious question."

The aggressive civilization of to-day, the one that will conquer the world and supersede all others, the one that has proved the best for man, and that has lifted him up to higher plains than any other, is that built upon and shaped by the teachings of Christ. The best thoughts of all the best thinkers and writers upon the industrial problem have found nothing equal to the words, "love thy neighbor as thyself," "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." All correct philosophy, all sound teaching and reasoning, conduct us unerringly to these simple truths, which combine in themselves every essential principle necessary to the solution of the industrial problem. A solution based upon these would abide, because it would be founded on simple justice between man and man.

S. B. Elkins.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

JOINT RESOLUTION :—Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas the first President of the United States was not inaugurated until the thirtieth day of April, in the year seventeen hundred and eighty-nine; and

Whereas the day which was chosen by the Continental Congress for the installation of the new Government then established by the Constitution, the fourth day of March, does now cause a public inconvenience in unduly curtailing and limiting the second session of every Congress ; and

Whereas it is fitting that the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States be commemorated by the inauguration of his successor in eighteen hundred and eighty-nine upon the same day, and that this should be the day, hereafter, for the beginning of successive administrations of the Government ; therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as part of the Constitution, namely :

Article XVI.

The term of office of the President and the second session of the Fiftieth Congress shall continue until the thirtieth day of April in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-nine; and the thirtieth of April shall thereafter be substituted for the fourth of March as the commencement of the official term of the successive Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Congresses of the United States.

This preamble and joint resolution was prepared by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and Judge Nott, of the Court of Claims, who first advanced the idea of changing the date of the inauguration of the President. At the suggestion of Hon. Horatio King, I introduced it in the Senate, March 15th, and, on the 3d inst., it was favorably reported by Senator Hoar from the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Should it be adopted by two-thirds of both Houses, and ratified by the Legislatures of thirty States before March 4, 1889, it will be valid as part of the Constitution.

The selection of March 4th as the original date for the initiation of the Congressional and Presidential terms was arbitrary. The Constitution only declared their duration, but, after New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified that instrument, June 21, 1788, the Congress of the Confederation passed an act naming New York as the place, and the first Wednesday of the following March as the day, for setting the new government in operation. Owing to lack of facilities for travel, and the indifference of the people, a quorum of the two Houses was not obtained till April 6th, to count the electoral votes. Further time was consumed in arranging the forms and methods of the ceremony, so that the oath of office was not administered to President Washington till April 30, 1789.

But the 4th of March remained as the initial period, and the terms being fixed by the Constitution, the date can only be changed by amendment and not by law.

The human mind is pleased with anniversaries, and the proposed change appeals to the imagination with much force, as suggested in the preamble; but there are many substantial reasons for its adoption. It will diminish the interregnum of nine months, between March 4th and the first Monday in December, during which Congress is not organized.

It will also add two months to the closing session of every Congress, which now ends March 4th, crowding all the business of each alternate year into about seventy days, with great detriment both to the character and the amount of legislation.

It will give a longer interval for the subsidence of popular excitement after each Presidential election and afford the President greater opportunity for recovery from the fatigues of the campaign, for deliberation in the selection of his Cabinet, and the determination of his policy.

It will contribute largely to the public health, comfort, convenience and pleasure. The inauguration of our Presidents is the national occasion for imposing pageantry, parade and demonstration. The tendency to display increases with our population and with the enlarged facilities for reaching the Capital. It has valuable uses and should be encouraged. For these purposes no time could be so unfavorable as the 4th of March in Washington. It is neither winter nor spring. The weather is usually inclement, blustering and harsh. It is said that President Harrison died from cold contracted by exposure on the day he was inaugurated. Those who remember General Grant, as he stood bareheaded on the eastern portico on the 4th of March, 1873, delivering his second inaugural in a furious northern blast, with the temperature nearly at zero, will need no other argument for the change of date. Hayes and Garfield were not much more fortunate. Cleveland happened to have a sunny, vernal day, but it was the only one of the entire season. The 30th of April finds spring well advanced in this latitude, and the landscape wears its most entrancing aspect. The tumultuous splendors of inauguration at this season would find an appropriate counterpart in the exalting glories of the advancing year.

The only objection thus far urged against the amendment is that it will give two additional months of power to the present administration. Whether this argument will appeal most strongly to democrats or republicans does not yet appear. The President seems to be regarded with equal indifference by his friends and by his enemies.

JOHN J. INGALLS.

II.

If a maker of dainty little Dresden China figures were to climb to the house-top, once a month, and pompously make proclamation that his art surpassed in value that of the Greeks, and that the day of the Venus of Milo and of the Elgin marbles had passed, and that the age demanded a finer art, he would excite wild hilarity, and would be laughed at as a fanatic or a lunatic.

Yet such a spectacle would be no more ludicrous than that which is presented once a month by Mr. W. D. Howells, when he, a writer of *bric-à-brac* social studies, sneers at such masters of the art of fiction as Scott, Thackeray, Hawthorne, Dickens and Balzac. What a fellow-feeling Mr. Howells would have for him, if, from his lofty perch in the Study, he should see the little image-maker, and should hear him railing at Phidias, Praxiteles, and Michael Angelo! But there is little likelihood that our author would discern the diminutive, noisy iconoclast. For the curtains are closely drawn. We know this because he has taken us there. He has told us that the view from his Study windows is all comprehensive, and invited us to enter and look over the prospect and chat with him about authors and books, and the literary tendencies of the times. We hoped and expected, from the form of his invitation, to find him, telescope in hand, ready to take a broad, whole-souled, generous, hearty view of all that was good in literature the world over. What did we find? The heavy curtains shut out the warm, genial sunlight. A single small stick blazed feebly on the hearth, adding, by its mockery, to the chill of the room. The air was laden with the perfume of incense brought by pilgrims from Boston, the echoes of whose words of flattery still lingered in the corners of the book-cases. The atmosphere, to one coming from the bracing winds outside, was enervating. But not so with our host; he has waxed fat and grown rich upon it. We found him with a strong magnifying-glass, instead of a telescope, in hand, and he was examining, with eagerness and with a critical eye, something which he had imprisoned beneath a watch crystal on the smooth surface of the inlaid table. When asked what it was that he was gazing at so intently, he replied that he had beneath the glass the "mind of a society girl;" he had discovered sixteen conflicting emotions regarding the sort of a dress she should wear at the ball (in his novel, of course,) that evening, and he was searching for the seventeenth with all the excitement with which Galileo searched for the satellites of Jupiter.

The languid voice of the St. Botolph clubman is heard, however, in faint protest, that we are drawing a portrait of an imaginary Mr. Howells, not of the real Mr. Howells. The picture, as a matter of fact, is under, rather than over-drawn. That this is so, may be safely left to the judgment of intelligent men, who, in considering the scope and drift of Mr. Howells' criticisms, are not prevented by personal friendship from deducing honest conclusions from plain statements. Mr. Howells, announced a few years ago, that the art of fiction had become a finer art in our day than it was with Dickens and Thackeray, and that "we could not suffer the confidential attitude of the *latter* now, nor the mannerism of the *former*." Latterly, however, he has expounded his theory of fiction more fully. He declares that heroes and heroines are "abnormal beings," "barbaric survivals;" that the old romantic ideals are false; that the real sacrifices of life have been offered for races, not for persons; that there is no such thing as genius as distinguished, presumably, from the talent by which a man, working from nine A. M. till one P. M., six days in the week, is able, year in and year out, to follow one serial story with another without a break; that "human feelings as God made them and as men know them," however vapid, fine-spun and wearisome, are good enough for novel-readers; that there need be no incident in a story, and neither more plot nor less than there is in the experience of God's creatures generally; and that the day is passed for verifying the externals of life, and for portraying the outside of men and things. Mr. Howells argues, in effect, that the truth as it is exemplified in "Daisy Miller," in "A Woman's Reason," in "Mark Rutherford," and in "Indian Summer," is so vastly superior in point of contemporaneous human interest to the truth as it was in those shallow fellows who could not penetrate below the surface of things—Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, Balzac, and (Heaven save the mark!) Hawthorne—that presently the critics will come to see the inferiority of the old and the rare excellence of the new; and then "all will have been changed!"

Was the note of inordinate, exasperating egotism ever struck so fairly and so loudly by any other son of Ohio—that mother of great and self-all-sufficient men? The air of superciliousness and self-satisfaction with which Mr. Howells makes such dogmatic assertions, praising and advertising himself, as witness the Stedman episode, and sneering at authors whose books will be read with eagerness and pleasure when his are covered with the dust of years, is becoming fairly nauseating. He may not know it, but the fact is that thousands who have been unknown friends of his have been disgusted with his arrogant, conceited tone as a critic. If, as apparently is the case, his modesty and good-breeding in the discussion of literary questions are leaving him, common sense ought to teach him that he can ill afford to lose the sympathy and good-will of his audience by going out of his way to deride the masters of the art of fiction. Mr. Howells has made many friends by his writings. His light and airy sketches, delicately shaded and wrought out with the greatest skill, will have their place, for a time, in literature. No writer has shown a cleverness equal to his in investing the commonplaces and frivolities of life with a certain indefinite, vague, elusive charm. None has been able to reproduce so accurately and to dress in such a perfect literary style the random, insipid gossip of a "Five o'clock." None has given us a more refined picture of the skim-milk-and-water passions and inconsequential motives that shape the conduct, from day to day, of the sentimental, vacillating society girl or of the back-boneless young man, who "drifts" aimlessly and wearily in and out of the story. His creations, or, to speak more accurately, his note-book characters, exert themselves to glorify the commonplaces of every-day life. Others may take pleasure in Mr. Howells' pages, but, from the very necessity of things, commonplace people he wholly satisfies. They see themselves in his characters, and feel flattered by the choice that the author has made. Their lives consist of uninteresting trivialities. No unwelcome, disturbing "incident" ever gains entrance to their drawing-rooms. Indeed, they were shocked when the carriage went over the wall and Colville "felt himself whirled into the air and then swung ruining down into the writhing and crashing heap at the bottom of the wall."

They knew well whom Mr. Howells learned that poor business of, and hoped he would never descend to such a vulgar device again. Their thoughts flow in shallow, endless channels. Their range of vision is bounded by portières and Japanese screens. They are taught that to become emotional or enthusiastic over anything is "bad form." They are not troubled with any high moral ideas or with any old-fashioned, romantic notions about love. "Business is business" with them, as with Belinda in the play. They shudder at the thought of doing anything that shall cause them to be regarded as heroes or heroines, and have no desire to sacrifice themselves, except, perchance, for the salvation of the African or Indian race.

Over such people Mr. Howells' influence is boundless; with them his word is law. But as the proclaimer of a new truth, as the advocate of a new theory of fiction, his ambition ought to be to win converts to his way of thinking. A show, even if the real thing were wanting, of modesty, temperance and generosity in his treatment of authors to whom the world has given the highest praise, would have been becoming and would have helped his cause. For some of us have a pretty store of prejudices in favor of the writers to whom Mr. Howells refers in tones of lofty contempt, and many of us are acquiring a pretty store of grudges against the man whose presumption will not allow him to recognize these prejudices as having any good reason for being. It is only with the greatest difficulty that one can believe that so intelligent a man as Mr. Howells honestly holds such opinions as he advances. If he is honest in it, the only explanation of his extraordinary course is that his success and the feminine flattery of Boston have so warped his mind that he cannot bring to the discussion of fiction and writers of fiction that disinterestedness which is the essential element of criticism of real and permanent value—criticism founded upon truth and clearness of intellectual vision. If he is not honest—if his astonishing propositions are made with a consciousness of their absurdity and of the offense that they will give, merely for the purpose of exciting controversy and in order to attract attention to himself and his books—if, in other words, it is the purely commercial spirit that animates him, no condemnation can be too severe for such an abuse of power. As he must be either honest or dishonest, we leave to his friends the task of deciding which horn of the dilemma will pain him and them the least.

The most important aspect of this question remains to be considered, and that is the probable moral effect of the teachings of Mr. Howells upon the young people of the country whose literary tastes are being formed. His influence for good or evil is wide. His words reach probably a million readers every month. He has been accepted in many quarters as the leading literary authority of America, and his opinions, if uncontradicted, may be expected to carry great weight. Thus far the protests against the doctrines which he sets forth have been, in the main, feeble and fragmentary. The presumption and tone of authority which he has assumed seem to have had a paralyzing effect on public opinion. His audacity and assurance have been stupefying, but the time has come for a most emphatic word of protest against the acceptance of the standard which he sets up. American character is flabby enough now; Mr. Howells would make it flabbier still. Courage, independence, manliness, heroism and a spirit of self-sacrifice are qualities that he never gives his characters, and that he sneers at as antiquated or obsolete in his essays. Is he to be allowed to tell the youth of America, without fear of contradiction, that the day of Ivanhoe, of Henry Esmond, of Sydney Carton, and of Leatherstocking, is passed, and that the ideals which these names represent, of honor, chivalry, bravery, generosity and self-reliance belong to a former age and are not suited to the present time? Does Mr. Howells' theory of heroism and self-sacrifice furnish as high a moral standard for the government of conduct as does the wonderful story of the unselfishness and the devotion to each other, amid suffering and death, which Greely's men showed at Cape Sabine? Is his theory sustained or disproved by the facts? Can Mr. Howells, with his recollection of how tenderly these brave men cared for poor Elison for months, and with a picture in his mind's eye of Frederick's devotion to the dying hero Rice, maintain with truth that self-sacrifice is nowadays made for races, not for individuals? Is he to be permitted to tell American girls that the truth as it is in Bessie Alden, in Irene and Penelope Lapham, in Verena Tarrant, in Imogene Graham and in Mrs. Bowen, is to supersede the truth as it is in Rebecca, in Amy Robsart, in Ethel Newcome, in Agnes Wickfield, and in Hester Prynne? Can the effect of such teaching upon the youth of the country be aught but pernicious? Will not its tendency be to offer polite imbecility as a worthy substitute for true nobility of character? And does not the manner in which Mr. Howells is exerting his influence to this deplorable end remind one of a passage in Thackeray's sarcastic chapter on literary snobs? "You *may*, occasionally, it is true," says the satirist, "hear one literary man abusing his brother; but why? Not in the least out of malice; not at all from envy; merely from a sense of truth and public duty."

JESSE COOLIDGE.

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Rev. Edward J. Fisher, pastor of a Presbyterian church at Bristol, Morgan County, Ohio, writes: "A Treatment cured me entirely of a severe attack of pneumonia, and I used only two-thirds. The remainder cured a neighbor of pneumonia in its last stages."

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VII. **England and Ireland.**
By Henry George.

VIII. **Sherman's Opinion of Grant.**
By Allen Thorndike Rice.
Letters. By Gen. Jas. B. Fry.
Letters and Telegrams.
By Gen. W. T. Sherman.

IX. **Notes and Comments.**
By Col. Robert G. Ingersoll.
Judge Joseph Neilson.
Senator Wm. M. Evarts.
James P. Kohler.
George C. Barton.
Pierre Lorillard.
Eugene Mantvert.
S. S. Herrick.
H. J. Chase.

The Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Among the important articles for early publication in the North American Review are the following:

I. **Gambetta's Electoral Tour.** By Madam Adam. With a long unpublished letter by Gambetta. [*In April Number.*]

II. **Plan of the Tennessee Campaign.** By Miss Anna Ella Carroll. [*In April Number.*]

III. **Constitutional Reform in Rhode Island.** By Hon. Abram Payne, and Hon. W. P. Sheffield. [*In April Number.*]

IV. **Insurance.** By Elizur Wright. (His last contribution to the press.)

V. **The Siege of Charleston.** By Gen. G. T. Beauregard.

VI, **A Study in Civilization.** By Albion Tourgee.

VII. **More about American Landlordism.** A Rejoinder to Messrs. Strong and King in the March number of the North American Review. By Henry George.

VIII. **British Rule in India.** By Amorita Lal Roy.

Entered at the Post-office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails as second-class matter.

PASSING THE GOOD WORD ALONG.

The gratitude of patients is a constant source of encouragement to physicians. Letters full of expressions like the following, received by Drs. Starkey & Palen, 1529 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa., show the bright and noble side of human nature :

"I write to express my gratification that I am able again to write myself 'very well' (thanks to the Compound Oxygen Treatment), and to ask advice for others in the house who are under the same treatment.—ANNA L. JOYNER, Richmond, Ark."

"I have recommended the Oxygen to a great many people, and about a dozen have ordered it, either directly or through me, and in every case but one the parties have been benefited and speak highly of its good effects, which is very gratifying to me.—JAS. J. STEELE, Dundas, Ontario, Can."

From Bloomington, Ill., a patient writes:

"I have sent you not less than a dozen patients from this city, and my sister has, within the last few weeks, sent several more. We have recommended your Oxygen because we have been benefited and wished others to profit by it also, and because *we fully believe in it*."

Mrs. S. C. Judson, an artist, living in New York City, at The Hanover, West Eighty-third Street, writes:

"The Compound Oxygen has done me good, and you may publish my statement. I have always relied on it for conquering my ailments and have never employed a physician. For a year or two have been well enough not to require anything; now, however, have a hard cold and catarrhal tendency and want a new treatment badly. My father, Rev. J. B. Pradt, of Madison, Wis., is, as you know, constantly distributing your literature and talking up the merits of your Compound Oxygen."

S. W. Tucker, Esq., writes from Ponchatoula, La. :

"Although you have not heard from me since I wrote to you from Kosciusko, Miss., in 1883, I have been the recipient of letters from sufferers, asking if I had really been benefited by Compound Oxygen, as indicated in my testimonials. My *replies* have been *prompt and emphatic in favor of your Compound Oxygen*. Two days ago I recommended it to a gentleman of New Orleans, and he wrote me at once for your book, and has since decided to get the Treatment for his wife. My health so much improved that I discontinued the use of it for a long time, but the heat and hot weather have caused me to return to my inhalation, and with the *best results*, too, I am happy to say."

Rev. Edward J. Fisher, pastor of a Presbyterian Church, Bristol, Morgan County, Ohio, writes :

"A Treatment cured me entirely of a severe attack of pneumonia, and I used only two-thirds. The remainder cured a neighbor of pneumonia in its last stages. I regard Compound Oxygen as the greatest invention or discovery in medicine and therapeutics in the past hundred years."

Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., LL.D., President of Middlebury College, Vermont, writes :

"I derived so much benefit from your Compound Oxygen Treatment last year, that I will ask you to send me the same supply for home treatment with the Inhaler, for which I inclose the price. By my advice others have tried it, and never without benefit."

The following report is from a gentleman well known in Wisconsin as a dealer in lumber on a large scale :

"DRS. STARKEY & PALEN : *Gentlemen* :—It is with the desire that a relation of my experience of the wonderfully good result of using Compound Oxygen may induce somebody to use it who needs it that I write this unsolicited testimonial.

"Six years ago I had a very severe series of hemorrhages of the lungs, resulting from a serious attack of pneumonia a year and a half previous. I bled so profusely that my life was despaired of by my physician and friends. Between a Tuesday evening and the following Friday morning I had eleven times of bleeding; in some of them I saturated six or seven towels with blood. I became so weak that I could not turn my head upon my pillow; had I had other than a skillful physician, so that the hemorrhages were got under control at this point, I must have died then, as I was too weak to dispose of the blood which had come in mouthfuls before. I gradually recovered ; but my left lung was very weak, and I had a good deal of pain in it continually, and for three years I was an invalid, in constant fear of some kind of an attack that would carry me off. I did not then know anything of Compound Oxygen ; it was brought to my notice after I had suffered about two years, and I began its use. The results were apparent at once ; I began to feel better ; I continued the treatment until I had used four supplies of the Home Treatment, continually growing better. I weighed before my illness about one hundred and thirty-five pounds in good health ; I now weigh one hundred and fifty-nine pounds, and am entirely well. My lungs are not so susceptible to attacks from colds as they used to be, and I rally quickly. My chest is full and round, and everybody says, 'How well you are looking!' If I had known about Compound Oxygen sooner, and used it, I might have saved about a year's time and much discomfort. I keep a supply now on hand, and find it a great relief in case of taking cold. I talk Compound Oxygen, and have been able to convince not a few of its merits.

"Gratefully yours,

"C. S. WEBB.

"OSHKOSH, WIS., December 19th, 1885."

COMPLETE RESTORATION TO HEALTH.

A sufferer with dyspepsia for more than fifteen years knows what sickness and pain mean in all their variations. He can therefore appreciate a remedy which has brought "complete restoration to health," especially after having vainly sought relief in "all the usual remedies." We, therefore, have a right to congratulate the gentleman who sends to us the following letter :

"TO DRS. STARKEY & PALEN, Philadelphia, Pa. : *Gentlemen* :—The remarkable success of your Compound Oxygen in my mother's case induced me to adopt it in my own. For more than fifteen years I have been troubled, more or less, with *dyspepsia*, and for over six years I have suffered intensely and continuously from indigestion and constipation and hemorrhoids. I had a severe headache almost every week, and was compelled to use morphine for relief as well as purgatives for the former. I had tried all the usual remedies, but with only temporary relief, and my condition steadily grew worse. In July last I was prostrated for ten days by an attack of hemorrhoids of unusual severity. After partial recovery I resorted to your treatment of Compound Oxygen, which more than met my expectations. I have no headache, no symptoms of dyspepsia of any kind. In a word, *my restoration to health I regard as complete*.

"W. H. WORTHINGTON,
"Editor *New South*,
"October 30th, 1885" "Columbus, Miss."

"DRS. STARKEY & PALEN have the liberty to refer (in proof of their standing as Physicians) to the following named well-known persons who have tried their Treatment :

HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, *Member of Congress, Phila.*
REV. VICTOR L. CONRAD, *Editor Lutheran Observer, Philadelphia.*
REV CHARLES W. CUSHING, *Lockport, N. Y.*
HON. WILLIAM PENN NIXON, *Editor Inter-Ocean, Chicago.*
JUDGE JOSEPH R. FLANDERS, *Temple Court, New York.*
MRS. MARY A. CATOR, Widow of the late DR. HARVEY CATOR, *Camden, N. J.*
MRS. MARY A. DOUGHTY, *Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.*
MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE, *Melrose, Massachusetts.*
JUDGE R. S. VOORHEES, *New York City.*
MR. GEORGE W. EDWARDS, *Proprietor St. George's Hotel, Philadelphia.*
MR. FRANK SIDDALL, *Philadelphia.*
MR. WILLIAM H. WHITELY, *Silk Manufacturer, Darby, Philadelphia.*

And many others from every part of the United States.

"*Compound Oxygen—Its Mode of Action and Results*," is the title of a volume of nearly two hundred pages, published by Drs. Starkey & Palen, which gives to all inquirers full information as to this remarkable curative agent and a large record of surprising cures in a wide range of chronic cases—many of them after being abandoned to die by other physicians. It will be mailed free to any address on application.

Good Complexion & Nice Hands.

NOTHING adds so much to personal attractions as a bright, clear complexion, and a soft skin. Without them the handsomest and most regular features are but coldly impressive, whilst with them the plainest become attractive; and yet there is no advantage so easily secured. The regular use of a properly prepared Soap is one of the chief means; but the Public have not the requisite knowledge of the manufacture of Soap to guide them to a proper selection, so a pretty box, a pretty colour, or an agreeable perfume too frequently outweigh the more important consideration, viz.: *the composition of the Soap itself*, and thus many a good complexion is marred which would be enhanced by proper care.

That most eminent authority on the Skin, the late

Professor Sir Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S., LL.D.,

Wrote in the *Journal of Cutaneous Medicine*:—

"THE use of a good Soap is certainly calculated to preserve the "skin in health, to maintain its complexion and tone, and "prevent its falling into wrinkles . . . . PEARS is a name "engraven on the memory of the 'oldest inhabitant'; and "Pears' Transparent Soap is an article of the nicest and "most careful manufacture, and one of the most refreshing "and agreeable of balms for the skin."

15 INTERNATIONAL AWARDS.

TO persons whose skin is delicate or sensitive to changes in the weather, winter or summer, **Pears' Transparent Soap** is invaluable, as, on account of its emollient, non-irritant character, *Redness, Roughness and Chapping are prevented, and a clear appearance and soft velvety condition maintained, and a good, healthful and attractive complexion ensured.* Its agreeable and lasting perfume, beautiful appearance, and soothing properties, commend it as the greatest luxury and most elegant adjunct to the toilet.

Testimonial from Madame Adelina Patti.

"I HAVE found **PEARS' SOAP** matchless for the Hands and Complexion."

Adelina Patti.

TABLETS AND BALLS:

Square Cakes, Round Shaving Sticks, Pears' Transparent Glycerine Soap, Pears' Unscented Transparent Soap.

For sale by Druggists and Dealers everywhere.

PEARS' SOAP is sold everywhere, but INSIST on having PEARS' as vilely-injurious imitations are often substituted for extra gain, even by dealers who would be thought "respectable," some of whom attract the public into their shops or stores by marking PEARS' SOAP at *less than cost price*, and then recommend some rubbish on which they get a large profit.

DEC 1966

WESBY